



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

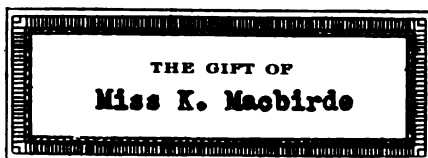
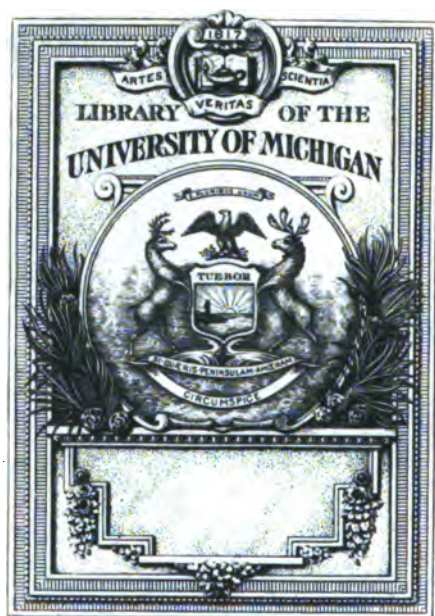
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

B 442726



IG
210
G62
1823

H. Greece
THE

G. Watson
1828

HISTORY OF ROME,

FROM

THE FOUNDATION

OF THE

CITY OF ROME,

TO THE

DESTRUCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE,

BY

OLIVER GOLDSMITH, M. B.

A NEW EDITION, COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY CHARLES WOOD,

Doegin's Court, Fleet Street,

FOR WILLIAM BAYNES AND SON, PATERNOSTER ROW,

AND

H. S. BAYNES AND CO., EDINBURGH.

1823.

*Gift
Thos H. MacBride
12-20-1928*

P R E F A C E.

THERE are some subjects on which a writer must decline all attempts to acquire fame, satisfied with being obscurely useful. After such a number of Roman Histories, in all languages, ancient and modern, it would be but imposture to pretend new discoveries, or to expect to offer any thing in a work of this kind, which has not been often anticipated by others. The facts, which it relates, have been a hundred times repeated, and every occurrence has been so variously considered, that learning can scarce find a new anecdote, or genius give novelty to the old.

I hope, therefore, for the reader's indulgence, if in the following attempt it shall appear, that my only aim was to supply a concise, plain, and unaffected narrative of the rise and decline of a well-known empire. I was contented to make such a book as could not fail of being serviceable, though of all others the most unlikely to promote the reputation of the writer. Instead, therefore, of pressing forward among the ambitious, I only claim the merit of knowing my own strength, and falling back among the hindmost ranks with conscious inferiority.

I am not ignorant, however, that it would be no such difficult task to pursue the same arts by which many dull men, every day, acquire a reputation in history; such might easily be attained, by fixing on some obscure period to write upon, where much seeming erudition might be displayed, almost unknown, because not worth remembering; and many maxims in politics

might be advanced entirely new, because altogether false. But I have pursued a contrary method, choosing the most noted period in history, and offering no remarks but such as I thought strictly true.

The reasons of my choice were, that we had no history of this splendid period in our language, but was either too voluminous for common use, or too meanly written to please. Catrou and Rouille's history, in six volumes, folio, translated into our language by Bundy, is entirely unsuited to the time and expense mankind usually choose to bestow upon this subject. Rollin, and his continuator, Crevier, making above thirty volumes octavo, seem to labour under the same imputation; as likewise Hooke, who has spent three quartos upon the republic alone; the rest of his undertaking remaining unfinished. There only therefore remained the history of Echard, in five volumes octavo, whose plan and mine seemed to coincide; and had his execution been equal to his design, it had precluded the present undertaking. But the truth is, it is so poorly written, the facts so crowded, the narration so spiritless, and the characters so indistinctly marked, that the most ardent curiosity must cool in the perusal, and the noblest transactions that ever warmed the human heart, as described by him, must cease to interest.

I have endeavoured, therefore, in the present work (or rather compilation) to obviate the inconveniences arising from the exuberance of the former, as well as from the unpleasantness of the latter. It was supposed, that two volumes might be made to comprise all that was requisite to be known, or pleasing to be read, by such as only examined history to prepare them for more important studies. Too much time may be given even to laudable pursuits; and there is none more apt than this, to allure the student from more necessary branches of learning, and, if I may so ex-

press it, entirely to engross his industry. What is here offered, therefore, may be sufficient for all, but such as make history the peculiar business of their lives; to such, the most tedious narrative will seem but an abridgment, as they measure the merits of a work rather by the quantity than the quality of its contents. Others, however, who think more soberly, will agree, that in so extensive a field as that of the transactions of Rome, more judgment may be shown, by selecting what is important, than by adding what is obscure. The history of this empire has been extended to six volumes folio; and I aver, that with very little learning it might be increased to sixteen more; but what would this be, but to load the subject with unimportant facts, and so to weaken the narration, as that, like the empire it described, it must necessarily sink beneath the weight of its own acquisitions.

But while I thus have endeavoured to avoid prolixity, it was found no easy matter to prevent crowding the facts, and to give every narrative its proper play. In reality no art can continue to avoid opposite defects; he, who indulges in minute particularities, will be often languid; and he, who studies conciseness, will as frequently be dry and unentertaining. As it was my aim to comprise as much as possible in the smallest compass, it is feared the work will often be subject to the latter imputation; but it was impossible to furnish the public with a cheap Roman History in two volumes octavo, and at the same time to give all that warmth to the narrative, all those colourings to the description, which works of twenty times the bulk have room to exhibit. I shall be fully satisfied, therefore, if it furnishes an interest sufficient to allure the reader to the end; and this is a claim to which few abridgments can justly make pretensions.

To these objections there are some who may add,

that I have rejected many of the modern improvements in Roman history, and that every character is left in full possession of that fame or infamy, which it obtained from its contemporaries, or those who wrote immediately after. I acknowledge the charge; for it appears now too late to rejudge the virtues or the vices of those men, who were but very incompletely known even to their own historians. The Romans, perhaps, upon many occasions formed wrong ideas of virtue; but they were by no means so ignorant or abandoned in general, as not to give their brightest characters the greatest share of their applause; and I do not know whether it be fair to try pagan actions by the standard of Christian morality.

But, whatever may be my execution of this work, I have very little doubts about the success of the undertaking; the subject is the noblest that ever employed human attention, and instead of requiring a writer's aid, will even support him with its splendour. The empire of the world rising from the meanest origin, and growing great by a strict veneration for religion, and an implicit confidence in its commanders; continually changing the mode, but seldom the spirit of its government, being a constitution in which the military power, whether under the name of citizens or soldiers, almost always prevailed; adopting all the improvements of other nations with the most indefatigable industry, and submitting to be taught by those whom it afterwards subdued: this is a picture that must affect us, however it be disposed; these materials must have their value, under the hand of the meanest workman.

CONTENTS.

	Page
CHAPTER I.	
<i>Of the Origin of the Romans.....</i>	1
CHAPTER II.	
<i>From the building of Rome to the death of Romulus.....</i>	5
CHAPTER III.	
<i>From the death of Romulus to the death of Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome</i>	12
CHAPTER IV.	
<i>From the death of Numa to the death of Tullus Hostilius, the third king of Rome.....</i>	14
CHAPTER V.	
<i>From the death of Tullus Hostilius to the death of Ancus Martius, the fourth king of Rome... ..</i>	18
CHAPTER VI.	
<i>From the death of Ancus Martius to the death of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome</i>	19
CHAPTER VII.	
<i>From the death of Tarquinius Priscus to the death of Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome.....</i>	21
CHAPTER VIII.	
<i>From the death of Servius Tullius to the banishment of Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh and last king of Rome</i>	26
CHAPTER IX.	
<i>From the banishment of Tarquin to the appointment of the first Dictator</i>	34
CHAPTER X.	
<i>From the creation of the first Dictator to the election of the Tribunes of the people.....</i>	42
CHAPTER XI.	
<i>From the creation of the Tribunes to the appointment of the Decemviri</i>	51
CHAPTER XII.	
<i>From the creation of the Decemviri to the extinction of that office</i>	75
CHAPTER XIII.	
<i>From the expulsion of the Decemviri to the burning of Rome by the Gauls</i>	86

CHAPTER XIV.

<i>From the wars of the Samnites and the wars with Pyrrhus to the beginning of the first Punic war, when the Romans first went out of Italy.....</i>	111
--	-----

CHAPTER XV.

<i>From the beginning of the first Punic war to the beginning of the second, when the Romans began to grow powerful by sea</i>	130
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

<i>From the end of the first Punic war to the end of the second.....</i>	141
--	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

<i>From the end of the second Punic war to the end of the third, which terminated in the destruction of Carthage.....</i>	166
---	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

<i>From the destruction of Carthage to the end of the sedition of the Gracchi</i>	176
---	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

<i>From the sedition of Gracchus to the perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla, which was the first step towards the ruin of the commonwealth of Rome</i>	187
--	-----

CHAPTER XX.

<i>From the perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla to the Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.....</i>	220
---	-----

CHAPTER XXI.

<i>From the beginning of the first Triumvirate to the death of Pompey</i>	237
---	-----

CHAPTER XXII.

<i>Julius Cæsar, the first Emperor</i>	275
--	-----

CHAPTER XXIII.

<i>From the death of Cæsar to the battle of Actium and the death of Antony, which settled the constitution in Augustus.....</i>	290
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIV.

<i>From the death of Antony to the death of Augustus</i>	329
--	-----

CHAPTER XXV.

<i>Tiberius, the third Emperor</i>	342
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVI.

<i>Caligula, the fourth Emperor.....</i>	363
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVII.

<i>Claudius, the fifth Emperor.....</i>	378
---	-----

CHAPTER XXVIII.

<i>Nero, the sixth Emperor.....</i>	392
-------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XXIX.

<i>Sergius Galba, the seventh Emperor</i>	414
---	-----

CHAPTER XXX.

<i>Otho, the eighth Emperor</i>	419
---------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XXXI.

<i>Vitellius, the ninth Emperor</i>	424
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXII.

Vespasian, the tenth Emperor 431

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Titus, the eleventh Emperor 440

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Domitian, the twelfth Emperor 443

CHAPTER XXXV.

Nerva, the thirteenth Emperor 450

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Trajan, the fourteenth Emperor 454

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Adrian, the fifteenth Emperor 462

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Antoninus Pius, the sixteenth Emperor 470

CHAPTER XXXIX.

*Marcus Aurelius, otherwise called Antoninus the Philosopher,
the seventeenth Emperor* 472

CHAPTER XL.

Commodus, the eighteenth Emperor 483

CHAPTER XLI.

Pertinax, the nineteenth Emperor 487

CHAPTER XLII.

Didius Julian, the twentieth Emperor 490

CHAPTER XLIII.

Septimius Severus, the twenty-first Emperor 494

CHAPTER XLIV.

Caracalla and Geta, the twenty-second Emperor 499

CHAPTER XLV.

Oppellius Macrinus, the twenty-third Emperor 503

CHAPTER XLVI.

Heliogabalus, the twenty-fourth Emperor 505

CHAPTER XLVII.

Alexander, the twenty-fifth Emperor 508

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Maximin, the twenty-sixth Emperor 511

CHAPTER XLIX.

*Pupienus and Balbinus, making together the twenty-seventh Em-
peror* 518

CHAPTER L.

Gordian, the twenty-eighth Emperor 519

CHAPTER LI.

Philip, the twenty-ninth Emperor 520

CHAPTER LII.

Decius, the thirtieth Emperor 522

	Page
CHAPTER LIII.	
<i>Gallus, the thirty-first Emperor</i>	523
CHAPTER LIV.	
<i>Valerian, the thirty-second Emperor</i>	524
CHAPTER LV.	
<i>Galicus, the thirty-third Emperor</i>	525
CHAPTER LVI.	
<i>Claudius, the thirty-fourth Emperor</i>	526
CHAPTER LVII.	
<i>Aurelian, the thirty-fifth Emperor</i>	528
CHAPTER LVIII.	
<i>Tacitus, the thirty-sixth Emperor</i>	531
CHAPTER LIX.	
<i>Probus, the thirty-seventh Emperor</i>	532
CHAPTER LX.	
<i>Carus, and his two Sons, Carinus and Numerian, making together the thirty-eighth Emperor</i>	534
CHAPTER LXI.	
<i>Dioclesian, the thirty-ninth Emperor</i>	536
CHAPTER LXII.	
<i>Constantius and Galerius, making together the fortieth Emperor</i>	539
CHAPTER LXIII.	
<i>Constantine the Great, the forty-first Emperor</i>	541
CHAPTER LXIV.	
<i>Of the Destruction of the Roman Empire, after the death of Constantine, and the Events which hastened its Catastrophe</i>	547

Just published, printed uniformly with this work, in one large volume, price 9s. in boards,

THE HISTORY OF GREECE, from the Earliest State to the Death of Alexander the Great, by OLIVER GOLDSMITH, M. B. To which is added, a Summary Account of the Affairs of Greece, from that Period to the Sacking of Constantinople by the Othomans.

HISTORY

OF

THE COMMONWEALTH OF ROME.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ROMANS.

ALL nations seem willing to derive merit from the splendour of their original; and where history is silent, they generally supply the defect with fable. The Romans were particularly desirous of being thought descended from the gods, as if to hide the meanness of their real ancestry. *Æneas*, the son of *Venus* and *Anchises*, having escaped from the destruction of *Troy*, after many adventures and dangers, arrived in Italy, where he was kindly received by *Latinus*, A.M. 2824. king of the *Latins*, who gave him his daughter *Lavinia* in marriage. Italy was then, as it is now, divided into a number of small states, independent of each other, and consequently subject to frequent contentions among themselves. *Turnus*, king of the *Rutuli*, was the first who opposed *Æneas*, he having long made pretensions to *Lavinia* himself. A war ensued, in which the Trojan hero was victorious, and *Turnus* slain. In consequence of this, *Æneas* built a city, which was called *Lavinium*, in honour of his wife, and some time after, engaging in another war against *Mezentius*, one of the petty kings of the country, he was vanquished in turn, and died in battle, after a reign of four years. *Ascanius*, his son, succeeded to the kingdom, and to him *Silvius*, a second son, whom he had by *Lavinia*. It would be tedious and uninteresting to recite a dry catalogue of the kings that followed, and of whom we know little more than the names; it will be

sufficient to say, that the succession continued for near four hundred years in the family, and that Numitor, the fifteenth from Æneas, was the last king of Alba.

Numitor, who took possession of the kingdom in consequence of his father's will, had a brother named Amulius, to whom were left the treasures which had been brought from Troy. As riches but too generally prevail against right, Amulius made use of his wealth to supplant his brother, and soon found means to possess himself of the kingdom. Not content with the crime of usurpation, he added that of murder also. Numitor's sons first fell a sacrifice to his suspicions, and to remove all apprehensions of being one day disturbed in his ill-gotten power, he caused Rhea Silvia, his brother's only daughter, to become a vestal virgin, which office obliging her to perpetual celibacy, made him less uneasy as to the claims of posterity.

His precautions, however, were all frustrated in the event; for Rhea Silvia, going to fetch water from a neighbouring grove, was met and ravished by a man, whom, perhaps to palliate her offence, she averred to be Mars, the god of war. Whoever this lover of hers might have been, whether some person had deceived her by assuming so great a name, or Amulius himself, as some writers are pleased to affirm, it matters not; certain it is, that in due time she was brought to bed of two boys, who were no sooner born than devoted by the usurper to destruction. The mother was condemned to be buried alive, the usual punishment for vestals who had violated their chastity, and the twins were ordered to be flung into the river Tiber. It happened, however, at the time this rigorous sentence was put into execution, that the river had more than usually overflowed its banks, so that the place where the children were thrown, being at a distance from the main current, the water was too shallow to drown them. In this situation, therefore, they continued without harm; and that no part of their preservation might want its wonders, we are told, that they were for some time suckled there by a wolf, until Faustulus, the king's herdsman, finding them exposed, brought them home to Acca Laurentia, his wife, who brought them up as her own. Some, however, will have it, that the nurse's name was Lupa, which gave rise to the story of their being nourished by a wolf; but it is needless to weed

out a single improbability from accounts where the whole is overgrown with fable.

Romulus and Remus, the twins thus strangely preserved, seemed early to discover abilities and desires above the meanness of their supposed original. The shepherd's life began to displease them, and from tending the flocks, or hunting wild beasts, they soon turned their strength against the robbers round the country, whom they often stript of their plunder to share it among their fellow-shepherds.

In one of these excursions it was that Remus was taken prisoner by Numitor's herdsmen, who brought him before the king, and accused him of the very crime which he had so often attempted to suppress. Romulus, however, being informed by Faustus of his real birth, was not remiss in assembling a number of his fellow-shepherds, in order to rescue his brother from prison, and force the kingdom from the hands of the usurper. Yet, being too feeble to act openly, he directed his followers to assemble near the place by different ways, while Remus with equal vigilance gained upon the citizens within. Amulius, thus beset on all sides, and not knowing what expedient to think of for his security, was, during his amazement and distraction, taken and slain, while Numitor, who had been deposed forty-two years, recognised his grandsons, and was once more restored to the throne.

Numitor being thus in quiet possession of the kingdom, his grandsons resolved to build a city upon those hills where they had formerly lived as shepherds. The king had too many obligations to them not to approve their design; he appointed them lands, and gave permission to such of his subjects as thought proper to settle in their new colony. Many of the neighbouring shepherds also, and such as were fond of change, repaired to the intended city, and prepared to raise it. For the more speedy carrying on this work the people were divided into two parts, each of which, it was supposed, would industriously emulate the other. But what was designed for an advantage proved nearly fatal to this infant colony: it gave birth to two factions, one preferring Romulus, the other Remus, who themselves were not agreed upon the spot where the city should stand. To terminate this difference, they were recommended by the king to take an omen from the flight of birds; and that he, whose omen should be most favourable,

should in all respects direct the other. In compliance with this advice, they both took their stations upon different hills; to Remus appeared six vultures, to Romulus, twice that number, so that each party thought itself victorious, the one having the first omen, the other the most numerous. This produced a contest, which ended in a battle, wherein Remus was slain, and it is even said, that he was killed by his brother, who, being provoked at his leaping contemptuously over the city wall, struck him dead upon the spot, at the same time professing, that none should ever insult his walls with impunity.

Romulus, being now sole commander, and eighteen years of age, began the foundation of a city, that was one day to give laws to the world. It was called Rome after the name

A. M. 3252. of the founder, and built upon the Palatine hill, on which he had taken his successful omen. The

A. C. 752. city was at first almost square, containing about a thousand houses. It was near a mile in compass,

and commanded a small territory round it of about eight miles over. However, small as it appears, it was, notwithstanding, worse inhabited; and the first method made use of to increase its numbers was the opening a sanctuary for all malefactors, slaves, and such as were desirous of novelty. These came in great multitudes, and contributed to increase the number of our legislator's new subjects. To have a just idea therefore of Rome in its infant state, we have only to imagine a collection of cottages, surrounded by a feeble wall, rather built to serve as a military retreat, than for the purposes of civil society, rather filled with a tumultuous and vicious rabble, than with subjects bred to obedience and control; we have only to conceive men bred to rapine, living in a place that merely seemed calculated for the security of plunder; and yet, to our astonishment, we shall soon find this tumultuous concourse uniting in the strictest bonds of society; this lawless rabble putting on the most sincere regard for religion; and, though composed of the dregs of mankind, setting examples, to all the world, of valour and virtue.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE BUILDING OF ROME TO THE DEATH OF ROMULUS.

SCARCE was the city raised above its foundation, when its rude inhabitants began to think of giving some form to their constitution. Their first object was to unite liberty and empire; to form a kind of mixed monarchy, by which all power was to be divided between the prince and the people. Romulus, by an act of great generosity, left them at liberty to choose whom they would for their king, and they in gratitude concurred to elect their founder; he was accordingly acknowledged as chief of their religion, sovereign magistrate of Rome, and general of the army. Beside a guard to attend his person, it was agreed that he should be preceded wherever he went by twelve men, armed with axes tied up in a bundle of rods, who were to serve as executioners of the law, and to impress his new subjects with an idea of his authority. Yet still this authority was under very great restrictions, as his whole power consisted in calling the senate together, in assembling the people, in conducting the army, when it was decreed by the other part of the constitution that they should go to war, and in appointing the questors, or treasurers of the public money, officers which we may suppose at that time had but very little employment, as neither the soldiers nor magistrates received any pay.

The senate, which was to act as counsellors to the king, was composed of an hundred of the principal citizens of Rome, consisting of men whose age, wisdom, or valour, gave them a natural authority over their fellow-subjects. The king named the first senator, and appointed him to the government of the city, whenever war required the general's absence. In this respectable assembly was transacted all the important business of the state, the king himself presiding, although every question was to be determined by a majority of voices. As they were supposed to have a parental affection for the people, they were called fathers, and their descendants patricians. To the patricians belonged all the dignified offices of the state, as well

as of the priesthood. To these they were appointed by the senate and the people, while the lower ranks of citizens, who were thus excluded from all views of promotion for themselves, were to expect advantages only from their valour in war, or their assiduity in agriculture.

The plebeians, who composed the third part of the legislature, assumed to themselves the power of authorising those laws which were passed by the king or the senate. All things relative to peace or war, to the election of magistrates, and even to the choosing a king, were confirmed by their suffrages. In their numerous assemblies, all enterprises against the enemy were proposed, while the senate had only a power of rejecting or approving their designs. Thus was the state composed of three orders, each a check upon the other: the people resolved whether the proposals of the king were pleasing to them, the senate deliberated upon the expediency of the measure, and the king gave vigour and spirit by directing the execution. But though the people by these regulations seemed in possession of great power, yet there was one circumstance which contributed greatly to its diminution, namely, the rights of patronage which were lodged in the senate. The king, sensible that in every state there must be a dependance of the poor upon the powerful, gave permission to every plebeian to choose one among the senators for a patron. The bond between them was of the strongest kind; the patron was to give protection to his client, to assist him with his advice and fortune, to plead for him before the judge, and to rescue him from every oppression. On the other hand, the client attached himself to the interests of his patron, assisted him, if poor, to portion his daughters, to pay his debts, or his ransom in case of being taken prisoner. He was to follow him on every service of danger; whenever he stood candidate for an office, he was obliged to give him his suffrage, and was prohibited from giving testimony in a court of justice whenever his evidence affected the interests of his patron. These reciprocal duties were held so sacred, that any who violated them were ever after held infamous, and excluded from all the protection of the laws: so that from hence we see the senate in effect possessed of the suffrages of their clients, since all that was left the people was only the power of choosing what pa-

tron they should obey. Among a nation so barbarous and fierce as the first Romans, it was wise to enforce obedience as the most requisite duty.

The first care of the new-created king was to attend to the interests of religion, and to endeavour to humanize his subjects, by the notion of other rewards and punishments than those of human law. The precise form of their worship is unknown; but the greatest part of the religion of that age consisted in a firm reliance upon the credit of their soothsayers, who pretended, from observations on the flight of birds and the entrails of beasts, to direct the present, and to dive into futurity. This pious fraud, which first arose from ignorance, soon became a most useful machine in the hands of government. Romulus, by an express law, commanded, that no election should be made, no enterprise undertaken, without first consulting the soothsayers. With equal wisdom he ordained, that no new divinities should be introduced into public worship, that the priesthood should continue for life, and that none should be elected into it before the age of fifty. He forbade them to mix fable with the mysteries of their religion; and, that they might be qualified to teach others, he ordered that they should be the historiographers of the times; so that, while instructed by priests like these, the people could never degenerate into total barbarity.

Of his other laws we have but few fragments remaining. In these, however, we learn, that wives were forbid, upon any pretext whatsoever, to separate from their husbands; while, on the contrary, the husband was empowered to repudiate the wife, and even to put her to death with the consent of her relations, in case she was detected in adultery, in attempting to poison, in making false keys, or even of having drank too much wine. His laws between children and their parents were yet still more severe: the father had entire power over his offspring, both of fortune and life; he could sell them or imprison them at any time of their lives, or in any stations to which they were arrived. The father might expose his children, if born with any deformities, having previously communicated his intentions to his five next of kindred. Our lawgiver seemed more kind even to his enemies, for his subjects were prohibited from killing them after they had surrendered, or even from selling them: his ambition only aimed at

diminishing the number of his enemies by making friends of them.

After so many endeavours to increase his subjects, and so many laws to regulate them, he next gave orders to ascertain their numbers. The whole amounted but to three thousand foot, and about as many hundred horsemen, capable of bearing arms. These, therefore were divided equally into three tribes, and to each he assigned a different part of the city. Each of these tribes were subdivided into ten *curiæ* or companies, consisting of an hundred men each, with a centurion to command it, a priest called *curio* to perform the sacrifices, and two of the principal inhabitants, called *duumviri*, to distribute justice. Accordingly to the number of *curiæ* he divided the lands into thirty parts, reserving one portion for public uses, and another for religious ceremonies. The simplicity and frugality of the times will be best understood by observing, that each citizen had not above two acres of ground for his own subsistence. Of the horsemen mentioned above, there were chosen ten from each *curia*; they were particularly appointed to fight round the person of the king; of them his guard was composed, and from their alacrity in battle, or from the name of their first commander, they were called *celeræ*, a word equivalent to our light horsemen.

A government thus wisely instituted, it may be supposed, induced numbers to come and live under it: each day added to its strength, multitudes flocked in from all the adjacent towns, and it only seemed to want women to ascertain its duration. In this exigence, Romulus, by the advice of the senate, sent deputies among the Sabines, his neighbours, entreating their alliance, and upon these terms offering to cement the most strict confederacy with them. The Sabines, who were then considered as the most warlike people of Italy, rejected the proposition with disdain, and some even added raillery to the refusal, demanding, that as he had opened a sanctuary for fugitive slaves, why he had not also opened another for prostitute women. This answer quickly raised the indignation of the Romans; and the king, in order to gratify their resentment, while he at the same time should people his city, resolved to obtain by force what was denied to intreaty. For this purpose he proclaimed a feast, in honour of Neptune, throughout all the neighbouring villages, and made the most

magnificent preparations for it. These feasts were generally preceded by sacrifices, and ended in shows of wrestlers, gladiators, and chariot-courses. The Sabines, as he had expected, were among the foremost who came to be spectators, bringing their wives and daughters with them to share the pleasure of the sight. The inhabitants also of many of the neighbouring towns came, who were received by the Romans with marks of the most cordial hospitality. In the mean time the games began, and while the strangers were most intent upon the spectacle, a number of the Roman youth rushed in among them with drawn swords seized the youngest and most beautiful women, and carried them off by violence. In vain the parents protested against this breach of hospitality; in vain the virgins themselves at first opposed the attempts of their ravishers; perseverance and caresses obtained those favours which timidity at first denied: so that the betrayers, from being objects of aversion, soon became partners of their dearest affections.

But however the affront might have been borne by them, it was not so easily put up by their parents; a bloody war ensued. The cities of Cenina, Antemna, and Crustumium, were the first who resolved to revenge the common cause, which the Sabines seemed too dilatory in pursuing. These, by making separate inroads, became a more easy conquest to Romulus, who first overthrew the Ceninenses, slew their king Acron in single combat, and made an offering of the royal spoils to Jupiter Feretrius, on the spot where the capitol was afterwards built. The Antemnates and Crustuminians shared the same fate; their armies were overthrown, and their cities taken. The conqueror, however, made the most merciful use of his victory; for instead of destroying their towns, or lessening their numbers, he only placed colonies of Romans in them, to serve as a frontier to repress more distant invasions.

Tatius, king of Cures, a Sabine city, was the last, although the most formidable, who undertook to revenge the disgrace his country had suffered. He entered the Roman territories at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and not content with a superiority of forces, he added stratagem also. Tarpeia, who was daughter to the commander of the Capitoline hill, happened to fall into his hands, as she went without the walls of the city to fetch water. Upon her he prevailed, by means of

large promises, to betray one of the gates to his army. The reward she engaged for was what the soldiers wore on their arms, by which she meant their bracelets. They, however, either mistaking her meaning, or willing to punish her perfidy, threw their bucklers upon her as they entered, and crushed her to death beneath them. The Sabines, being thus possessed of the Capitoline, had the advantage of continuing the war at their pleasure; and for some time only slight encounters passed between them. At length, however, the tediousness of this contest began to weary out both parties, so that each wished, but neither would stoop to sue for peace. The desire of peace often gives vigour to measures in war; wherefore both sides resolving to terminate their doubts by a decisive action, a general engagement ensued, which was renewed for several days, with almost equal success. They both fought for all that was valuable in life, and neither could think of submitting: it was in the valley between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, that the last engagement was fought between the Romans and the Sabines. The engagement became general, and the slaughter prodigious, when the attention of both sides was suddenly turned from the scene of horror before them, to another infinitely more striking. The Sabine women, who had been carried off by the Romans, were seen with their hair loose and their ornaments neglected, flying in between the combatants, regardless of their own danger, and with loud outcries only solicitous for that of their parents, their husbands, and their children. "If," cried they, "you are resolved upon slaughter, turn your arms upon us, since we only are the cause of your animosity. If any must die, let it be us; since if our parents or our husbands fall, we must be equally miserable in being the surviving cause." A spectacle so moving could not be resisted by the combatants; both sides for a while, as if by mutual impulse, let fall their weapons, and beheld the distress in silent amazement. The tears and entreaties of their wives and daughters at length prevailed; an accommodation ensued, by which it was agreed, that Romulus and Tatius should reign jointly in Rome, with equal power and prerogative; that an hundred Sabines should be admitted into the senate; that the city should still retain its former name, but that the citizens should be called Quirites, after Cures, the principal town of the Sabines; and that both nations being thus united,

such of the Sabines as chose it should be admitted to live and enjoy all the privileges of citizens of Rome. Thus every storm, which seemed to threaten this growing empire, only served to increase its vigour. That army, which in the morning had resolved upon its destruction, came in the evening with joy to be enrolled among the number of its citizens. Romulus saw his dominions and his subjects increased by more than half in the space of a few hours; and, as if fortune meant every way to assist his greatness, Tatius, his partner in the government, was killed about five years after by the Lavinians, for having protected some servants of his, who had plundered them and slain their ambassadors; so that by this accident Romulus once more saw himself sole monarch of Rome.

Rome being greatly strengthened by this new acquisition of power, began to grow formidable to her neighbours; and it may be supposed, that prettexts for war were not wanting, when prompted by jealousy on their side, and by ambition on that of the Romans. Fidena and Cameria, two neighbouring cities, were subdued and taken. Veii also, one of the most powerful states of Etruria, shared nearly the same fate; after two fierce engagements they sued for a peace and a league, which was granted upon giving up the seventh part of their dominions, their salt-pits near the river, and hostages for greater security.

Successes like these produced an equal share of pride in the conqueror. From being contented with those limits which had been wisely fixed to his power, he began to affect absolute sway, and to govern those laws, to which he had himself formerly professed implicit obedience. The senate was particularly displeased at his conduct, finding themselves only used as instruments to ratify the rigour of his commands. We are not told the precise manner which they made use of to get rid of the tyrant: some say that he was torn in pieces in the senate house; others that he disappeared while reviewing his army: certain it is, that from the secrecy of the fact, and the concealment of the body, they took occasion to persuade the multitude, that he was taken up into heaven: thus him whom they could not bear as a king, they were contented to worship as a god:

Romulus reigned thirty-seven years, and after his death had a temple built to him under the name of Quirinus, one of the

senators solemnly affirming, that he had appeared to him, and desired to be invoked by that title. We see little more in the character of this prince, than what might be expected in such an age, great temperance and great valour, which generally make up the catalogue of savage virtues. However, the grandeur of an empire, admired by the whole world, creates in us an admiration of the founder, without much examining his title.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DEATH OF ROMULUS TO THE DEATH OF
NUMA POMPILIUS, THE SECOND KING OF ROME.

U.C. 38. ROME was already grown from its small beginnings into a very formidable state; her forces now amounted to forty-six thousand foot and a thousand horse. The kingdom of Alba also fell in by the death of Numitor, so that it now required some time to unite so great a concourse of new-made subjects into an obedience to one governor: in fact, the city seemed greatly divided in the choice of a successor. The Sabines were for having the king chosen from their body; but the Romans could not bear the thoughts of advancing a stranger to the throne. In this perplexity the senate undertook to supply the place of the king, by taking the government, each of them in turn for five days, and during that time enjoying all the honours and all the privileges of royalty. This new form of government held a year, nor is it known whether the senate intended, by continuing it, to preserve the sovereign power among themselves, or only to wait for a proper object of their choice, on whom to devolve the regal power. The plebeians, however, who saw that this method of transferring power was only multiplying their masters, insisted upon altering that mode of government, allowing the senate a choice, either of nominating a king, or electing annual magistrates from among their number. The senate being thus driven to an election, for some time debated upon the proper form, till at length it was agreed, that the party which elected should nominate from the body of the other, so that the new king would have equal attachments to both; to the one

as his countrymen, to the other as his electors. In consequence of this, the choice being left to the Roman part of the senate, they pitched upon Numa Pompilius, a Sabine; and their choice was received with universal approbation by the rest of the senate and the people.

Numa Pompilius, who was now about forty, had long been eminent for his piety, his justice, moderation, and exemplary life. He was skilled in all the learning and philosophy of the Sabines, and lived at home at Cures, contented with a private fortune, unambitious of higher honours. It was not, therefore, without reluctance that he accepted the dignity that was conferred upon him; he for some time continued obstinately to refuse it; but at length, at the request of his father, and the persuasions of the ambassadors who were sent to him from Rome, he consented to accept of the kingdom, so that his acceptance produced such joy, that the people seemed not so much to receive a king as a kingdom.

The Romans were fond of thinking, that Providence industriously adapted the various dispositions of its kings to the different necessities of the people; and indeed in the present instance they were not much mistaken. No monarch could be more proper for them than Numa, at a conjuncture when the government was composed of various petty states lately subdued, and but ill united among each other; they wanted a master, who could by his laws and precepts soften their fierce dispositions, and by his example induce them to a love of religion and every milder virtue. Under Numa, therefore, the people became more submissive and social; but what gave them still greater force, if considered in the light of conquerors, was the spirit of religion which he implanted among them. This continued to operate through a long succession of ages; for what could resist the greatest valour when impelled by the most profound superstition?

In the reign of Numa, therefore, we are to look only for the pacific virtues, as his whole time was spent in inspiring his subjects with a love of piety, and a veneration for the gods. He built many new temples, he instituted feasts; and the sanctity of his life gave him credit enough to persuade his people, that he had a particular correspondence with the goddess Egeria. By her advice he built the temple of Janus, which was to be shut in time of peace, and open in war; he ordained

vestal virgins, who, being four in number, had very great privileges allowed them, such as of being preceded by the fasces, or ensigns of royal power, and of pardoning malefactors in case of an accidental meeting: he instituted pontiffs, and enrolled himself among the number: he brought up the orders of the Salian and Fecial priesthood, the one to preserve the sacred shields called *ancilia*, which he pretended had dropped down from Heaven, and which while remaining in Rome, the city could never be taken; the other to judge of the equity of war, and to proclaim it with great ceremony.

For the encouragement of agriculture, he divided those lands, which Romulus had gained in war, among the poorer part of the people; he abated the rigour of the laws, which his predecessor had instituted with regard to parents and children, making it unlawful for a father to sell his son after marriage, because he thought it unjust, that a woman who had married a freeman should be constrained to live with a slave; he regulated also the calendar, and abolished the distinction between Romans and Sabines, by dividing the people according to their several trades, and compelling them to live together. Thus having lived to the age of more than fourscore years, and having reigned forty-three in profound peace, he died, ordering his body to be buried in a stone coffin, contrary to the custom of the times, and his books of ceremonies, which consisted of twelve in Latin and as many in Greek, to be buried by his side, in another. These were taken up about four hundred years after; and because it was thought impious to communicate the mysteries they contained to the public, they were burnt by order of the senate, which perhaps was willing to hide the futility of the work by this extraordinary reverence for the contents.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF NUMA TO THE DEATH OF TULLUS HOSTILIUS, THE THIRD KING OF ROME.

U.C. 82. UPON the death of Numa, the government once more devolved upon the senate, and continued with them till the people elected Tullus Hostilius for their king, which choice had also the concurrence of the other part of

the constitution. This monarch, who was grandson to a noble Roman who had formerly signalized himself against the Sabines, was every way unlike his predecessor, being entirely devoted to war, and more fond of enterprise than even the founder of the empire himself had been; so that he only sought a pretext for leading his forces to the field.

The Albans were the first people who gave him an opportunity of indulging his favourite inclinations. Two neighbouring states, both eager for war, and both in some measure subsisting by plunder, can never want a pretext to colour the violence of a first aggression. A few Roman shepherds had, it seems, committed an inroad upon the territories of Alba; a number of Alban shepherds had made reprisal upon them; ambassadors were sent from either state, complaining of the injury; no redress was given, and a formal war was declared on both sides, which neither however would bear the blame of having first given rise to. There were, indeed, many reasons for making these two states unwilling to come to an open rupture; they were descended from the same original, and the ties of consanguinity still held many of them united. There were also some neighbouring states, enemies to both, that only sought an opportunity of falling upon either. It was with these dispositions, that after some warlike stratagems on either side, the Roman and Alban forces met, about five miles from Rome, prepared to decide the fate of their respective kingdoms, for almost every battle in these barbarous times was decisive. The two armies were for some time drawn out in array, awaiting the signal to begin, both chiding the length of that dreadful suspense which kept them from death or victory. But an unexpected proposal from the Alban general put a stop to the onset; for stepping in between both armies, he offered the Romans the choice of deciding the dispute by single combat; adding, that the side whose champion was overcome, should submit to the conqueror. A proposal like this suited the impetuous temper of the Roman king, and was embraced with joy by his subjects, each of which hoped, that he himself should be chosen to fight the cause of his country. Many valiant men offered themselves, but could not be accepted to the exclusion of others, till at last, in this incertitude of choice, chance suggested a remedy. There were at that time three twin brothers in each army, those of the

Romans were called Horatii, and those of the Albans Curiatii, all six remarkable for their courage, strength, and activity; and to these it was resolved to commit the management of the combat. When the previous ceremony of oaths and protestations, binding the army of the vanquished party to submit to that of the victorious, were over, the combatants were led forth amidst the encouragements, the prayers, and the shouts of their country. They were warned of the greatness of the cause; they were reminded of their former achievements; they were admonished, that their fathers, their countrymen, and gods, were spectators of their behaviour. At length, warmed with the importance of the trial, the champions on each side met in combat together; and, totally regardless of his own safety, each only sought the destruction of his opponent. The spectators, in horrid silence, trembled at every blow, and wished to share the danger, till at length fortune seemed to decide the glory of the field. Victory, that had hitherto been doubtful, appeared to declare against the Romans; they beheld two of their champions lying dead upon the plain, and the three Curiatii, who were wounded, slowly endeavouring to pursue the survivor, who seemed by flight to beg for mercy. At this, the Alban army, unable to suppress their joy, raised a loud acclamation, while the Romans inwardly cursed and repined at the cowardice of him, whom they saw in circumstances of such baseness. Soon however they began to alter their sentiments, when they perceived that his flight was only pretended, in order to separate his antagonists, whom he was unable to oppose united; for quickly after stopping his course, and turning upon him who followed most closely behind, he laid him dead at his feet; the second brother, who came on to assist him who was fallen, only shared the same fate; and now there remained but the last Curiatius to conquer, who, fatigued and quite disabled with his wounds, slowly came up to offer an easy victory. He was killed, almost unresisting, while the conqueror exclaiming, offered him as a victim to the superiority of the Romans, whom now the Alban army consented to obey.

A victory so great, and attended with such signal effects, deserved every honour that Rome could bestow; but as if none of the virtues of that age were to be without alloy, the

very hand, that in the morning was exerted to save his country, was before night embued in the blood of a sister. For, returning triumphant from the field, it raised his indignation to behold her bathed in tears, and lamenting the loss of her lover, one of the Curiatii, to whom she was betrothed. But when, upon seeing the vest which she had made for her lover among the number of his spoils, and beginning to upbraid him, it provoked him beyond the power of sufferance, so that he slew her in a rage. This action greatly displeased the senate, and drew on the condemnation of the magistrates, but he was pardoned by making his appeal to the people.

Things being in this posture, Hostilius resolved to avail himself of the late victory, by confirming the submission of Alba, and taking the proper steps to quell the insolence of the inhabitants of Fidena and Veii, who had been making preparations to shake off their subjection. His designs were crowned with success in both. A victory over the latter restrained their attempts for some time; and as to the former, having convicted Metius Suffetius, their general, of treason, he caused him to be torn to pieces by horses; and still more, to give no ground for future revolts, he utterly demolished the city of Alba, and transplanted the inhabitants to Rome, many of whom he admitted into the senate.

After these successes, he turned his arms against the Sabines, over whom he gained a signal victory by means of his cavalry, whom the enemy were incapable of withstanding. Thus every new war, which depopulates other states, seemed but to add strength and numbers to that of Rome. It was perhaps from a consciousness, that a state of war was the best for his people, that the king entered into one with the Latins, which however was managed but slowly on both sides, no battle being fought, nor no town taken except Medallia, which had formerly been obliged to accept a Roman colony, and was now permitted to be plundered, as an example to prevent the like defection in others. This war lasted almost the rest of this reign, the latter part of which was clouded with terrors from pretended prodigies, while at the same time the king saw his people afflicted with a real famine, which it was not in his power to relieve. He died, after a reign of thirty-two years, some say by lightning, with his whole family; others, with more probability, by treason.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DEATH OF TULLUS HOSTILIUS TO THE DEATH OF ANCUS MARTIUS, THE FOURTH KING OF ROME.

U.C.115. **AFTER** an interregnum, as in the former case, Ancus Martius, the grandson of Numa, was elected king by the people, and the choice afterwards was confirmed by the senate. As this monarch was a lineal descendant from Numa, so he seemed to make him the great object of his imitation. Indeed he was by nature incapable of making any great figure in war, as he took his name of Ancus from the crookedness of one of his arms, which he was incapable of extending; however, he made up this defect by the most diligent application to all the arts of peace. He instituted the sacred ceremonies which were to precede a declaration of war; he endeavoured to persuade the people, that the calamities, which lately befel them and his predecessor, were owing to a neglect of the gods; he took every occasion to advise his subjects to return to the arts of agriculture, and lay aside the less useful stratagems of war.

These institutions and precepts were considered by the neighbouring powers rather as marks of cowardice than of wisdom. The Latins therefore began to make incursions upon his territories, and by their outrages, in some measure, forced him into a war. In this however he still kept up to his character, and previously sent an herald, who, in a peculiar dress, with a javelin headed with iron in his hand, went to the confines of the enemy, solemnly proclaimed war, and then flung his weapon into their territories, with all the force he was able. The success of this war was equal to its justice; Ancus conquered the Latins, destroyed their cities, removed their inhabitants to Rome, and increased its territories by the addition of part of theirs. He quelled also an insurrection of the Veii, the Fidenates, and the Volscii, and over the Sabines he obtained a second triumph.

But his victories over the enemy were by no means com-

parable to his works at home, in raising temples, fortifying the city, making a prison for malefactors, and building a sea-port at the mouth of the Tiber, called Ostia, by which he secured to his subjects the trade of that river, and that of the salt-pits adjacent. Nor was he less careful in encouraging strangers to come and settle with him: the privileges which they obtained, and the justice which was administered by him to all, brought numbers of the most creditable persons from different parts of Italy, who not only increased the riches of his subjects, but also tended still more to civilize them. Among others of this quality was Lucumon, who afterwards took the name of Lucius, and became his successor in the kingdom, by the name of Lucius Tarquinius. This stranger, who was a person of great accomplishments as well as of large possessions, was very honourably treated by Ancus, who probably was the more prejudiced in his favour by an offer Tarquinius had made him of all his fortune for public uses. He was accordingly elected into the senate, and appointed guardian to the two sons of Ancus, who, having enriched his subjects, and beautified the city, died, after reigning twenty-four years.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF ANCUS MARTIUS TO THE DEATH OF TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, THE FIFTH KING OF ROME.

LUCIUS Tarquinius Priscus, whose original name, as has been already observed, was Lucumon, and U.C.138. who was appointed guardian to the sons of the late king, took the surname of Tarquinius, from the city Tarquinia, from whence he last came. His father was a merchant at Corinth, who acquired considerable wealth by trade, and had settled in Italy upon account of some troubles at home. His son Lucumon, who inherited his fortune, married a woman of family in the city of Tarquinia; and as his birth, profession, and country, were contemptible to the nobles of the place, by his wife's persuasions he came to settle at Rome, where merit only made distinction. On his way thither, say historians, as he approached the city gate, an eagle, stooping from above,

took off his hat, and flying round his chariot for some time, with much noise, put it on again. This, his wife Tanaquil, who it seems was skilled in augury, interpreted as a presage that he should one day wear the crown, and perhaps it was this which first fired his ambition to pursue it: accordingly, being possessed of great riches, all his actions and expenses seemed to aim at popularity. His kind address, his frequent invitations, and his many benefits, gained the esteem and admiration of a simple people, who were yet unskilled in the arts of intrigue, and never considered the views with which those favours were bestowed.

Ancus being dead, and the kingdom, as usual, devolving upon the senate, Tarquin used all his power and arts to set aside the children of the late king, and to get himself elected in their stead. In order to this, upon the day appointed for election, he contrived to have them sent out of the city, and in a set speech to the people, in which he urged his friendship for them, the fortune he had spent among them, and his knowledge of their government, he offered himself for their king. As there was nothing in this harangue that could be contested, it had the desired effect, and the people, with one consent, elected him as their sovereign.

A kingdom, thus got by intrigue, was notwithstanding governed with equity. In the beginning of his reign, in order to recompense his friends, he added a hundred members more to the senate, which made them in all three hundred. He likewise increased the number of vestal virgins from four to seven, and laid the first foundations of an amphitheatre for the combats of men and beasts, which were afterwards carried to a horrid excess. The first shows, however, were only horse-racing and boxing, in which men, hired for that purpose from Etruria, fought with gauntlets for a prize: how different these from the combats of a later age, in which two thousand gladiators were seen at once expiring or dead upon the stage!

His peaceful studies, however, were soon interrupted by the inroads of his restless neighbours, particularly the Latins, over whom he triumphed, and whom he forced to beg a peace. He then turned his arms against the Sabines, who had once more risen against Rome, and had passed over the river Tiber, upon a bridge, in order to plunder the Roman territories, and, if possible, to sack the city. Tarquin, however, soon came

up to them on the banks of the river, and gave directions to set fire to a large heap of wood that lay by its side, and then to throw it in; the burning wood, floating down the stream, set fire to the enemy's bridge, and intercepted their retreat. Nor did he permit them to take measures for opposing him, but attacking them with vigour, routed their army, so that many who escaped the sword were drowned in attempting to cross over, while their bodies and armour, floating down to Rome, brought news of the victory, even before the messengers could arrive.

Tarquin, resolving not to give them time to recover from this defeat, followed them into their own country, where, by another victory, he obliged them to sue for peace, which however they did not obtain but at the expense of a considerable part of their territories, and of Collatia, a large city, five miles east of Rome. These conquests were followed by several advantages over the Latins, from whom he took many towns, though without gaining any decisive victory.

Tarquin, having thus forced his enemies into submission, was resolved not to let his subjects corrupt in indolence, but undertook several public works for the convenience and embellishment of the city. He surrounded it with stronger and larger walls; he adorned the forum or market-place with porticoes; he made many sewers to drain the city, some of which excite the admiration of travellers to this very day. He improved the amphitheatre which his predecessors had begun, and laid the foundation of the capitol, which however he did not live to finish.

In his time also the augurs came into a great increase of reputation, and he found it his interest to promote the superstition of the people, as this was in fact but to increase their obedience. Tanaquil, his wife, was a great pretender to this art; but Accius Nævius was the most celebrated adept of the kind that was ever known in Rome. Upon a certain occasion Tarquin, being sensible of his want of cavalry, had some intentions of adding three new companies of knights to those three that had been formerly instituted by Romulus, but he was restrained by the augur, who declared, that it was forbidden by the gods to alter any of the institutions of their founder. The king, as the historians say, being in a violent passion, upon this resolved to try the augur's skill, and asked

him whether what he was then pondering in his mind could be effected. Nævius, having examined his auguries, boldly affirmed that it might: Why then, cries the king, with an insulting smile, I had thoughts of cutting this whetstone with a razor. Cut boldly, replied the augur; and the king cut it through accordingly. Thenceforward nothing was undertaken in Rome without consulting the augurs, and obtaining their advice and approbation. No assembly was dismissed, nor army levied; no battle fought, nor peace restored, without consulting the chirping and the flight of birds, which, as it may be supposed, the augurs made to speak whatever language they pleased.

Tarquin was not content with a kingdom without also the ensigns of royalty; in imitation of the Lydian kings, he assumed a crown of gold, an ivory throne, a sceptre with an eagle on the top, and robes of purple. It was perhaps the splendour of these royalties that first raised the envy of the late king's sons, who had now for above thirty-seven years quietly submitted to his government. His design also of adopting Servius Tullius, his son-in-law, for his successor, might have contributed to inflame their resentment. Whatever was the cause of their tardy vengeance, they resolved to destroy him, and at last found means to effect their purpose, by hiring two ruffians, who, upon pretence of justice, demanding to speak with the king, struck him dead in his palace with the blow of an axe. The lictors, however, who waited upon the person of the king, seized the murderers, who were attempting to escape: they were put to death; but the sons of Ancus, who were the instigators, found safety by flight.

Thus fell Lucius Tarquinius, surnamed Priscus, to distinguish him from one of his successors of the same name, aged fifty-six years, of which he had reigned thirty-eight. By having been of Greek extraction, he in some manner introduced part of the polite arts of that country among his subjects, and though the Romans were as yet very far from being civilized, yet they certainly were much more so than any of the barbarous nations round them.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF TARQUINIUS PRISCUS TO THE DEATH OF SERVIUS TULLIUS, THE SIXTH KING OF ROME.

THE report of the murder of Tarquin filled all his subjects with complaint and indignation, while the citizens ran from every quarter to the palace, to learn the truth of the account, or to take vengeance on the assassins. In this tumult, Tanaquil, widow of the late king, considering the danger she must incur in case the conspirators should succeed to the crown, and desirous of having her son-in-law for his successor, with great art dissembled her sorrow and the king's death. She assured the people, from one of the windows of the palace, that he was not killed, but stunned by the blow: that he would shortly recover; and that in the mean time he had deputed his power to Servius Tullius, his son-in-law. Servius accordingly, as it had been agreed upon between them, issued from the palace, adorned with the ensigns of royalty, and preceded by his lictors, went to dispatch some affairs that related to the public safety; still pretending that he took all his instructions from the king. This scene of dissimulation continued for some days, till he had made his party good among the nobles, when, the death of Tarquin being publicly ascertained, Servius came to the crown, solely at the senate's appointment, and without attempting to gain the suffrages of the people. U.C.176.

Servius was the son of a bondswoman, who had been taken at the sacking of a town belonging to the Latins, and was born while his mother was yet a slave. While yet an infant in his cradle, a lambent flame is said to have played round his head, which Tanaquil converted into an omen of his future greatness. Impressed with this opinion, she gave him the best education of the times, and soon after raised him to the honour of being her son-in-law, and appointed him, when the king grew old, to the management of affairs both of a domestic and foreign nature. His conduct in this station gained him the

good-will of the people, and what he valued still more, the esteem of the senate.

Upon being acknowledged as king, the chief object of his reign was to increase the power of the senate, by depressing that of the people; an enterprise attended with extreme difficulty and danger. To compass his intention, he was to work by stratagem; and, by seeming to study their interest, bring about a measure that should effectually destroy their authority. The Roman citizens had hitherto been taxed singly, and each paid an equal share to the necessities of the state; this method of contributing to the public exigencies he pretended to consider as extremely unjust, and proposed one of a more equitable kind, by which every citizen should only be taxed according to his fortune. The populace, who were unable to see into his designs, received his projects with the loudest applause, and conferred upon him a full power of settling the taxes as he should think proper. To begin, therefore, he ordered an exact enumeration to be made of the citizens of Rome, their children and servants, and also a just valuation of their estates and substance. Their numbers were found to amount to above fourscore thousand men capable of bearing arms, a vast increase since the time of Romulus. These he divided into six classes, in the first of which he comprised the body of the senate, the patricians, and all those whose fortunes were above eleven hundred thousand asses, or about three hundred and sixty-six pounds of our money, at that time no contemptible fortune in Rome. This class he divided into fourscore centuries or companies, one-half of which, being composed of the most aged and respectable persons, were to remain at home for the defence of the city; the other half, composed of the youthful and vigorous, were to follow the general, and to march into the field. Their arms were a javelin, a spear, and a sword; their armour, a helmet, a cuirass, and cuishes of brass. In this class also was comprised the knights or horsemen, which consisted of eighteen centuries, with two or more of the machinists, who followed the camp. The second class, which consisted but of twenty-two centuries or companies, was composed of those who were worth above seventy-five thousand asses; these were accounted in the same manner with the first class, only instead of a shield they carried a target. The third class consisted of twenty centuries,

and was composed of such as were worth fifty thousand asses. The fourth class consisted of a similar number of centuries, and was composed of such as were worth twenty-five thousand asses. In the fifth class were thirty centuries, and the qualification was eleven thousand asses; these were chiefly employed as slingers and irregulars in the army. In the last class there was but one century, and it seemed considered as of no advantage to the state, except by breeding children, that might one day be useful. These paid no taxes, and were dispensed with from going to war. In all these classes, as in the first, a part, consisting of the old men, were ordained to remain at home for the defence of the city, and the more youthful to fight abroad in their armies. Thus the whole number of the citizens were divided into an hundred and ninety-three centuries, each commanded by a centurion, distinguished by his valour and experience.

The citizens being in this manner ranked, they were next to be taxed, but not as formerly, equally and one by one, but by centuries, each century being obliged to supply an equal share to the exigencies of government. By these means, as the people were extremely numerous in the centuries of the inferior classes, their quota of the tax was proportionably small. It cannot be doubted but this partial exemption from taxes was greatly pleasing to the populace; but they little considered that they were to purchase it at the expense of their former power. For it was but reasonable, that as the senators and the rich furnished most to the necessities of the state, they should also have a proportionable influence in managing its concerns. Accordingly, as they paid their taxes by centuries, he instituted, that they should give their votes in all public transactions by centuries also. In former deliberations, each citizen gave his suffrage singly, and the number of the poor always carried it against the power of the rich; but by the regulations of Servius, the senate, consisting of a greater number of centuries than all the other classes put together, now entirely outweighed them in every contention. The plebeians in this manner were left but the shadow of authority, with which however, for some ages, they seemed sufficiently contented, until the increasing luxury of the times taught one side the abuse of power, and the other a pride that disdained subordination.

In order to ascertain the increase or decay of his subjects and their fortunes, he instituted another regulation, which he called a *lustrum*. By this all the citizens were to assemble in the Campus Martius, in complete armour, and in their respective classes, once in five years, and there to give an exact account of their families and fortune. He permitted slaves also to be set free by their masters, and caused such as were thus manumitted to be distributed among the lower classes of the city.

The king, having enjoyed a long reign, thus spent in settling the domestic policy of the state, and also not unattentive to foreign concerns, for he overthrew the Etrurians in many battles, and triumphed over them three several times, conceived reasonable hopes of concluding it with tranquillity and ease. Servius had even thoughts of laying down his power, and having formed the kingdom into a republic, to retire into obscurity; but so generous a design was frustrated ere it could be put in execution.

In the beginning of his reign, to secure his throne by every precaution, he had married his two daughters to the two grandsons of Tarquin: and as he knew that the women were of opposite dispositions, as well as their intended husbands, he resolved to cross their tempers, by giving each to him of a contrary turn of temper; her that was meek and gentle, to him that was bold and furious; her that was ungovernable and proud, to him that was remarkable for a contrary character: by this he supposed, that each would correct the failings of the other, and that the mixture would be productive only of concord. The event however proved otherwise. Lucius, his haughty son-in-law, soon grew displeased with the meekness of his consort, and placed his whole affections upon Tullia, his brother's wife, who answered his passion with sympathetic ardour. As their wishes were ungovernable, they soon resolved to break through every restraint that offered to prevent their union; both undertook to murder their consorts, which they effected, and were accordingly soon after married together. A first crime ever produces a second; from the destruction of their consorts, they proceeded to conspiring that of the king. They began by raising factions against him, alleging his illegal title to the crown, and Lucius by claiming it as his own, as heir to Tarquin. But Tullius, by his prudence and

great moderation, defeated this design in the outset, coming off with great honour both with the senate and people, which brought Lucius to a feigned repentance on his side, and produced a real reconciliation on that of the king. Tullia, however, still continuing to add flame to her husband's ambition, which was already all on fire, he continued his intrigues among the senate, attaching the whole to him, by putting them in mind of their obligations to his family; the young, by gifts for the present, and promises of much greater things upon his coming to the crown. At length, when he found them ripe for seconding his views, he entered the senate-house, adorned with all the ensigns of royalty, and placing himself upon the throne, began to harangue them upon the obscurity of the king's birth, and the injustice of his title. While he was yet speaking, Servius entered, attended by a few followers, and seeing his throne thus rudely invaded, offered to push the usurper from his seat; but Tarquin being in the vigour of youth, threw the old man down the steps which led to the throne, and some of his adherents, being instructed for that purpose, followed the king as he was feebly attempting to get to the palace, and dispatched him, throwing his body, all mangled and bleeding, as a public spectacle into the street. In the mean time, Tullia, burning with impatience for the event, was informed of what her husband had done, and resolving to be among the first who should salute him as monarch, ordered her chariot to drive to the senate-house, where her savage joy seemed to disgust every beholder. Upon her return, when her charioteer approached the place where the body of the old king, her father, lay exposed and bloody, the man, all amazed at the inhuman spectacle, and not willing to trample upon it with his horses' feet, offered to turn another way; but this only served to increase the fierceness of her anger: she threw the foot-stool at his head, and ordered him to drive over it without deviation.

This was the end of Servius Tullius, a prince of eminent justice and moderation, after an useful and prosperous reign of forty-four years. Though the dominions of Rome had been but little increased by him, yet they acquired a stability under his government, which far exceeded the transient splendour of an extensive but hasty conquest.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF SERVIUS TULLIUS TO THE BANISHMENT OF TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, THE SEVENTH AND LAST KING OF ROME.

U.C. 220. LUCIUS TARQUINIUS, after called Superbus, or the Proud, having placed himself upon the throne in consequence of his violent attempt, was resolved to support his dignity with the same violence with which it was acquired. Regardless of the senate or the people's approbation, he seemed to claim the crown by an hereditary right, and refused the late king's body inhumation, under pretence of his being an usurper. All the good part of mankind, however, looked upon his succession with detestation and horror; and this act of inefficient cruelty only served to confirm their hatred. Conscious of this, he ordered all such as he suspected to have been attached to Servius to be put to death; and, fearing the natural consequences of his tyranny, increased the guard round his person.

His chief policy seems to have been to keep the people always employed, either in wars or public works, by which means he diverted their attention from his unlawful method of coming to the crown. With this view he first marched against the Sabines, who refused to pay him obedience, and soon reduced them to submission. He next began a war with the Volsci, which continued for some ages after, and from these he took Suessa Dometia, a considerable town about twenty-six miles east of Rome. The city of the Gabii gave him much more trouble; for having attempted, with some loss, to besiege it, he was obliged to direct his efforts by stratagem, contrary to the usual practice of the Romans. He caused his son Sextus to counterfeit desertion, upon pretence of barbarous usage from his father, and to seek refuge among the inhabitants of the place. There, by artful complaints and studied lamentations, he so prevailed upon the pity of the people as to be chosen their governor, and soon after general of their army. He at first, in every engagement, appeared successful, till at

length, finding himself entirely possessed of the confidence of the senate, he sent a trusty messenger to his father for instructions. Tarquin made no other answer than taking the messenger into the garden, and cutting down before him the tallest poppies. Sextus readily understood the meaning of this reply, and, one by one, found means of destroying or removing the principal men of the city, still taking care to confiscate their effects among the people. The charms of this dividend kept the giddy populace blind to their approaching ruin, till they found themselves at last without counsellors or head, and in the end fell under the power of Tarquin, without even striking a blow. After this he made a league with the *Æqui*, and renewed that with the *Etrurians*.

But, while he was engaged in wars abroad, he took care not to suffer the people to continue in idleness at home. He undertook to build the capitol, the foundation of which had been laid in a former reign, and an extraordinary event contributed to hasten the execution of his design. A woman in strange attire made her appearance at Rome, and came to the king, offering to sell nine books, which she said were of her own composing. Not knowing the abilities of the seller, and that she was in fact one of the celebrated *sybils*, whose prophecies were never known to fail, Tarquin refused to buy them. Upon this she departed, and, burning three of her books, again demanded the same price for the six remaining; being despised as an impostor, she again departed, and, burning three more, returned with those remaining, still asking the same as at first. Tarquin, surprised at the inconsistency of her behaviour, consulted the augurs to advise him what to do. These much blamed him for not buying the nine, and commanded him to buy the three remaining, at whatsoever price she should demand. The woman, says the historian, after thus selling and delivering the three prophetic volumes, and advising him to have a special attention to what they contained, vanished from before him, and was never after seen. Upon this he chose proper persons to keep them, who, though but two at first, were afterwards increased to fifteen, under the name of *quindecimviri*. They were put into a stone chest, and a vault in the newly-designed building was thought the properest place to keep them in safety; so that the work went on with great vigour; and, as omens and prodigies were frequent

in this ignorant age, in digging the foundations, a man's head, named Tolus, was found; which, though he was many years dead, still bled afresh, as if he had been but newly slain. This gave the building the name of capitol (*caput Toli*). It was two hundred feet long, two hundred high, and almost as many broad, dedicated to Jupiter in chief, but containing two temples more, under the same roof, dedicated to Juno and Minerva. A structure so magnificent was in some measure an indication of the increase of arts in Rome, not less than of the piety of the people.

However, the time now began to approach, in which the people were to be freed from a tyrant, who, day after day, made new victims among them. Having been now for four years together employed in building the capitol, they began at last to wish for something new to engage them; wherefore Tarquin, to satisfy their wishes, proclaimed war against the Rutuli, upon a frivolous pretence of their having entertained some malefactors whom he had banished, and invested their chief city, Ardea, which lay about sixteen miles from Rome. While the army was encamped before this place, the king's son, Sextus, with Collatinus, a noble Roman, and some others, sat in a tent drinking together. The discourse happening to turn upon the beauty and virtue of their wives, each man praising his own, Collatinus offered to decide the dispute by putting it to an immediate trial, whose wife should be found possessed of the greatest beauty, and most sedulously employed at that very hour. Being heated with wine, the proposal was relished by the whole company, and, taking horse without delay, they posted to Rome, though the night was already pretty far advanced. Here they found Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, not like the other women of the age, spending the time in ease and luxury, but spinning in the midst of her maids, and cheerfully portioning out their tasks. Her modest beauty, and the easy reception she gave her husband and his friends, so charmed them all, that they unanimously gave her the preference; and Sextus was so much inflamed, that nothing but enjoyment could satisfy his passion.

He went therefore from the camp to visit her privately a few days after, and received the same kind reception which he had met with before. As his intentions were not suspected, Lucretia sate with him at supper, and ordered a chamber to

he got ready for him in the house. Midnight was the time in which this ruffian thought it safest to put his designs in execution. Having found means to convey himself into her chamber, he approached her bed-side with a drawn sword, and rudely laying his hand upon her bosom, threatened her with instant death if she offered to resist his passion. Lucretia, affrighted out of her sleep, and seeing death so near, was, however, inexorable to his desire, till, being told that if she would not yield he would first kill her, and then, laying her own slave dead by her side, he would report that he had killed them thus in the act of adultery,—the terror of infamy achieved what that of death could not obtain: she consented to his desire, and the next morning he returned to the camp, exulting in his brutal victory. In the mean time, Lucretia, detesting the light, and resolving not to pardon herself for the crime of another, sent for her husband Collatinus, and for Spurius her father, to come to her, as an indelible disgrace had befallen the family. These instantly obeyed the summons, bringing with them Valerius, a kinsman of her father's, and Junius Brutus, a reputed idiot, whose father Tarquin had murdered, and who had accidentally met the messenger by the way. Their arrival only served to increase Lucretia's poignant anguish: they found her in a state of steadfast desperation, and vainly attempted to give her relief. "No," said she, "never shall I find any thing worth living for in this life, after having lost my honour. You see, my Collatinus, a polluted wretch before you, one whose person has been the spoil of another, but whose affections were never estranged from you. Sextus, under the pretended veil of friendship, has this night forced from me that treasure, which death only can restore; but if you have the hearts of men, remember to avenge my cause, and let posterity know, that she, who has lost her virtue, had only death for her best consolation." So saying, she drew a poignard from beneath her robe, and instantly plunging it in her bosom, expired without a groan. The whole company remained for some time fixed in sorrow, pity, and indignation; Spurius and Collatinus at length gave vent to their grief in tears; but Brutus, drawing the poignard reeking from Lucretia's wound, and lifting it up towards Heaven, "Be witness, ye gods," he cried, "that from this moment I proclaim myself the avenger of the chaste Lucretia's

cause: from this moment I profess myself the enemy of Tarquin and his lustful house; from henceforth shall this life, while life continues, be employed in opposition to tyranny, and for the happiness and freedom of my much-loved country." A new amazement seized the hearers, to find him, whom they had heretofore considered as an idiot, now appearing in his real character, the friend of justice and of Rome. He told them, tears and lamentations were unmanly, when vengeance called so loud; and delivering the poignard to the rest, imposed the same oath upon them which he himself had just taken.

Junius Brutus was the son of Marcus Junius, a noble Roman, who was married to the daughter of Tarquinius Priscus, and for that reason, through a motive of jealousy, was put to death by Tarquin the Proud. Junius Brutus, the son, had received an excellent education from his father, and had from nature strong sense, and an inflexible attachment to virtue; but perceiving that Tarquin had privily murdered his father and his eldest brother, he counterfeited himself a fool, in order to escape the same danger, and thence obtained the surname of Brutus. Tarquin, thinking his folly real, despised the man; and having possessed himself of his estate, kept him as an idiot in his house, merely with a view of making sport for his children. It happened in a time of threatened danger, that Brutus was sent with Tarquin's two sons, to consult the oracle upon the methods expedient to avert the calamity. The sons were pleased with his company, and laughed to see him offer his staff at the shrine of Apollo; which, however, was a much more valuable present to the god than theirs, as it had been made hollow, and then filled with gold. The young men, after executing their father's commands, next inquired of the oracle, which of them should be king of Rome; to which it was answered, that he who should first kiss his mother should gain the kingdom. In consequence of this, they both resolved to kiss their mother at the same time, and thus reign together. Brutus, however, who dived into the real meaning of the oracle, as soon as they were arrived in Italy, pretended accidentally to fall down, and, kissing the earth, saluted her, whom he considered as the general parent of all. From that time he conceived hopes of being the deliverer of his country, and chasing the tyrant Tarquin and his whole family from Rome.

Brutus having now the fairest opportunity of ridding his country of a tyrant, that had long harassed it with impunity, procured with all expedition the gates of the city to be shut, till such time as the people would be assembled, and a public decree for Tarquin's banishment should be attempted. Accordingly he caused Lucretia's dead body to be brought out to view, and exposed in the public forum, while the citizens, who ran tumultuously from all quarters to see it, were at first impressed with pity, which soon after changed into rage and ungovernable fury. This was the disposition, which he had so often longed for in vain, and now therefore inflaming their ardour by a display of the horrid transaction, and still more by the glorious hopes of future freedom, he obtained a decree of the senate, that Tarquin and his family should be for ever banished from Rome, and that it should be capital for any to plead for, or attempt, his future return. Tarquin, in the mean time, having heard of these commotions at the army, flew with the utmost expedition to Rome, in hopes to quell and punish the delinquents; but finding the gates shut, and the walls full of armed men, he prepared to return, filled with indignation, to the camp: but Brutus had taken care here also to prevent him; for, expeditiously getting to the army by another road, he acquainted the soldiers with what had been done in the city, how Lucretia was abused and fallen, and how the senate and people had espoused her quarrel. The same sentiments of humanity, which had impelled the citizens, touched the army also. They agreed to act with their friends at home; and when Tarquin came back, they refused to admit him. Thus this monarch, who had now reigned twenty-five years, being expelled his kingdom, went to take refuge with his family at Circe, a little city of Etruria. In the mean time the Roman army made a truce with the enemy, and Brutus was proclaimed deliverer of the people.

Thus ended with Tarquin the regal state of Rome, after it had continued two hundred and forty-five years, and still with a gradual though slow increase. Although, at the time of Tarquin's expulsion, the territory of the Romans was not above forty miles long and thirty broad, yet their government was possessed of that vigour, which bodies of a slow growth are generally found to enjoy; nor were they at any time masters of greater territory than they had forces to keep in

obedience. Few histories can show a succession of kings replete with more virtue and moderation than those who first governed in Rome. It was from their wise institutions that the people seemed to acquire all that courage, that piety, and that patriotism, which afterwards operated in conquering mankind. Their subjects might have been possessed of all the rustic fierceness of the times indeed, but it must have been owing to the monarchs only, that their very enemies reaped the benefit of their victories; it must have been the general's virtue alone that could protect those whom the soldier's valour had subdued. The Grecian legislators had the Egyptians to imitate; but the Romans were placed in the midst of nations far more barbarous than themselves, and all the wisdom of their monarchs was chiefly of their own formation. Hitherto, however, we only see the genius of the nation making faint struggles to get free from her native ferocity, obstructed by custom at home and barbarous example abroad; yet still, upon particular occasions, exerting a nobleness of mind, still aiming at imagined virtue, and majestic even in infancy.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE BANISHMENT OF TARQUIN TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE FIRST DICTATOR.

U.C.245. THE regal power being overthrown, a form of government, nominally republican, was substituted in its room. The senate, however, reserved by far the greatest share of the authority to themselves, and decorated their own body with all the spoils of deposed monarchy. The centuries of the people chose from among the senators, instead of a king, two annual magistrates, whom they called consuls, with power equal to that of the regal, and with the same privileges, and the same ensigns of authority. Though the liberty of the people was but very little increased by this institution, yet to it Rome afterwards, in a great measure, owed its unequalled grandeur. In the life of a king there are many periods of indolence and of passion, that serve to divert him from the public good; but in a commonwealth, governed by magistrates

annually chosen, each has no time to lose, and, to attain his ambition, all his exertions must be within the year. Hence it is, that those magistrates were ever persuaded to some new war, and pointing out fresh enemies every day. The people, thus kept in continual alarms, attained a more perfect knowledge of the military arts, and were better enabled to adopt the improvements of the various nations they were led to engage.

Brutus, the deliverer of his country, and Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, were chosen first consuls in Rome. They immediately revived the laws for assembling the people, which had been discontinued during the late tyrant's reign; but, that their newly-acquired liberty should be prevented from degenerating into licentiousness, several officers relative to the priesthood were appointed, and new sacrifices ordained.

This new republic, however, which seemed so grateful to the people, had like to have been destroyed in its very commencement. A party was formed in Rome in favour of Tarquin. Some young men of the principal families of the state, who had been educated about the king, and had shared in all the luxuries and pleasures of the court, undertook to re-establish monarchy. They were disgusted with the gloomy austerity of a republican form of government, in which the laws, inflexible and severe, made no distinctions of birth or fortune. This party secretly increased every day; and what may create our surprise, the sons of Brutus himself, and the Aquilii, the nephews of Collatinus, were among the number. Tarquin, who was informed of these intrigues in his favour, was resolved to advance them by every art in his power, and accordingly sent ambassadors from Etruria to Rome, under a pretence of reclaiming the crown, and demanding the effects which he had left behind him, but, in reality, with a design to give spirit to his faction, and to draw over to it as many as he could. They accordingly went on with success, holding their private meetings at the house of one of the conspirators; and already the restoration of the king and the death of the consuls was resolved upon. However, their treason could not be long concealed; a slave, who had accidentally hid himself in the room where the conspirators used to assemble, overheard their conversation, and laid open the whole design to

the consuls, who gave orders to have the conspirators secured and brought before them, among whom were the sons of Brutus. Few situations could have been more terribly affecting than this, of a father placed as a judge upon the life and death of his own children; impelled by justice to condemn, and by nature to spare them. The young men accused pleaded nothing for themselves, but with conscious guilt awaited their sentence in silence and agony. The other judges, who were present, felt all the pangs of nature; Collatinus wept, and Valerius could not repress the sentiments of pity. Brutus alone seemed to have lost all the softness of humanity; and with a stern countenance, and a tone of voice that marked his gloomy resolution, demanded of his sons, if they could make any defence to the crimes with which they had been charged. This demand he made three several times; and having received no answer, he at length turned himself to the executioner: "Now," cried he, "it is your part to perform the rest." Thus saying, he again resumed his seat, with an air of determined majesty; nor could all the sentiments of paternal pity, nor all the imploring looks of the people, nor yet the complaints of the young men, who were preparing for execution, alter the tenor of his resolution. The executioners, having stripped them naked, and then whipped them with rods, presently after beheaded them; Brutus all the time beholding the cruel spectacle with a steady look and unaltered countenance, while the multitude gazed on with all the sensations of pity, terror, and admiration.

The constancy of Brutus, during the execution of his two sons, served greatly to increase his authority in Rome; but the lenity of his colleague, Collatinus, was considered in a very different light: his having attempted to save the Aquilii, his nephews, rendered him suspected by the citizens; he was accordingly deposed from the consulship, and banished Rome; and Valerius, afterwards surnamed Publicola, from his regard to the people, was elected consul in his room.

All Tarquin's hopes of an insurrection in the city in his favour being thus overthrown, he was now resolved to force himself upon his former throne by foreign assistance, and to that end prevailed upon the Veians to assist him, and with a considerable army advanced towards Rome.

The consuls were not remiss in preparations to oppose him. Valerius commanding the foot, and Brutus being appointed to head the cavalry, went out to meet him on the Roman borders. Aruns, the son of Tarquin, who commanded the cavalry for his father, seeing Brutus at a distance, was resolved, by one great attempt, to decide the fate of the day, before the engaging of the armies; wherefore spurring on his horse, he made toward him with ungovernable fury. Brutus, who perceived his approach, singled out from the ranks to meet him, and both met with such rage, that eager only to assail, and thoughtless of defending, they both fell dead upon the field together. A bloody battle ensued, with equal slaughter on both sides; but the Romans, remaining in possession of the field of battle, claimed the victory, in consequence of which Valerius returned in triumph to Rome. U.C.246.

Brutus being thus removed without having completed his year, Valerius continued for some time to enjoy the dignity without a colleague, which excited the jealousies of the people, who were apprehensive that he had thoughts of aspiring to the crown. A palace, which he had built with some magnificence, upon an eminence, augmented these suspicions, and it was reported that he had intentions of converting it into a fortress, in order to awe the city. Valerius, however, soon quieted their fears, by ordering his palace to be pulled down; and, to show the rectitude of his intentions, made several laws abridging the power of the senate, and extending that of the people. By one, he allowed an appeal from the consuls to the people; by another, he made it death for any man to assume the office of magistrate without the people's consent; a third gave power to any man to kill the person unheard, who affected the supreme power, if he could demonstrate the crime. He also appointed questors, or treasurers, who were to have the management of the government's money, and the care of accommodating ambassadors. Still more to ingratiate himself with the public, he ordered the rods, which the lictors carried, to be separated from the axes, intimating thereby, that the power of capitally punishing lay no longer in the consuls, but in the people. Having thus satisfied their scruples, he chose Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, for his colleague in the consulship. Dying a short time after, he was succeeded by Horatius,

and the time of annual election coming soon after, Horatius was chosen a second time, and with him Lucretius, who numbered the people. They were found to amount to a hundred and thirty thousand, besides widows and orphans.

In the mean time, Tarquin, no way intimidated by his misfortunes, still formed alliances to assist him in regaining the crown, and prevailed upon Porsenna, one of the kings of Etruria, to espouse his cause, and in person undertake his quarrel. This prince, equally noted for courage and conduct, marched directly to Rome with a numerous army, and laid siege to the city, while the terror of his name and his arms filled all ranks of people with dismay. The senate, in this exigence, did all that prudence could suggest, both to quiet the fears and satisfy the wants of the people. They ordered, that the populace should pay no taxes to the state during the continuance of war, alleging, that they did enough in educating children to defend it. Still more, they purchased corn over various parts of Campania, and had it brought to Rome, to be distributed at a low price to the people. These indulgences linked the orders of the state so firmly together, that every citizen seemed resolved to defend his country to the last, and save Rome, or expire in its ruins. The siege, however, was carried on with vigour: a furious attack was made upon the place: the two consuls opposed in vain, and were carried off wounded from the field; while the Romans, flying in great consternation, were pursued by the enemy to the bridge, over which both victors and vanquished were about to enter the city in the confusion. All now appeared lost and over, when Horatius Cocles, who had been placed there as sentinel to defend it, opposed himself to the torrent of the enemy, and, assisted only by two more, for some time sustained the whole fury of the assault, till the bridge was broken down behind him; when, plunging with his arms into the torrent of the Tiber, he swam back victorious to his fellow soldiers.

Still, however, Porsenna was determined upon taking the city; and though five hundred of his men were slain in a sally of the Romans, he reduced it to the greatest straits, and, turning the siege into a blockade, resolved to take it by famine. The distress of the besieged soon began to be insufferable, and all things seemed to threaten a speedy surrender, when another act of fierce bravery, still superior to

that which had saved the city before, again procured its safety and freedom.

Mutius, a youth of undaunted bravery, was resolved to rid his country of an enemy that so sorely continued to oppress it; and for this purpose, disguised in the habit of an Etrurian peasant, entered the camp of the enemy, resolved to die or to kill the king. With this resolution he made up to the place where Porsenna was paying his troops, with a secretary by his side; but mistaking the latter for the king, he stabbed him to the heart, and was immediately apprehended, and brought back to the royal presence. Upon Porsenna's demanding who he was, and the cause of so heinous an action, Mutius, without reserve, informed him of his country and his design, and at the same time thrusting his right hand into a fire that burnt upon an altar before him, "You see," cried he, "how little I regard the severest punishment your cruelty can inflict upon me. A Roman knows not only how to act, but to suffer; I am not the only person you have to fear; three hundred of the Roman youth, like me, have conspired your destruction; therefore prepare for their attempts." Porsenna, amazed at so much intrepidity, had too noble a mind not to acknowledge merit though found in an enemy; he therefore ordered him to be safely conducted back to Rome, and offered the besieged conditions of peace. These were readily accepted on their side, being neither hard nor disgraceful, except that twenty hostages were demanded, ten young men, and as many virgins, of the best families in Rome. But even in this instance also, as if the gentler sex were resolved to be sharers in the desperate valour of the times, Clelia, one of the hostages, escaping from her guards, and pointing out the way to the rest of her female companions, swam over the Tiber on horseback, amidst showers of darts from the enemy, and presented herself to the consul. This magistrate, however, fearing the consequences of detaining her, had her sent back; upon which, Porsenna, not to be outdone in generosity, not only gave her liberty, but permitted her to choose such of the hostages, of the opposite sex, as she should think fit to attend her. On her part, she, with all the modesty of a Roman virgin, chose only such as were under fourteen, alleging, that their tender age was least capable of sustaining the rigours of slavery.

Little remarkable happened after this for about five years, if we except two or three victories obtained over the Sabines, who were obliged to purchase a peace, and over whom the consuls obtained two triumphs, and the first ovation that had been seen in Rome, which differed from a triumph in these respects; that in an ovation, the general entered the city on foot, and not, as in the other case, in a chariot; that he was met only by the knights and patricians, and not by the senators in their robes; that his dress was less magnificent, and that his crown, instead of being of laurel, was made only of myrtle. Posthumius, who overcame the Sabines, was the first who was decreed this lesser kind of triumph, because his success was not obtained but at the expense of a former defeat. Some other victories followed, but we will not dilate upon these small advantages, which, though they contributed to extend the empire, are at present attended neither with curiosity nor instruction.

Tarquin, though often disappointed, was still unsubdued and unshaken. By means of his son-in-law Manilius, he stirred up the Latins to espouse his interest, and took the most convenient opportunity, when the plebeians and senators were divided amongst each other, to make head against Rome. After having united twenty-four towns in the confederacy abroad, he, by large bribes, found means to win over a very powerful party of the poorer sort of citizens from their new government, who also had many real causes of discontent to disgust them, and to which they soon after gave vent.

U.C.255. The Romans, under their kings, had only two ways of subsisting; by agriculture and by plunder: they lived either by labouring their own lands, or by reaping the harvests which had been sown by their enemies. Soon, however, after the extinction of royalty, the senators and patricians, who were in effect sovereigns of the country, appropriated to themselves the greatest part of the lands which were the rights of conquest, and insensibly extended their own possessions at the expense of the public. In vain the soldiers fought to enlarge the limits of the dominions of Rome; the great came in and shared the fruit of their labour, though they had no participation in the danger. The poverty of the soldier, by these means, obliged him to borrow money upon usury, and as that was exorbitant, it only served to in-

crease his wretchedness. The laws also of Rome permitted the creditor to seize the person of the insolvent debtor, and to employ him as a slave, till the debt was paid. This complication of misery soon excited the murmurs of the poor, till from entreaties to their masters they proceeded to menaces. The attempt of Tarquin to regain the crown seemed to them a favourable conjuncture to regain those rights of which they had been insensibly deprived. When the consuls, therefore, came to levy men in order to oppose him, to their great amazement, all the poor, and all who were loaded with debt, refused to enlist; declaring, that those who enjoyed the advantages of peace might undergo the fatigues of war, but that for their part, they were wearied with exposing their lives for nothing, or, for what was still worse, for masters who undervalued their labours, and only rioted upon their distress. They acknowledged no city nor country, they said, which would not give them protection; and by leaving Rome they only left behind them their miseries, their oppressors, and their debts. They therefore insisted, that their debts should be cancelled by a decree of the senate, as the only means of inducing them to the field. At first the senate endeavoured to appease the populace by gentle methods; but finding these unsuccessful, they entered into a serious consideration upon so important an affair. There were some for a free remission of all debts, as the safest and securest method at that juncture. Others urged the dangerous consequences of this condescension, advising that only such should be enlisted as thought fit to give in their names, and that the rest should be treated with contempt. At length they came to a resolution to put off the impending evil by delay, and to publish an order, that no person should be molested during the continuance of the war. The people, however, to whom the senate offered this suspension as a favour, refused it with acrimony and contempt. They knew that this was only putting off that grievance, which would soon fall upon them with increased severity; they knew that the approach of the enemy had extorted from the senate what they would resume when their terrors should be over, and therefore they still persisted in their demands. The number of malcontents increased every hour, and many of the people, who were neither poor nor involved in debt, entered into and shared their griefs,

either from a consciousness of the rectitude of their demands, or from the natural dislike which all men have to their superiors. In this exigence, therefore, the senate, who saw the commonwealth upon the brink of ruin, had recourse to an expedient, which, though successful for the present, in a course of ages was fatal to the republic of Rome. The consuls, finding their authority insufficient, offered the people to elect a temporary magistrate, who should have absolute power, not only over all ranks of state, but even over the laws themselves. To this the plebeians, who held the senate in abhorrence, readily consented, willing to give up their own power, for the sake of abridging that of their superiors. In consequence of this, Largius was created the first Dictator of Rome, for so was this high office called, being nominated to it by his colleague in the consulship. Thus the people, who could not bear to hear the name of king even mentioned, readily submitted to a magistrate possessed of much greater power; so much do the names of things mislead us, and so little is any form of government irksome to people when it coincides with their prejudices. This was the first intermission of the consular power, about two years after it had been established.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE CREATION OF THE FIRST DICTATOR TO
THE ELECTION OF THE TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

U.C.255. LARGIUS, being now created dictator, entered upon his office surrounded with his lictors and all the ensigns of ancient royalty; and, seated upon a throne in the midst of the people, ordered the levies to be made, in the manner of the kings of Rome. The populace looked with terror upon a magistrate whom they had invested with uncontrollable power, and peaceably went each to range himself under his respective standard. The Latins, being informed of this change in the government of the city, began to lose all the expectations which they had conceived from its divisions; they accordingly thought proper to listen to an accommodation, which was proposed on the side of Rome, and a

truce was agreed upon between them for a year. Larginus, who had been sent to oppose the enemy, returned with his army to Rome, and before his six months were out (the time limited for this office) he laid down the dictatorship, with the reputation of having exercised it with blameless lenity.

It seems, however, that the year ensuing there was occasion for another dictator, as we find Posthumus invested with that office, and leading out the Romans to prosecute the war with the Latins, upon expiration of the truce between them. We are told, that coming up with them near the lake Regillus, he gave them a complete overthrow, though they were almost double his number, and that scarce a fourth of their army escaped alive from the field. It would be unimproving, however, and tedious, to give the particulars of the engagements of this warlike people in the infancy of their empire, while yet they seem but the tumultuary meetings of brave but obstinate men, whose valour alone, rather than conduct, decided the fortune of the day. In this battle, we are particularly told, that the dictator cast one of the ensigns among the enemy, to incite his men to a bold attempt for the recovery; we are told, also, that the bridles were ordered to be taken off the horses, that they might charge with greater fury. Generals who could give such directions might have been bold men, but very bad commanders. Nevertheless, they fought against an enemy more ignorant than themselves; so that the Latins, acknowledging their superiority, implored a truce once more, and the dictator, after a triumph, laid down his authority.

The soldiers, having now once more returned from the field in triumph, had some reason to expect a remission of their debts, and to enjoy that safety for themselves which they had procured for the public. However, contrary to their hopes, the courts of justice were opened against them, and the prosecution of creditors revived with more than former acrimony. This began to excite fresh murmurs; and the senate, who were sensible of them, in order to be prepared, chose Appius Claudius, a man of austere manners, a strict observer of the laws, and of unshaken intrepidity, for one of the consuls the year ensuing: but at the same time, to temper his severity, they gave him for a colleague, Servilius, a man of a humane and gentle disposition, and as much loved by the populace as

Appius was hateful to them. When the complaints of the people therefore came to be deliberated upon, these two magistrates, as it may be supposed, were entirely of opposite opinions. Servilius, commiserating the distresses of the poor, was for abolishing all debts, or at least for diminishing the interest upon them. Appius, on the other hand, with his natural severity, insisted that the laws of his country should be inviolably observed: and that lightening the load from those who owed money was but throwing it upon those to whom it was due; that it would be encouraging the extravagant and the idle, at the expense of the industrious and the frugal; and that every new compliance from the senate would but increase the insolent demands of the people.

The populace, being apprised of the different opinions of their consuls concerning their complaints, loaded Servilius with every mark of gratitude, while they everywhere pursued Appius with threats and imprecations. They now, therefore, began to assemble afresh, to hold secret cabals by night, and to meditate some new revolution: when an unlooked-for spectacle of distress roused all their passions, and at once fanned their kindling resentment into flame.

A Roman soldier, who seemed in age, came to take refuge in the midst of the people, loaded with chains, yet showing in his air the marks of better days: he was covered with rags, his face was pale and wasted with famine, his beard, which was long and neglected, and his hair in wild disorder, rendered his appearance still more ghastly. He was known, however, to have once performed gallant services in the field; he showed the scars which he had received in battle, and the marks of recent stripes, which still continued bleeding. The compassion of the multitude was excited at this spectacle, but much more when he told them his story. Having borne arms in the last war against the Sabines, his little patrimony was not only neglected, but the enemy had plundered his substance, and set his house on fire. He was thus forced for subsistence to contract debts, and then obliged to sell his inheritance to discharge them; but a part still remaining unpaid, his unfeeling creditor had dragged him to prison, where he was not only loaded with chains, but torn with the whips of the executioner, who was ordered to torment him. This account, and his wounds, which were still fresh, produced an instan-

taneous uproar among the people: they flew to take revenge, not only on the delinquent, but on the general body of their oppressors. Appius had the fortune to procure safety by flight. Servilius, laying aside the marks of consular power, threw himself into the midst of the tumult, entreated, flattered, commanded them to patience; engaged to have their wrongs redressed by the senate; promised that he himself would warmly support their cause; and, in the mean time, to convince them of his good intentions, made proclamation, that no citizen should be arrested for debt until the senate should issue further directions.

The remonstrances of Servilius, for this time, served in some measure to appease their murmurs, and the senate was going to begin their deliberations when word was brought that an army of Volscians was marching directly towards Rome. This was an event which the people had wished with the most ardent expectation; and they now resolved to let the nobles see how little the power of the rich avails, when unsupported by the strength of the multitude. Accordingly, when the levy came to be made for soldiers, they unanimously refused to enlist; while those who had been imprisoned for debt, showing their chains, asked, with an insulting smile, whether these were the weapons with which they were to face the enemy.

Rome, in this state of anarchy within, and of threatened invasion from without, was upon the brink of ruin; when Servilius, who, as consul, was to command the army, once more renewed his entreaties with the people not to desert him in this exigence. To soothe them still more, he issued a new edict, that no citizen should be imprisoned during the continuance of the war, and assured them, that, upon their return, they should have plenary redress. By these promises, as well as by the affection which the people had to his person, he once more prevailed. The citizens came in crowds to enrol themselves under his command; he led them to meet the enemy, and gained a complete victory. But of all those who showed their courage in the engagement, the debtors and former malcontents were the most conspicuous. Servilius, to recompense their bravery, gave them the plunder of the enemy's camp, without reserving, as was usual, any part of it to the treasury; and this perhaps was the cause which induced the

senate, upon his return, to refuse him the honour of a triumph.

No sooner were the terrors of the enemy removed, but the former cruelties began afresh. Appius, still fierce and uncompromising, again authorized creditors to renew their rights, and debtors were dragged to prison, and insulted as before. In vain did they implore the assistance of Servilius, who, gentle and wavering, deputed too much of his power to Appius. In vain did they claim the promises made them by the senate; that body, deaf to their cries, saw debtors pursued even into the forum by their merciless masters, and prevented only by the multitude from being hauled to prison. The approach of an enemy, still more numerous than that which had been lately conquered, retarded the acrimony of their vengeance. The Sabines, the Equi, and the Volscians, as if willing to second the views of the people, again made a fierce irruption, while the citizens refused to touch a weapon till their grievances were removed.

Things being in this dangerous situation, the senate were obliged to have recourse to the old method of redress, by creating a dictator. Appius, who advised the measure, hoped that he himself should have been chosen; but the senate, sensible that so much power in the hands of one so violent in the use of that which he possessed, would be dangerous, chose Marius Valerius, an ancient senator, one mild, merciful, much loved by the people, and descended from the great deliverer, whose name he bore. Valerius, who secretly inclined to the plebeian party, chose Quintus, the brother of their great idol, Servilius, for his master of the horse; and assembling the orders, assured them, that if they would follow him freely, their grievances should not only be redressed, but their fortunes advanced by the spoils of the enemy. He in the mean time freed them from any immediate prosecutions from their creditors, and commanded them to follow him to the field. There was something so absolute in the office of a dictator, and it was so much considered by the people, that they not only dreaded its resentment, but seemed to think its promises binding. They therefore enrolled themselves at his order, and marching against the enemy, quickly reduced them to obedience; such lands as had been taken from them being divided among the soldiers.

Upon his return, the dictator requested the senate to perform what he had so solemnly pledged his word to obtain; but Appius, still obstinate, refused to comply, reproaching him with a mean condescension to the multitude, and bringing over the majority of the senate to his opinion. Valerius, therefore, finding he was unable to contend with so powerful a body, laid down his office, alleging, that it was time for an old man of seventy, as he was, to think rather of ease than opposition.

The people were now inflamed beyond all bearing; they entered into private consultations, and formed a plan of separating themselves from masters, whose promises were as contemptible as their tyranny dreadful. The most violent measures are to the multitude always the most pleasing, and some had even the boldness to talk of killing such as were obnoxious. The senate and the consuls, well knowing the effects of their fury when they should be disbanded, resolved still to keep them in the field, under pretence that the enemy was yet unsubdued, and preparing for new invasions. In this exigence the soldiers were at a loss how to act; the military oath which they had taken upon listing forbade their laying down their arms or forsaking their standards, and yet their recent injuries restrained them from taking the field. They steered between both extremes; they resolved to quit a city which gave them no shelter; and to form a new establishment without its limits. They therefore removed their ensigns, changed their commanders, and under the conduct of a plebeian, named Sicinius Bellutus, they retired to a mountain, from thence called the Mons Sacer, on the banks of the river Anio, within about three miles from Rome.

Upon news of this defection, the city was filled with tumult and consternation: those who wished well to the army made all the attempts they could to scale the walls in order to join it, for the gates were shut by the senate's direction. The fathers, who had sons among the mutineers, reproached their degeneracy; wives lamented the absence of their husbands; and all apprehended a civil war. The senate was not less agitated than the rest; some were for violent measures, and repelling force by force; others were of opinion, that gentler arts were to be used, and that even a victory over such enemies

would be worse than a defeat. At length, therefore, it was resolved to send a messenger, entreating the army to return home and declare their grievances, promising at the same time an oblivion of all that had passed. This message, which in fact was too premature to be attended with any effect, was treated by the army with disdain; so that the senate were now to begin afresh to consider of the proper steps to be taken, and whether force or condescension was the wisest course to pursue.

Accordingly, after choosing new consuls (though not without difficulty, as none at first would offer for the office), they entered upon the deliberation, with an earnestness equal to the importance of the cause. Menenius Agrippa, one of the wisest and best of the senators, was of opinion, that the people were to be complied with; that the Roman dominions could neither be extended nor preserved without them. The late dictator Valerius seconded his opinion, with a warmth unusual to one of his advanced age. He upbraided the senate with their duplicity, and urged the necessity of letting the people into a share of those advantages which the rich seemed willing to engross. Appius, on the other hand, still adhering to his principles, declaimed with great force against making the smallest concessions to the multitude. He observed, that if they granted to the people when enemies, what they had refused them when friends, it would be an argument of their fears and not of their justice: that the young patricians and their clients were still able to defend the city, even though its ungrateful inhabitants should think fit to desert it: that the multitude never knows where to stop in its demands, and that every concession would be only productive of fresh claims and louder importunities. The body of the senators, to whom chiefly the people were debtors, only wanted the speciousness of such arguments to cover their avarice; those of the younger sort also, who were flattered by the orator, applauded his speech with indecent zeal. The consuls, therefore, who, notwithstanding this show of a debate, saw the necessity there was of complying with the people, in order to prevent such violent measures as the senate were hastening into, for that day broke up the assembly; at the same time intimating to the younger part of the senators, that if they did not behave

with more moderation for the future, a law should be preferred, preventing all, under a certain age, from being admitted into the senate for the future.

This threat did not want its effect at their next meeting, where, notwithstanding the steadfast opposition of Appius, and the terrible blow that was about to be given to the fortunes of many of the members, it was resolved to enter into a treaty with the people, and to make them such offers as should induce them to return. Ten commissioners were accordingly deputed, at the head of whom were Largius and Valerius, who had been dictators, and Menenius Agrippa, equally loved by the senate and the people. The dignity and the popularity of these ambassadors procured them a very respectable reception among the soldiers, and a long conference began between them; Largius and Valerius employed all their oratory on the one hand, while Sicinius and Lucius Junius, who were the spokesmen of the soldiery, aggravated their distresses, with all that male-eloquence which is the child of nature. The conference had now continued for a long time, when Menenius Agrippa, who had been originally a plebeian himself, a shrewd man, and who consequently knew what kind of eloquence was most likely to please the people, addressed them with that celebrated fable, which is so finely told us by Livy. "In times of old, when every part of the body could think for itself, and each had a separate will of its own, they all with common consent resolved to revolt against the belly; they knew no reason, they said, why they should toil from morning till night in its service, while the belly in the mean time lay at its ease in the midst of them all, and indolently grew fat upon their labours: accordingly, one and all, they agreed to defend it no more. The feet vowed they would carry it no longer; the hands vowed they would feed it no longer; and the teeth averred they would not chew a morsel of meat, though it were placed between them. Thus resolved, they all for some time showed their spirit, and kept their word; but soon they found, that, instead of mortifying the belly by these means, they only undid themselves; they languished for a while, and perceived, when too late, that it was owing to the belly that they had strength to work or courage to mutiny."

This fable, the application of which is obvious, had an instantaneous effect upon the people. They unanimously cried

out, that Agrippa should lead them back to Rome, and were making preparations to follow him, when Junius Brutus, before mentioned, withheld them, alleging, that though they were gratefully to acknowledge the kind offers of the senate, yet they had no safeguard for the future against their resentment; that therefore it was necessary for the security of the people to have certain officers created annually from among themselves, who should have power to give such of them as should be injured redress, and plead the cause of the community.

The people, who are ever of opinion with the last speaker, highly applauded this proposal, which however the commissioners had not power to comply with: they therefore sent to Rome to take the instructions of the senate; who, worried with divisions among themselves, and harassed by complaints from without, were resolved to have peace at whatsoever price it should be obtained; accordingly, as if with one voice, they consented to the creation of their new officers, who were called Tribunes of the People, Appius alone protesting with vehemence against the measure.

The tribunes of the people were at first five in number, though afterwards their body was increased by five more. They were always annually elected by the people, and almost always from their body. They had the power of annulling all such decrees of the senate as they considered to lean upon the people; and to show their readiness to protect the meanest, their doors stood open night and day, to receive their complaints. They at first had their seats placed before the doors of the senate-house, and, being called in, they were to examine every decree, annulling it by the word *veto*, "I forbid it," or confirming it by signing the letter T, which gave it its validity. Their persons were to be sacred; and though they were marked out by none of the ensigns of office, such as the curule chair, or the lictors which attended upon other magistrates, yet their power was greatly superior, having a negative vote upon all decrees of the senate. They were, however, to have no authority without the walls of the city, and it was unlawful for them to be absent from it a day; but what still most diminished their authority was, that any one of their number could put a negative upon the measures of the rest; and this was afterwards found the most artful method of opposing

them ; for one gained over to the senate rendered the attempt of the rest abortive. This new office, therefore, being thus instituted, Sicinius Vellatus, Læcius Junius, Caius Licinius, Albinus, and Icilius Ruga, were the first tribunes that were chosen by the suffrages of the people. The senate also made an edict confirming the abolition of debts ; and now all things being adjusted, both on the one side and the other, the people, after having sacrificed to the gods of the mountain, returned back once more in triumph to Rome.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE CREATION OF THE TRIBUNES TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE DECEMVIRI.

WE have hitherto seen the people struggling U.C. 260. against the exorbitant power of the senate, but we now begin a period, in which the senate are struggling against the increasing power of the people ; a period in which the latter, beginning to feel their own force, and being put into motion, bear all down before them with irresistible violence. The first advantage the tribunes obtained was a permission to choose from among the people two annual officers, as assistants in the fatigues of their duty. These were called ædiles, as a part of their business consisted in taking care of the public buildings, aqueducts, and sewers, and likewise in determining some causes that had hitherto been determinable by the consuls only. They were to remark those who held more land than the laws allowed them ; to curb all public immoralities, and abolish nuisances, to provide corn and oil in times of famine ; and to prevent any more polios that might be made by the purchasers of these commodities. The people, having obtained these privileges, and all their clamours being appeased, now marched against the Volsci and Antiates, took Corioli, one of their chief towns, and soon after overthrew the enemy with great slaughter. In this battle, Marcius, after surnamed Coriolanus, particularly distinguished himself.

The people, being thus rendered more turbulent by the condescension of the senate, and by a triumph over the ene-

my, had soon after fresh opportunity to show their aptitude to clamour. During the late separation, all tillage had been entirely neglected, and a famine was the consequence the ensuing season. The senate did all that lay in their power to remedy the distress; but the people, pinched with want, and willing to throw the blame on any but themselves, ascribed the whole of their distress to the avarice of the patricians, who, having purchased up all the corn, as was alleged, intended to indemnify themselves for the abolition of debts by selling it out at great advantage: but this was not all they were charged with. The senate, in order to lessen the number of citizens in this time of famine, had sent many of them to Velitra, a city of the Volscians, that had lately been much depopulated by a plague. This excited an universal clamour among the people, which the tribunes took care to increase. This, they said, was only an artful method of getting rid of such citizens as were obnoxious to the nobles; it was little less than banishing the bravest men of the state, without an offence, and thus, by weakening the strength of the people, to increase their own. These reports being industriously propagated, an assembly was called, in which the consuls and the tribunes, by turns, harangued the people. A contest, managed with so much impetuosity on both sides, every moment grew warmer: the consuls insisted, that the tribunes had no right to address the assembly: the tribunes, on the other hand, asserted that their office was sacred, and that they ought to suffer no interruption in their duty. In this the people unanimously concurred, for whatever their leaders thought fit to propose they were ready to ratify: a law, therefore, was made, that no man should dare to interrupt the tribunes while they spoke to the people, a law which greatly increased their power, as now, from taking the assembly's instructions, they were authorized to direct them.

The city, after this, enjoyed a transient calm; some of the people retired to their houses to support famine with patience and resignation, while others made incursions upon the enemy, and returned with the spoil. But abundance, soon after, renewed in them that turbulence, which the continuance of the famine had appeased, but not removed. A large fleet of ships, laden with corn, from Sicily (a great part of which was a present from Gelon, the king of that country, to the Romans,

and the rest purchased by the senate with the public money), raised their spirits once more, and inflamed their eagerness for dissension. When it came to be debated in the senate in what manner this large supply should be distributed, violent divisions arose. Some were for letting the poorer sort have a sufficient quantity for nothing, others were for selling it at a low price, and thus reimburse the treasury; but when it came to the turn of Coriolanus to speak, he insisted, that no part of it should be distributed until the late invasions, which the people had made upon the rights of the senate, should be restored, and until the commonwealth was reduced to its former regularity. "Why," cried he, "do we bear to see the state divided between two powers, whose dissensions only serve to harass it the more? Can we tamely bear to see tribunes give laws in Rome, and rule with uncontrolled power, when we could not stoop to kings? If the factious and turbulent are unwilling to live at Rome, let them retire once more to their mountain: it is better not to govern, if we must share our command with the dregs of the people." A speech so inflammatory, and a measure so violent, rekindled all the flames of dissension. The multitude, in the violence of their resentment, would have fallen upon the senate itself, but the tribunes restrained their fury, and only pointed it upon Coriolanus, whom they devoted to destruction. Coriolanus, however, still remained unshaken; nature had made him bold, frugal, and inflexible, and to these he added the acquired virtues of great respect for the laws, great knowledge of war, and an immoderate regard for his country, or rather that part of it whose quarrel he espoused. He accordingly treated the summons of the tribunes, to appear before them, with contempt. They therefore next sent their ædiles to apprehend and bring him before the people; but a party of the young patricians gathered round their favourite, repulsed the ædiles, and having beaten, drove them away. This was a signal for universal uproar; the tumult increased from every quarter, and a civil war threatened to ensue, had not the consuls promised the people the most ample redress. The tribunes insisted that he should be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock as a rebel, and a contemner of the sacred authority of the Roman people, and condemned him, even without demanding the suffrages of the people. They were going once

more to lay hold of his person, but the patricians again rescued him. A conduct so resolute on one side, and so assuming on the other, in some measure put the populace in suspense; they were afraid to assist the tribunes against those who had been their generals and captains, and gazed upon the contest with trembling irresolution. Their backwardness, therefore, to lend assistance began to raise suspicions in the tribunes that they had proceeded with too much violence; they, in consequence, demanded to bring his trial before the assembly of the people, and that his case should be argued before that authority, from which there lay no appeal. The patricians, who, though conscious of the innocence of Coriolanus, were yet willing to give peace to the city, consented, and a day was appointed for making his defence. Coriolanus demanded of the tribunes what they intended to charge him with; to which they replied, that they intended to accuse him of aiming at sovereignty and tyranny, whereupon he cheerfully put himself upon trial, conscious of his innocence of the charge.

When the appointed day was come, all persons were filled with the greatest expectation, and a vast concourse from the adjacent country assembled, and filled up the forum. The tribunes, in the mean time, divided the people by tribes, separating them with cords from each other, and ordering that they should give their votes separately, and not by centuries, as since the time of Hostilius had always been the custom. This, as we have remarked before, was depriving the patricians of all their influence, since the numbers of the populace were sure to prevail; however, the senate, unwilling to make the cause of Coriolanus their own, at last consented to this stretch of power in the plebeians; but, to make a show of defending him to the last, one of the consuls mounted the rostrum in his favour, declaring what actions of service he had done the state; how little a few words, escaping in the heat of passion, ought to be attended to: he signified, that the whole senate were petitioners in his cause, and desired the tribunes that they would keep wholly to their threatened impeachment, namely, his aiming at the sovereign power. To this Sicinius, the tribune, replied, that he would urge against the guilty all things of every kind that could tend to prove him guilty; that the state had too much to fear from his influence, and his number of clients, not to use every means of

bringing him to justice; that he owed much more to the safety of the state than to any vain complaisance to the senate; and that the very attempt to repress the power of the people, who had all the rights of humanity to govern themselves, was a crime. Coriolanus, upon this, presented himself before the people with a degree of intrepidity that merited better fortune. His graceful person, his persuasive eloquence, the cries of those whom he had saved from the enemy, inclined the auditors to relent. He began by recounting all the battles he had fought, and the various posts he had sustained; he showed the various crowns which had been given him by his generals as rewards of merit, and exposed to view the numberless wounds he had received in acquiring them; he related all the breaches he had entered, and all the lives he had saved, calling out to such as were present to bear witness to the truth of his recital. These, with the most moving protestations, entreated their fellows to spare that life by which they lived, and if there must be an offering for public resentment, they themselves were ready to die for him. A defence like this, supported with all that boldness which conscious innocence inspires, moved every hearer to think of pardon: many cried out, that so brave a man deserved a triumph, not death, and that his very trial was a national reproach. The giddy multitude were going, therefore, to absolve him, when Decius, one of the tribunes, a man of fluent eloquence, rose up to reply. "However," cried he, "we may be prevented by the senate from urging those speeches which were made amongst that august body, tending to destroy the privileges of the people, yet still we are not unprovided; we decline aggravating what he has said; we have facts, which we call upon the accused to clear himself of. We have an ancient law amongst us, that all plunder taken from the enemy shall be appropriated to the use of the public, and be given into the treasury, untouched by the general. But a law so equitable in itself, and so inviolably observed by our ancestors, has been infringed by this man who stands accused before you. In a late incursion into the territories of Antium, though his plunder, both in slaves, cattle, and provisions, was very great, yet the public were neither the better nor the richer for it; it was divided only amongst his friends and followers, men, whom probably he only in-

tended to enrich, to be the better able to secure our ruin. It has ever been the practice of tyrants to begin the work of ambition by forming a numerous body of partizans, who are willing to lose public regard in private emolument. Here, then, we ground our charge; let him, if he can, deny the fact; and let him bring proofs, not by vainly showing his scars, but by convincing us of his innocence." This charge was entirely unexpected. Coriolanus had, in fact, when the people refused to list, issued out at the head of his clients and plundered the enemy, who had the insolence of making incursions to the very walls of Rome. These spoils, which were so justly earned, he never thought of bringing into the treasury, as they were the acquisition of a private adventure. Being, therefore, unable to answer what was alleged against him to the satisfaction of the people, and utterly confounded with the charge, the tribunes immediately took the votes, and Coriolanus was condemned to perpetual exile.

Never did the populace testify a sincerer joy, even in triumphing over a vanquished enemy, than they did on this occasion, having in a manner totally controlled the power of the senate, since henceforward they assumed a right of summoning any of the individuals of that body before them, whom they thought proper to accuse. The senate, on the other hand, saw themselves reduced to an abject dependence upon the multitude, deprived of all security for their persons, and all their former rights of being judged by each other. This sentence against their bravest defender struck the whole body with sorrow, consternation, and regret. Coriolanus alone, in the midst of this tumult, seemed an unconcerned spectator. He returned home, followed by the lamentations of hundreds of the most respectable senators and citizens of Rome, in order to take a lasting leave of his wife, his children, and his mother Veturia. While they, in the first transports of sorrow, hung round him, as loth to part, he, with manly fortitude, tore himself from their embraces; he exhorted them to bear their fate with fortitude, but to think of him no more. Thus recommending his little children to their care, and all to the care of Heaven, he left the city, without followers or fortune, to take refuge among the enemies of Rome. Thus the plebeians, who had obtained tribunes merely for their own de-

fence, employed those very magistrates to annoy others, and by insensible degrees stripped the patricians of all their former privileges.

Coriolanus, now obliged to wander, sought less for a retreat from Rome than for an opportunity of vengeance. All his fortitude, and the early institutions of his mother, were not able to repress the resentment of his wrongs, or his desire of punishing his enemies, even though it involved the ruin of his country. Tullus Attius, a man of great power among the Volsci, and a violent enemy of the Romans, seemed to him a fit instrument to assist his revenge. Resolving to apply to him, he enters Antium, the city where Tullus commanded, by night, and, going directly to his house, seated himself near the hearth, by the household gods, a place which among the heathens was held sacred. Tullus being informed that a stranger, with an air of dignity far beyond what was common, had taken refuge in his house, came and demanded his name and business. "My name," cried the Roman, "is Caius Marcius; my surname is Coriolanus, the only reward that remains of all my services. I am banished Rome for being a friend to it; I am come to take refuge here, where I have ever been a declared enemy. If you are willing to make use of my services, you shall find me grateful; if you are willing to revenge the injuries I have done, behold me in your power." Tullus, struck with his dignity and known courage, instantly gave him the hand of friendship, and espoused his quarrel. The first thing, therefore, to be done, was to induce the Volsci to break the league which had been made with Rome, and for this purpose Tullus sent many of his citizens to Rome, in order to see some games at that time celebrating, but in the mean time gave the senate private information, that the strangers had dangerous intentions of burning the city. This had the desired effect: the senate issued an order, that all strangers, whoever they were, should depart from Rome before sun-set. This order Tullus represented to his countrymen as an infraction of the treaty, and procured an embassy to Rome, complaining of the breach, and redemanding all the territories belonging to the Volscians, of which they had been violently dispossessed, declaring war in case of a refusal. This message was treated by the senate with contempt; they bade the ambassadors inform their countrymen, that menaces were not the

way to prevail with Rome; that they would keep with their swords those possessions which their valour had won; and should the Volscians be the first to take up arms, the Romans would be the last to lay them down.

War being thus declared on both sides, Coriolanus and Tullus were made generals of the Volscians, and accordingly invaded the Roman territories, ravaging and laying waste all such lands as belonged to the plebeians, but letting those of the senators remain untouched. In the mean time, the levies went on but slowly at Rome; the two consuls, who were re-elected by the people, seemed but little skilled in war, and even feared to encounter a general, whom they knew to be their superior in the field. The allies also showed their fears, and slowly brought in their succours, so that Coriolanus continued to take their towns one after another. Circeum, a Roman colony, first submitted to his arms; he then attacked the Latins, who vainly implored assistance from Rome. The towns of Tolerium, Lavici, Pes, and Bola, were all taken by storm, their goods plundered, and the inhabitants made prisoners of war; such as yielded were treated mildly; such as resisted were put to the sword; fortune followed him in every expedition, and he was now so famous for his victories, that the Volsci left their towns defenceless to follow him into the field, being assured, under his conduct, of success. The very soldiers of his colleague's army came over to him, and would acknowledge no other general. Thus finding himself unopposed in the field, and at the head of a numerous army, he at length pitched his camp at the Clitilian ditch, within five miles of Rome. Nothing now was to be seen in the city, that had lately been so turbulent, but thudity and despair. The people, who from the walls beheld the enemy ravaging their fields, begged peace with tears and supplications. They now began to entreat the senate to recall the edict which had banished Coriolanus, and acknowledged the injustice of their former proceedings. The senate, however, despised such meanness, resolving, if possible, not to betray the injustice of the state to foreign enemies, or to grant those favours to a traitor, which they had denied him when but accused of being so. Yet what could their resolutions avail, when they had not power to support them? Coriolanus approached nearer every day, and at last invested the city, fully resolved to besiege it.

It was then that the fierce spirit of the patriots was entirely subdued; both senate and people unanimously agreed to send deputies to him, with proposals of a restoration, in case he should draw off his army. Coriolanus received their proposals at the head of his principal officers, and with the sternness of a general that was to give the law. He, with the utmost severity, informed them, that he was now general of the Volscians, and had only their interest to consider: that if they hoped for peace, they must restore all the towns which originally belonged to that people, and make them free of the city, as the Latins were; and that he would give them thirty days to consider of it. The intermediate time he employed in taking several other towns from the Latins, at the end of which he returned, and again encamped his army before the walls of Rome.

Another embassy was now sent forth, conjuring him not to exact from his native city aught but what became Romans to grant. Coriolanus, however, naturally inflexible and severe, still persisted in his former demands, and granted them but three days in which to finish their deliberations. A message so peremptory filled the whole town with consternation. Every one now ran to take arms, some posted themselves upon the ramparts, others watched the gates, lest they should be secretly delivered up by partizans, which Coriolanus had within; others fortified their houses, as if the enemy were already masters of the walls. In this general confusion, there was neither discipline nor command. The consuls, whose fears only were their advisers, had been elected for very different merits than those of skill in war. The tribunes, lately so fierce, were now no more heard of; all shared the universal terror, and it seemed as if the boasted courage of Rome had gone over with their general into the camp of the Volscians. In this exigence, all that seemed left them was another deputation, still more solemn than either of the former, composed of the pontiffs, the priests, and the augurs. These, clothed in their habit of ceremony, and with a grave and mournful deportment, issued from the city, and entered the camp of the conqueror: they besought him by all that was sacred, by the respect he owed the gods, and that which he might have for those, who, being the servants of the gods, were now at his feet, to give peace to his country: but all in vain: they found him severe

and inflexible as before. He testified that respect for them, which the sanctity of their characters demanded, but sent them away without relaxing in any of his demands.

When the people saw them return ineffectually, they began to give up the commonwealth as lost. Their temples were filled with old men, with women, and children, who, prostrate at their altars, put up their ardent prayers for the preservation of their country. Nothing was to be heard but anguish and lamentation, nothing to be seen but scenes of affright and distress. At length it was suggested to them, that what could not be effected by the intercession of the senate, or the adjuration of the priests, might be brought about by the tears of his wife, or the commands of his mother. This deputation seemed to be relished by all, and even the senate itself gave it the sanction of their authority. Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, at first made some hesitation to undertake so pious a work, knowing the inflexible temper of her son, and fearing only to show his disobedience in a new point of light, by rejecting the commands of a parent: however, she undertook the embassy, and set forward from the city, accompanied by many of the principal matrons of Rome, with Volumnia his wife, and his two children. Coriolanus, who at a distance discovered this mournful train of females, was resolved to give them a denial, and called his officers round him to be witnesses of his resolution: but when told, that his mother and his wife were among the number, he instantly came down from his tribunal, to meet and embrace them. At first, the women's tears and embraces took away the power of words, and the rough soldier himself, hard as he was, could not refrain from sharing in their distress. "My son," cried she, "how am I to consider this meeting? Do I embrace my son or my enemy? Am I your mother or your captive? How have I lived to see this day, to see my son a banished man, and, still more distressful, the enemy of his country? How has he been able to turn his arms against the place which gave him life? How direct his rage against those walls, which protect his wife, his children, and his gods? But it is to me only, that my country owes her oppressor: had I never been a mother, Rome had still been free; the wretched consciousness of this will afflict me as long as life shall last, and that cannot last me long. But though I am prepared for death, yet, at least, let these

wretched sufferers claim some part of your compassion, and think what will be their fate, when to banishment they must add captivity." Coriolanus, during this speech, seemed much agitated by contending passions; his mother, who saw him moved, still seconded her words by the most persuasive eloquence, her tears: his wife and children hung round him, entreating for protection and pity, while the fair train, her companions, added their lamentations, and deplored their own and their country's distress. Coriolanus, for a moment, was silent, feeling the strong conflict between honour and inclination; at length, as if roused from his dream, he flew to take up his mother, who had fallen at his feet, crying out, "O my mother, thou hast saved Rome, but lost thy son!" He accordingly gave orders to draw off the army, pretending to the officers, that the city was too strong to be taken. Tullus, who had long envied his glory, was not remiss in aggravating the lenity of his conduct to his countrymen. Upon their return, Coriolanus was slain in an insurrection of the people, and afterwards honourably buried, with late and ineffectual repentance.

Great and many were the public rejoicings at Rome, upon the retreat of the Volscian army. The senate decreed to grant the women what honours they should demand, but they only asked to have a temple dedicated to Female Fortune, built in the place where they had delivered their country, which was accordingly erected at the public charge. In the mean time, that courage which had been for a time overpowered, began again to show itself in the field. Coriolanus being no more, they ventured to face their Volscian enemies, who indeed contributed by their own contentions, together with that of their allies, to render any foreign force in a manner unnecessary to their overthrow. A signal victory was obtained over them and the Hernici the year ensuing. Among others, Tullus their general was slain.

Spurius Cassius Viscellinus had the principal honour in obtaining this victory. He was a man naturally vain, and filled with ostentation: ambitious to an extreme, and as ready to overrate his own services as to undervalue those of another. He had been three times consul, and had been decreed two triumphs by the senate; these advantages, added to some popularity, raised his pride to aspire at being king of Rome. In order to prepare for this, being empowered by the senate

to give the conquered nations what conditions of peace he should think proper, he resolved to attach them to his interests by the most flattering concessions. He therefore gave them back a third of what he had conquered; he granted them the title of citizens of Rome, and treated the vanquished, in all respects, as he would have done a victorious army. To make friends in every part of the state, he gave the Latins one moiety of the conquered lands remaining, and reserved the other part for the poor citizens of Rome. Not content with this, he was resolved to increase his popularity by distributing among the poor some lands which had long been in the possession of the rich, and which he asserted to be the property of the public. Accordingly, on the day succeeding that of his triumph, giving an account, according to custom, of what he had done, he expatiated upon his extraordinary care and wise management of the commonwealth; on his having increased the subjects and citizens of Rome, and on his own peculiar endowments for guiding the state: he went on to observe, that however extensive the conquests of Rome might be, it signified but little, if the rich only enjoyed the advantages of them; if that, while the senate and patricians lived in affluence, the veteran soldier pined in want and obscurity. He therefore was of opinion, that an exact estimate should be made of all the lands taken from the enemy, which were now in possession of the rich, and that they should be equally divided among the lower citizens. This was the original of the famous agrarian law, which afterwards caused such disturbances among the people. Nothing could exceed the indignation of the senate upon hearing it proposed: as they had before been almost stripped of their public rights, they saw this attacked them in their private possessions: all that fortune which their ancestors or themselves had acquired by valour or industry was now destined to be plundered from them, to be distributed among the indolent, the extravagant, and the base. One deliberation succeeded upon another, to concert measures how to frustrate the effects of this law, and the ambition of Cassius. The people were not less matinous on their part; the tribunes, and those whose fortunes were above the lowest rank, were unwilling to be reduced to a level with the meanest of those they pretended to direct: the clients of the rich were attached to the interest of their patrons; but,

notwithstanding this, the majority of the multitude, with Cassius at their head, strenuously clamoured for the agrarian law, and threatened destruction to the empire in case of refusal. Even several of the Hernici and Volsci were called in on this occasion to increase the tumult, or to bring off the proposer in case of failure. At last, the senate perceived the necessity of complying, and therefore gave the populace a promise, that the lands should be divided among them according to their desire; but that the allies and associates, who had no part in acquiring those lands, should have no share in the division. This promise at present appeased the people, and gave the senate an opportunity of concerting measures for punishing the original proposer. Accordingly, some time after, the questors, by their order, appointed a day for Cassius to answer to the charge of his designing to become king, before the assembly of the people. A blow so unexpected alarmed this demagogue with the most just apprehensions, particularly as he had the tribunes as well as the patricians against him. He appeared before the assembly habited in a manner becoming his situation, and attempted to interest the people in his favour. He alleged, that he was persecuted in this manner by the patricians, for his zeal in their cause: that he was their only surviving friend; and that their interests were combined with his. But he found himself deserted by all. The senate had the justest reason to pursue him; the tribunes, envying him his share of popularity, neglected to espouse his cause; and the multitude, pleased with the patricians for their late compliance with their demands, gave him up to their fury, who was the promoter of them. Being therefore found guilty of a number of crimes, all tending towards altering the constitution, notwithstanding his many real services, and the intercession of his friends and clients, in mourning, he was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, by those very people whose interests he had endeavoured to extend. It was too late that they perceived their error, and began to regret their champion with a degree of sorrow, that but argued their ingratitude.

Soon after the death of Cassius, the people became again urgent for the execution of the agrarian law; but the senate, by a subterfuge unworthy their wisdom, caused the consuls to prepare for an expedition against the

U.C.274.

Æqui. The people however at first refused to enlist, till the consuls, hitting upon a new expedient, ordered all the country houses of the recusants to be levelled with the ground. This had the desired effect; numbers came to offer themselves, to save their possessions from destruction, and were led against the enemy with the usual good fortune of Rome. Thus, while the contests continued in the city, the Roman arms made continual progress in Italy; for that spirit of liberty which animated both parties only contributed to inflame their courage.

These dilatory arts continued for near five years on the part of the senate, and as obstinate a spirit of clamour on that of the people: the one having their private interests, as well as those of the public, to engage them; the other having a promise given, and a consciousness of their own superior power, to increase their obstinacy. In the midst of these troubles, the Romans received a signal defeat, under the conduct of Virginius, one of their consuls, from the Etrurian army; and though Fabius came very opportunely to his relief, yet, upon his retreat, the enemy made incursions, even to the walls of Rome. This served to increase the discontents and the animosities of the citizens; the senators still withholding their promise, and the people refusing to enlist. In such an extremity, the family of the Fabii, to the number of four thousand men, offered to defend the frontiers of the Roman territories. They built a castle nigh the borders of the enemy, and, making frequent incursions, greatly enriched themselves by the spoil. It will not comport with the brevity of this work, to relate all the minute transactions, and battles without consequence, which attended these wars between Rome and the little states round her. It will suffice to say, that they all ended with the same good fortune, namely, the enemy's begging peace, and the extension of the territories of Rome. The Fabii, however, were less successful, being all cut off to a man by an ambuscade, which was laid for them by the people of Veii. Of this noble family, one only survived, whose posterity became afterwards equally serviceable to the state.

But not the territories alone of Rome were increased, during these times of war and civil commotions, her
 U.C. 277. citizens also became more numerous. In the enumeration of this year, they were found to amount to one hun-

dead and eleven thousand men, fit to bear arms, with treble that number of women, children, and slaves. This increase of people, without commerce, only tended to advance the disturbances of the city. Every year produced some new tumult between the contending orders of the state. The people, now become the electors of the magistrates, had not skill or integrity to fix upon capable men; and scarce did any consul lay down his office, but the multitude were foremost to accuse his remissness or incapacity. It was in this manner that they accused Menenius, their consul, for suffering the family of the Fabii to be cut off: he was indeed an unskilful general, but he was at the same time innocent of the charge laid against him. This, however, did not avail; he was fined about twenty crowns, a sum which, though moderate in modern estimation, he was unable to pay; he therefore, in detestation of the injustice and ingratitude of his fellow-citizens, shut himself up in his own house, and starved himself to death.

The year following, the two consuls of the former year, Manlius and Fabius, were in the same manner cited by the tribunes to appear before the people. The agrarian law was the object invariably pursued, and they were accused of having made unjustifiable delays in putting it off. The same perseverance on one side, and obstinacy on the other, again set the city in a ferment, and threatened destruction to one of the parties; when Genatius the tribune, who had revived the law, was found dead in his bed, though without any marks of violence. A circumstance like this, which should have awakened the suspicions of the people, only served to alarm their superstitions; they began to think the gods were against their cause, and showed symptoms of returning to their former obedience. The consuls, in order to avail themselves of this lucky occasion, began to make fresh levies; for it was now become the settled policy of the times, to draw off the peccant humours of the people by leading them to war; wherefore, mounting their tribunals, and being attended by their lictors, they continued to enrol the citizens with success; till coming to one Volero, a centurion, who refused to be enlisted as a private sentinel, they ordered him to be stripped and scourged. This injudicious severity not only rekindled the people's resentment, but afterwards produced a new cause of contention,

obscuring the power of the consuls and the privileges of the people. The prisoner was rescued by the multitude, the magistrates driven off, and, still to complete their mortification, soon after Volero was made one of the tribunes of the people.

The election of this demagogue seemed very injurious to the patrician party; he was not only resolved upon carrying the agrarian law, but also upon enacting another, in which the people should give their votes by tribes, and not by their *curiæ*, or their centuries. This was another mortal blow to the patrician power; for, as when the people voted by centuries the patricians were entire masters of the contest, and when by *curiæ*, in which only the inhabitants of the city voted, they also, from their number of clients, had the majority of voices; so now, when by this law all freemen of Rome, from whatever part of its territories they came, should be admitted to give a single vote, equal to that of the first senator, all influence was entirely lost, and the patricians had nothing to do but to remain passive. It was, therefore, at first strongly opposed by the senate, and as warmly urged by the people. In this contest Appius Claudius, the U.C. 282. consul, son to the former Appius, by a sort of hereditary hatred to the people, was among the foremost. In one of their public assemblies he opposed their designs warmly, and so justly exposed the turbulent temper of the tribunes, that they ordered him to depart the assembly, and, upon his refusal, to be sent to prison.

A stretch of power so great astonished all the senators who were present; they offered to take arms in his defence, and as the people had in the former case beaten off the lictors, so they were in this driven off by the patricians. This seemed the signal for a new tumult; stones, torches, and every weapon that fury could furnish, in a place where the citizens never carried arms, were employed against each other. But Quintius, the other consul, of a mild and peaceable disposition, throwing himself into the midst of the combatants, entreating and beseeching some, and menacing others, for that night assuaged their mutual animosity. Their tumults, however, were renewed the day following, with more than former fury: Appius, with all his native fierceness, charging at the head of his clients, and other young patricians. But Lectorius the tribune,

with an immense multitude of the lower part of the people, took possession of the capitol, where they fortified themselves, seemingly determined to hold it out against their opposers. Their conduct now seemed still more resolute than in the former defection of the army to mount Aventine: for, as in that, the insurgents were at a distance from Rome, in this, they were in the very heart of the city. The appeasing of this tumult was reserved for Quinctus also, who obtained, by his gentle remonstrances, to have the law referred to the senate, which, after many debates, which form rather than uncertainty might have dictated, resolved that the tribunes and the people were to be gratified, and that the law was to be enacted without delay. It was passed by the consent of all the orders, and the officers of the people were elected from henceforward by the tribes. Thus the people by degrees left the patricians nothing but the shadow of power, of even which the multitude, now taught the art of uniting, were resolved to deprive them.

In the mean time, Appius, as from the former part of his conduct we may well suppose, was far from being disposed to concur in this new concession of power: he bore the people a contempt, that rather seemed the effect of habit than of reason, and inveighed against the senate's pusillanimity. Nor were the people ignorant of this, but desired an occasion of showing their resentment, for which an opportunity soon offered, upon his being appointed general against the Volscians. These, as usual, had made inroads upon the unguarded frontiers of Rome; and Appius being now the commander of the army, the natural severity of his temper had a field to display itself in. The Roman discipline, which at the mildest was extremely rigorous, he by his strictness rendered almost insupportable. The soldiers but slowly obeyed a general they hated; and he, in return, increased his rigours upon the slowness of their obedience. They now therefore considered his severity rather as a malicious vengeance than a wholesome chastisement, and only awaited the enemy, to retaliate, not upon his person but his glory. Accordingly the enemy appeared, and the Romans fled. He led them into the camp in order to harangue them, and they universally refused to give him an audience. He then endeavoured to draw them off from the enemy, but the whole body fled, instead of making a regular

retreat. At length he found means of securing that part of his forces which yet remained, by encamping them in a place of safety; where, marshalling them in their ranks, and reviling them for their cowardice, he gave posterity a great example of the severity of Roman discipline, and the greatness of military obedience. He first ordered all the centurions, who had fled or quitted their ranks, to be scourged, and then beheaded; and then asking his soldiers where were their arms, he chose out every tenth man, by lot, and him he executed in the presence of his trembling companions. Soldiers, with so much ardour for liberty in times of peace, and such profound submission to their generals in war, were fitted to make the conquest of the world. Appius, however, did not long continue unmolested in his severity; for, some time after, the tribunes pushed on the agrarian law with vigour, and he persisting in his opposition, they appointed him a day to answer to an accusation against him, of being the declared enemy of public liberty. Appius obeyed, but appeared before the people, not in the usual manner, in a supplicating dress or posture, but spoke for himself with a confidence, that a previous settled resolution to die had inspired. The tribunes finding that his innocence was too apparent to be impeached, put off his trial to another day, which he prevented by suicide, a practice that was now becoming common in Rome.

The death of Appius, and some wars, or rather incursions, made by the Romans into the territories of the Volsci, suspended for a time the people's earnestness after the agrarian law; but soon after the tribunes began new motions, and had the boldness to assert, that the people ought not only to have a share in the lands, but also in the government of the commonwealth; and that a code of written laws should be compiled, to mark out the bounds of their duty. The opposition to this was not less violent on the side of the patricians; who drove the clamorous multitude from the forum, headed by Cæso, the son of that Quintius Cincinnatus, whom we shall hereafter find so famous for his courage and his frugality. The tribunes resolved to make an example of this young patrician, to deter the future outrages of others, and therefore appointed him a day to answer for his life before the people. Being the son of a man entirely respected by both parties, he was treated with such lenity,

that he was admitted to bail ; but flying to Etruria, his father was obliged to sell almost his whole estate to reimburse the sureties ; and then retreating to a small farm and a little cottage beyond the Tiber, lived a contented life, tilling his few acres with his own hands, and reaping the produce of his industry. The tribunes, however, were not satisfied with the expulsion of Cæso ; they still continued to clamour for the agrarian law, and even raised a report, that the senators had formed a plot against their lives. This contrivance was principally intended to frighten the senate into a compliance ; but it had only the more obvious effect of increasing the tumults of the people, and aggravating their animosity.

In this state of commotion and universal disorder, Rome was upon the point of falling into the power of a foreign enemy. Herdonius, a Sabine, a man of great intrepidity and ambition, formed the design of seizing and plundering the city while it was employed in intestine distractions. For this purpose, having got together an army of about four thousand men, composed of his clients and fugitive slaves, he sent them down the river Tiber on floats by night, so that the people were astonished, the next morning, to behold a foreign enemy in possession of the capitol, the citadel of Rome. Herdonius, on his part, did all that was in his power to persuade the lower citizens and slaves to join his party ; to the one he promised freedom, to the other an ample participation of benefits and spoil. The tribunes, in this exigence, were far from exciting the people to arms ; they, on the contrary, used all their eloquence to persuade them from fighting, until the patricians should engage by oath to create ten men, with a power of making laws, and to suffer the people to have an equal share in all the benefits that should accrue. These conditions, though very severe, the necessity of the times obliged the consuls to promise ; and Valerius, who was one of them, putting himself at the head of such as offered, marched towards the capitol, crying out as he passed, " Whoever wishes to save his country, let him come and follow me." A large body of people followed him to the attack, and the capitol was at length retaken by storm, but the consul was killed in the assault. Herdonius slew himself, the slaves died by the executioner, and the rest were made prisoners of war.

But although the city was thus delivered from a foreign invasion, it was by no means set free from its intestine divisions. The tribunes now pressed the surviving consul for the performance of his promise; but it seems the agrarian law was a grant the senate could not think of giving up to the people. The consul, therefore, made many delays and excuses; till at length, being driven to give a positive answer, he told them, that as the promise was made by the two consuls, he could do nothing alone. An assembly was therefore now appointed for choosing another consul; and the senate, in order to give the people no hopes of obtaining their wishes, fixed upon Quintius Cincinnatus, whose son had so lately been obnoxious to them. Cincinnatus had, as has been already related, for some time given up all the views of ambition, and retired to his little farm, where the deputies of the senate found him holding the plough, and dressed in the mean attire of a labouring husbandman. He appeared but little elevated with the addresses of ceremony and the pompous habits they brought him; and, upon declaring to him the senate's pleasure, he testified rather a concern that his aid should be wanted: he naturally preferred the charms of a country retirement to the fatiguing splendours of office, and only said to his wife, as they were leading him away, "I fear, my Attia, that for this year our little fields must remain unsown." Thus taking a tender leave, he departed for the city, where both parties were strongly inflamed against each other. This new consul, however, was resolved to side with neither, but, by a strict attention to the interests of his country, instead of gaining the confidence of faction, to seize the esteem of all. Thus by threats and well-timed submission he prevailed upon the tribunes to put off their law for a time, and carried himself so as to be a terror to the multitude whenever they refused to enlist, and their greatest encourager whenever their submission deserved it. His policy consisted in holding the citizens, who had regained the capitol, as still engaged to follow him, by their oath, and threatening to lead them into a winter encampment, to which they were totally unaccustomed, in case they disobeyed; by which he so far intimidated the tribunes, that they gave up their law upon condition of his foregoing the threatened encampment: upon the whole, he went through his office with such skill, moderation, humanity, and justice, that the people seemed to forget

that they wanted new laws, and the senate seemed to wish his continuance in the consulship. Thus having restored that tranquillity to the people, which he so much loved himself, he again gave up the splendours of ambition, to enjoy it with a greater relish in his little farm.

Cincinnatus had not long retired from his office when a fresh exigence of the state once more required his assistance. The Æqui and the Volsci, who, though still worsted, still were for renewing the war, made new incursions into the territories of Rome. Minutius, one of the consuls who succeeded Cincinnatus, was sent to oppose them; but being naturally timid, and rather more afraid of being conquered than desirous of victory, his army was driven into a defile between two mountains, from which, except through the enemy, there was no egress. This, however, the Æqui had the precaution to fortify, so that the Roman army was so hemmed in on every side, that nothing remained but submission to the enemy, famine, or immediate death. Some knights, who found means of getting away privately through the enemy's camp, were the first that brought the account of this disaster to Rome. Nothing could exceed the consternation of all ranks of people when informed of it. The senate at first thought of the other consul; but, not having sufficient experience of his abilities, they unanimously turned their eyes upon Cincinnatus, and resolved to make him dictator. Cincinnatus, the only person on whom Rome could now place her whole dependence, was found, as before, by the messenger of the senate, labouring in his little field with cheerful industry. He was at first astonished by the ensigns of unbounded power, with which the deputies came to invest him, but still more at the approach of the senate, who came out to meet him upon his approach. A dignity so unlooked for, however, had no effect upon the simplicity or the integrity of his manners; and being now possessed of absolute power, and called upon to nominate his master of the horse, he chose a poor man named Tarquinius, one, who, like himself, despised riches when they led to dishonour. Tarquinius was born of a patrician family, but though of consummate bravery, never being able to raise money to purchase a horse, he had hitherto fought only as a foot soldier, willing to serve his country, though in the humblest situation. Thus the saving a great nation was

devolved upon a husbandman taken from the plough, and an obscure sentinel found among the dregs of the army.

Upon entering the city, the dictator put on a serene look, and entreated all those who were able to bear arms to repair before sun-set to the Campus Martius (the place where the levies were made), with necessary arms, and provisions for five days. He put himself at the head of these, and marching all night with great expedition, he arrived before day within sight of the enemy. Upon his approach he ordered his soldiers to raise a loud shout, to apprise the consul's army of the relief that was at hand. The Æqui were not a little amazed, when they saw themselves between two enemies, but still more when they perceived Cincinnatus making the strongest entrenchments beyond them, to prevent their escape, and enclosing them as they had enclosed the consul. To prevent this, a furious combat ensued; but the Æqui, being attacked on both sides, and unable to resist or fly, begged a cessation of arms. They offered the dictator his own terms. He gave them their lives, but obliged them, in token of servitude, to pass under the yoke, which was two spears set upright, and another across, in the form of a door, beneath which the vanquished were to march. Their captains and generals he made prisoners of war, being reserved to adorn his triumph. As for the plunder of the enemy's camp, that he gave entirely up to his own soldiers, without reserving any part to himself, or permitting those of the delivered army to have a share. Thus, having rescued a Roman army from inevitable destruction, having defeated a powerful enemy, having taken and fortified their city, and, still more, having refused any part of the spoil, he resigned his dictatorship, after having enjoyed it but fourteen days. The senate would have enriched him, but he declined their proffers, choosing to retire once more to his farm and his cottage, content with temperance and fame.

The year following, the Æqui, resolving to retrieve their lost reputation, again marched into the field, and re-
U.C.296. took their city; wherefore, when levies were to be made in Rome to oppose their progress, the tribunes refused to let the people be enrolled. The necessity of the times however was such, that an army was to be raised; and the senators, finding the reluctance of the multitude, offered to go

themselves, with their clients and dependents. So many old and reverend men, who had long been considered as the fathers of the state, marching feebly out to meet an enemy, whom the young and the vigorous refused to encounter, moved the multitude to such a degree, that, in spite of their demagogues, they offered to go, only demanding as a recompence to have the number of the tribunes increased from five to ten. This some of the senate considered as an expedient to multiply the number of their enemies; but Cincinnatus, who judged more maturely upon the subject, assured them it would be the most infallible means of debilitating that power, which had so long controlled them: that in case ten were elected, in such a number there were the most just expectations to bring over a part, and that a single tribune could reverse the resolutions of all the rest. Accordingly the senate readily came into his opinion, and, pretending to make their compliance a favour, informed the tribunes, that they had, after much deliberation, thought proper to grant their request.

This grant seemed for a while to satisfy the people; but in less than a year the new tribunes, the first time, uniting all together, made still farther encroachments, and ventured, even by their own authority, to order an assembling of the senate. They required also, that mount Aventine, which was a mile and a half in compass, and as yet untenanted, might be granted to the people to build on. With this, though not till after the most violent contests, the senate agreed, in hopes that it might be a means of suppressing the seditions, which they dreaded from refusing the agrarian law. Nevertheless, in this they were disappointed, for soon after their tribunes renewed their former complaints and insolence, and the contests were carried on with such little restraint, that blows and not arguments generally terminated every deliberation. To such a pitch of audaciousness were they arrived, that those demagogues set a day even for the consuls themselves to answer before the people. They thought proper, however, upon maturer consideration, to let drop this insolent prosecution; but at the same time resolved not to discontinue their unremitting endeavours for the agrarian law. A day accordingly was fixed, in which this important subject was to be discussed; and numbers of all ranks were present, either to give their votes or their opinions. The tribunes

U.C.298.

spoke largely on the justice of such a law. Several of the people related what services they had done, and what trifling rewards they had retained. The audience were prepossessed in favour of the law; but still more when Siccus Dentatus, a plebeian, advanced in years, but of an admirable person and military deportment, came forward to enumerate his hardships and his merits. This old soldier made no scruple of extolling the various achievements of his youth; but indeed his merits deserved his ostentation. He had served his country in the wars forty years: he had been an officer thirty, first a centurion, then a tribune: he had fought one hundred and twenty battles, in which, by the force of his single arm, he had saved a multitude of lives: he had gained fourteen civic, three mural, and eight golden crowns, besides eighty-three chains, sixty bracelets, eighteen gilt spears, and twenty-three horse-trappings, whereof nine were for killing his enemy in single combat: moreover, he had received forty-five wounds, all before and none behind; particularly twelve on the day the capitol was recovered from the enemy. These were his honours: yet, notwithstanding all this, he had never received any share of those lands which were won from the enemy, but continued to draw on a life of poverty and contempt, while others were possessed of those very territories which his valour had won, without any merit to deserve them, or even having contributed to the conquest. A case of so much hardship had a strong effect upon the multitude: they unanimously demanded that the law might be passed, and that such merit should not go unrewarded. It was in vain that some of the senators rose up to speak against it, their voices were drowned by the cries of the people. When reason therefore could no longer be heard, passion as usual succeeded; and the young patricians, running furiously into the throng, broke the balloting urns, and dispersed the multitude that offered to oppose them. For this they were some time after fined by the tribunes; but their resolution, nevertheless, for the present put off the agrarian law.

It generally happened in Rome, that internal commotions were quieted by foreign invasions; and the approach of the *Æqui*, within sixteen miles of the city, in some measure restored peace to the republic. In this war Siccus Dentatus, the veteran who had harangued the people, gained greater

honours than the consul who obtained the victory; for being ordered upon a forlorn hope, to attack the enemy in a quarter where he knew they were inaccessible, he at first remonstrated on the danger and desperation of the attempt; but being reproached by the consul with cowardice, he led on his body of eight hundred veterans to the place, resolved to give, by his death, a pattern of obedience, as he had, in his life, an example of resolution. Fortune, however, was kinder to him than his expectations; for perceiving a passage into the enemy's camp, which had not been pointed out by the consul, he led his veterans onward; and while the whole army amused the enemy on one side, he attacked their camp on the other, so that the Romans obtained a complete victory. Dentatus, however, being conscious that he was sent upon this dangerous service only to procure him death or infamy, had interest enough, upon his return, to prevent the consul's having a triumph, as also to get himself created a tribune; likewise to get a law passed for punishing such magistrates as should for the future violate their authority, and for having both consuls fined for their behaviour to him in particular. Thus the fortune, as well as the perseverance of the tribunes, served to diminish the patrician power every year. All their honours were now fading fast away; their very possessions, those fruits of long labour, remained feebly in suspense, and the next popular breeze threatened to shake them down.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE CREATION OF THE DECEMVIRI TO THE EXTINCTION OF THAT OFFICE.

THE commonwealth of Rome had now for near U.C.302.
sixty years been fluctuating between the contending
orders that composed it; till at length each side, as if weary,
were willing to respire awhile from the mutual exertions of
their claims. The agrarian law seemed now but little attended
to; and all the animosity which it had produced appeared sub-
sided. But it has ever been with mankind, that they form

new desires in proportion to the number of their possessions. The citizens now, therefore, of every rank, began to complain of the arbitrary decisions of their magistrates, and wished to be guided by a written body of laws, which, when known, might prevent wrongs as well as punish them. In this both the senate and the people concurred, as hoping that such laws would put an end to the commotions that so long had harassed the state. It was thereupon agreed, that ambassadors should be sent to the Greek cities in Italy, and to Athens, to bring home such laws from thence as by experience had been found most equitable and useful. For this purpose three senators, Posthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, were fixed upon, and galleys assigned to convoy them, agreeable to the majesty of the Roman people. While they were upon this commission abroad, a dreadful plague depopulated the city at home, and supplied the interval of their absence with other anxiety than that of wishes for their return. In about a year, however, the plague ceased, and the ambassadors returned, bringing home a body of laws, collected from the most civilized states of Greece and Italy, which, being afterwards formed into ten tables, and two more being added, made that celebrated code called the laws of the twelve tables, many fragments of which remain to this day.

The ambassadors were no sooner returned, than the tribunes required that a body of men should be chosen to digest their new laws into proper form, and to give weight to the execution of them. After long debates, whether this choice should not be partly made from the people as well as the patricians, it was at last agreed, that ten of the principal senators should be elected, whose power, continuing for a year, should be equal to that of kings and consuls, and that without any appeal; that all other magistrates should lay down their offices until the law should direct proper substitutes; and that the new legislators should, in the mean time, exercise their authority with all the ensigns of their discontinued power. The persons chosen were, Appius and Genutius, who had been elected consuls for the ensuing year, Posthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, the three ambassadors, Sextius and Romulus, former consuls, Jalius, Veturius, and Horatius, senators of the first consideration. Thus the whole constitution of the state at once

took a new form : and a dreadful experiment was going to be tried, of governing one nation by laws formed from the manners and customs of another.

The decemviri, being now invested with absolute power, agreed to take the reins of government by turns, and that each should dispense justice for a day. They agreed, also, to avoid envy, that he alone, who was in the actual exercise of power, should be attended with the ensigns of it ; and that the rest should be only preceded by a petty officer, called *accensus*, to distinguish them from the vulgar.

The novelty of this form of government seemed extremely pleasing to the people at first ; nor was the moderation of the decemviri themselves less praiseworthy. Appius, in particular, bore away the greatest share of popularity : his affable air, his republican professions, and his moderation, made them even forget his ancestors, or that they once trembled at the name. These magistrates, for the first year, wrought with extreme application : they had not only to compile from a great variety of Greek laws, but they were obliged also to get them interpreted by one Hermodorus, an Ephesian, as they themselves were ignorant of the language ; a strong instance how little as yet the Romans were advanced in the arts of politeness. At length, however, by the help of their interpreter, they formed a body of laws from those brought from Greece, and from the ordinances of their own kings ; the whole comprised in ten tables. These were agreed to by the whole people, engraven on plates of brass, and hung up in public view, in the most conspicuous part of the forum.

Their work being thus finished, it was expected that the decemviri would be contented to retire ; but having known the charms of power, they were now unwilling to resign it : they therefore pretended, that some laws were yet wanting to complete their design, and entreated the senate for a continuance of their office. To this they assented. The choice of persons was next the object of public consideration. Appius, burning with a secret thirst of power, feigned himself quite disgusted with the fatigues of the office, and wished only for an able successor. However, underhand he contrived to put all those popular arts in practice, which he knew would, upon his standing a candidate, secure his election. Accordingly, when the day came, his colleagues were surprised

to see him the first upon the list of those who stood for the office; and still more, when they found him elected by a great majority of the giddy people, who mistook his ambition for popularity. His friends also were elected through his influence. Fabius, Cornelius, Servilius, Minucius, Antonius, and Rabulius, who were patricians, together with Petillius, Oppius, and Duellius, plebians, formed the second decemvirate. These three last were chosen from among the people by the interest of Appius; who, to ingratiate himself with the multitude, observed, that it was very proper the people should have a share in forming those laws by which the people were to be governed.

Appius, being thus reinstated in his high office, now turned all his thoughts towards making it formidable and perpetual: he therefore convened his colleagues, and knowing them to be all his creatures, he opened to them his design of retaining the power, of which they had been put in possession. As they had been previously instructed, they readily came into his proposal; and bound themselves by the most solemn vows never to dissent among themselves; never to give up their authority; and not to make use of the opinions either of the senate or the people, but in cases of downright necessity. Now, therefore, the decemvirate put on a very different appearance from the former year; instead of only one of them being attended by his rods and axes, each made his appearance with those ensigns of terror and authority. Instead of magistrates, mild; just, and affable, the people now beheld them converted into monsters of rapine, licentiousness, and cruelty. They only made use of the forms of justice to put many of the citizens to death, and deprive others of their estates and country. Accusers and informers were suborned from among their dependents, ready to give evidence as they were commanded; while those who expected redress in any suit of justice had no prospect of success, but to enter into a criminal confederacy with their judges. Thus an universal corruption began to spread itself over the people; while the good and the wise either banished themselves from Rome, or inwardly repined at its distress.

But as such power could not long continue without some of the usual arts of deception, which tyranny must sometimes stoop to, in order to show the people that they were not

unmindful of their duty, they added two tables more of laws to those already promulgated, which together, formed, as we have already said, that body of laws, that goes by the name of the twelve tables. In these last there was a law, prohibiting all marriages between the patricians and plebeians, by which they hoped to widen the breach between these two orders, and thus avail themselves of their mutual animosity. Their designs, however, were easily seen through; but the people bore them with patience, for the time of the expiration of their office was now at hand, in which it was expected they would lay down their misused authority. But they soon threw off the mask; and, regardless either of the approbation of the senate or the people, continued themselves against all order another year in the decemvirate. A conduct so notorious produced new discontents, and these were as sure to produce fresh acts of tyranny. The city was become almost a desert, with respect to all who had any thing to lose; and the decemvirs' rapacity was then only discontinued when they wanted fresh objects to exercise it upon. In this state of slavery, proscription, and mutual distrust, not one citizen was found to strike for his country's freedom; these tyrants continued to rule without control, being constantly guarded, not with their lictors alone, but a numerous crowd of dependents, clients, and even patricians, whom their vices had confederated round them.

In this gloomy situation of the state, the *Ætqui* and *Volsci*, those constant enemies of the Romans, undertook their incursions, resolved to profit by the intestine divisions of the people, and advanced within about ten miles of Rome. This was an unexpected stroke to the decemviri, who had no authority to raise an army themselves, and therefore went reluctantly to ask aid from the senate, whose deliberations had now been long suspended. In this pressing juncture, the senate was at last called together, where Appius, in a premeditated oration, propounded the business for which they were convened. He then desired that each should speak his sentiments as he named them; but Valerius, the grandson of *Poplicola*, rising out of his turn, was ordered by the tyrant to sit down. Valerius, however, would not desist, but violently inveighed against the tyranny of the decemvirate, and their effrontery in expecting that the senate, whose power they had destroyed, should now take measures to support their betrayers.

His speech was seconded by Marcus Horatius, who, with still greater freedom, exposed their horrid invasion of the rights of their country, their outrages, their rapines, and their cruelty. Appius, at first, seemed to bear this harangue with patience; but at last his passions, long used to indulgence, could no longer keep within restraint; he flew out into violence, and threatened to have Horatius thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. All the senators exclaimed against this infringement of the liberty of free debate, as the highest breach of their privileges, and an intolerable act of power. Whereat the decemvir, a little repenting his rashness, began to excuse himself, saying, that he was willing to give liberty to all deliberations upon the question, but could not bear an emotion, which, leaving the point in debate, only seemed calculated to promote sedition: that he and his colleagues had received an unlimited power from the people, till the great work of forming the laws was finished, during which they were resolved to act to the extent of their power, and then would be answerable for their administration. This was a sufficient display of their intentions; all the uninfluenced part of the senate, particularly Claudius, the uncle of Appius, spoke with detestation of their proceedings; but a large party in the house, whom the decemviri had previously formed, and still others, whom their fears had biassed, showed themselves inclined to agree with Appius in whatever he should propose. He therefore demanded, that he and his colleagues should have a power of levying and commanding the forces that were to go against the Æqui: and immediately a decree of the senate passed, confirming this proposal.

The decemviri, now in possession of all the military as well as of the civil power, divided their army into three parts; whereof one continued with Appius in the city to keep it under awe; the other two were commanded by his colleagues, and were led, one against the Æqui, and the other against the Sabines. The Roman soldiers had now got into a method of punishing the generals, whom they disliked, by suffering themselves to be vanquished in the field. They put it in practice upon this occasion, and shamefully abandoned their camp upon the approach of the enemy. Never was the news of a victory more joyfully received at Rome than the tidings of this defeat; the generals, as is always the case, were blamed

for the treachery of their men ; some demanded that they should be deposed ; others cried out for a dictator to lead the troops to conquest ; but among the rest old Siccius Dentatus, the tribune, spoke his sentiments with his usual openness ; and, treating the generals with contempt, showed all the faults of their discipline in the camp, and their conduct in the field. Appius, in the mean time, was not remiss in observing the disposition of the people. Dentatus, in particular, was marked out for vengeance ; and, under pretence of doing him particular honour, he was appointed legate, and put at the head of the supplies which were sent from Rome. The office of legate was held as sacred among the Romans, as in it were united both the authority of a general with the reverence of the priesthood. Dentatus, no way suspecting his design, went to the camp with alacrity, where he was received with all the external marks of respect. But the generals soon found means of indulging their desire of revenge. He was appointed, at the head of a hundred men, to go and examine a more commodious place for encampment, as he had very candidly assured the commanders that their present situation was wrong. The soldiers, however, who were given as his attendants, were assassins, wretches who had long been ministers to the vengeance of the decemviri, and who now engaged to murder him, though with all that terror which his reputation, as he was called the Roman Achilles, might be supposed to inspire. With these designs they led him from the way into the hollow bosom of a retired mountain, where they began to set upon him from behind. Dentatus now too late perceived the treachery of the decemviri, and was resolved to sell his life as dearly as he could ; he therefore put his back to a rock, and defended himself against those who pressed most closely. Though now grown old, he had still the remains of his former valour, and killed no less than fifteen of the assailants, and wounded thirty with his own hand. The assassins now, therefore, terrified at his amazing bravery, showered in their javelins upon him at a distance, all which he received in his shield with undaunted resolution. The combat, though so unequal in numbers, was managed for some time with doubtful success, till at length his assailants bethought themselves of ascending the rock against which he stood, and thus poured down stones upon him from above. This succeeded. The

old soldier fell beneath their united efforts, after having shown by his death, that it was owing to his fortitude, and not his fortune, that he had come off so many times victorious. The decemviri pretended to join in the general sorrow for so brave a man, and decreed him a funeral with the first military honours: but the greatness of their apparent distress, compared with their known hatred, only rendered them still more detestable to the people. However, a transaction still more atrocious than the former served to inspire the citizens with resolution to break all measures of obedience, and at last to restore freedom.

Appius, who still remained at Rome, sitting one day on his tribunal to dispense justice, saw a maiden of exquisite beauty, and aged about fifteen, passing to one of the public schools, attended by a matron, her nurse. The charms of this damsel, heightened by all the innocence of virgin modesty, caught his attention, and fired his heart. The day following, as she passed, he found her still more beautiful than before, and his breast still more inflamed. He now, therefore, resolved to obtain the gratification of his passion, whatever should be the consequence, and found means to inform himself of the virgin's name and family. Her name was Virginia. She was the daughter of Virginius, a centurion, then with the army in the field, and had been contracted to Isilius, formerly a tribune of the people, who had agreed to marry her at the end of the present campaign. Appius at first resolved to break this match, and to espouse her himself; but the laws of the twelve tables had forbidden the patricians to intermarry with the plebeians, and he could not infringe these, as he was the enactor of them. Nothing, therefore, remained but a criminal enjoyment, which, as he was long used to the indulgence of all his passions, he resolved on. After having vainly tried to corrupt the fidelity of her nurse, he had recourse to another expedient still more guilty. He pitched upon one Claudius, who had long been the minister of his pleasure, to assert that the beautiful maid was his slave, and to refer the cause to his tribunal for decision. Claudius behaved exactly according to his instructions; for entering into the school where Virginia was playing among her female companions, he seized upon her as his property, and was going to drag her away by force, but was prevented by the people drawn together by her cries.

At length, however, after the first heat of opposition was over, he led the weeping virgin to the tribunal of Appius, and there plausibly exposed his pretensions. He asserted, that she was born in his house of a female slave, who sold her to the wife of Virginus, who had been barren: that he had several creditable evidences to prove the truth of what he said, but that, until they could come together, it was but reasonable that the slave should be delivered into his custody, being her proper master. Appius seemed to be struck with the justice of his claims; he observed, that if the reputed father himself were present, he might indeed be willing to delay the delivery of the maiden for some time, but that it was not lawful for him, in the present case, to detain her from her lawful master. He therefore adjudged her to Claudius as his slave, to be kept by him till Virginus should be able to prove his paternity. This sentence was received with loud clamours and reproaches by the multitude; the women, in particular, came round the innocent Virginia, as if willing to protect her from her judge's fury; while Icilius, her lover, boldly opposed the decree, and obliged Claudius to take refuge under the tribunal of the decemvir. All things now threatened an open insurrection; when Appius, fearing the event, thought proper to suspend his judgment till the arrival of Virginus, who was then about eleven miles from Rome with the army. The day following, however, was fixed for the trial; and in the mean time Appius sent letters to the generals to confine Virginus, as his arrival in town might only serve to kindle sedition among the people. These letters, however, were intercepted by the centurion's friends, who sent him down a full relation of the design laid against the liberty and the honour of his only daughter. Virginus, upon this, pretending the death of a near relation, got permission to leave the camp, and flew to Rome, inspired with indignation and revenge. Accordingly, the next day he appeared before the tribunal, to the astonishment of Appius, leading his weeping daughter by the hand, both habited in the deepest mourning. Claudius, the accuser, was also there, and began by making his demand: he said; that it was well known that the children of slaves belonged to the masters of their parents; and that Virginia was born in slavery. He observed, that pity might be an inducement to many to forego their claims;

but that he would sacrifice all lesser considerations to justice. He then produced a female slave, whom he had corrupted, to swear that she had sold Virginia to the wife of her reputed father: and he ended his pretensions by asserting, that he could confirm her testimony by that of many others, had it been needful. Virginius next spoke in turn: he represented, that his wife had many children, that she had been seen pregnant by numbers; that if he had intentions of adopting a supposititious child, he would have fixed upon a boy rather than a girl; that it was notorious to all, that his wife had herself suckled her own child; and that it was surprising such a claim should be now revived, after a fifteen years' discontinuance. While the father spoke this with a stern air, Virginia stood trembling by, and with looks of persuasive innocence added weight to all his remonstrances. The people seemed entirely satisfied of the hardship of his case, till Appius, fearing what he said might have dangerous effects upon the multitude, interrupted him, under a pretence of being sufficiently instructed in the merits of the cause. "Yes," says he, "my conscience obliges me to declare, that I myself am a witness to the truth of the deposition of Claudius. Most of this assembly know that I was left guardian to this youth, and I was very early apprised that he had a right to this young woman; but the affairs of the public, and the dissensions of the people, then prevented my doing him justice. However, it is not now too late; and by the power vested in me for the public good, I adjudge Virginia to be the property of Claudius, the plaintiff. Go, therefore, lictors, disperse the multitude, and make room for a master to repossess himself of his slave." The lictors, in obedience to his command, soon drove off the throng that pressed round the tribunal; and now they seized upon Virginia, and were delivering her up into the hands of Claudius, when Virginius, who found that all was over, seemed to acquiesce in the sentence. He therefore mildly entreated Appius to be permitted to take a last farewell of her whom he had long considered as his child, and that so satisfied he would return to his duty with fresh alacrity. With this the decemvir complied, but upon condition that their endearments should pass in his presence. Virginius, with the most poignant anguish, took his almost expiring daughter in his arms; he for a while supported her head upon his breast, and wiped away the tears:

that rolled down her lovely visage ; and happening to be near the shops that surrounded the forum, he snatched up a knife that lay on the shambles, and addressing his daughter, " My dearest, lost child," cried he, " this, this alone can preserve your honour and your freedom." So saying, he buried the weapon in her breast, and then holding it up reeking with the blood of his daughter, " Appius," he cried, " by this blood of innocence I devote thy head to the infernal gods." Thus saying, with the bloody knife in his hand, and threatening destruction to whosoever should oppose him, he ran through the city wildly, calling upon the people to strike for freedom, and from thence went to the camp, in order to spread a similar flame through the army.

He no sooner arrived at the camp, followed by a number of his friends, but he informed the army of all that was done, still holding the bloody knife in his hand. He asked their pardon, and the pardon of the gods, for having committed so rash an action, but ascribed it all to the dreadful necessity of the times. He implored them, by that blood which was dearer to him than his own, to redeem their sinking country, observing, that no military oaths could bind them to their commanders, who were usurpers all of them, and could pretend to no real authority. The army, already predisposed, immediately with shouts echoed their assent, and, decamping, left their generals behind, to take their station once more upon Mount Aventine, whither they had retired about forty years before. The other army, which had been to oppose the Sabines, seemed to feel a similar resentment, and came over in large parties to join them.

Appius, in the mean time, did all he could to quell the disturbances in the city ; but finding the tumult incapable of being controlled, and perceiving that his mortal enemies, Valerius and Horatius, were the most active in opposition, he at first attempted to find safety by flight ; nevertheless, being encouraged by Oppius, who was one of his colleagues, he ventured to assemble the senate, and urged the punishment of all deserters. The senate, however, was far from giving him the relief he sought for : they foresaw the danger and miseries that threatened the state in case of opposing the incensed army ; they therefore dispatched messengers to them, offering to restore their former mode of government, to which the

people joyfully assented, and returned to the city, if not with the ensigns, at least with the pleasure of a triumphant army.

Thus ended the decemvirate, after having continued somewhat less than three years. I have given the picture of this administration after the Roman historians, aggravated with all the invectives with which they usually load it. However, if there be any part of their history in which they show a manifest prejudice, it is here. The charges against the decemviri, of rapine and murder, are all, except one or two, merely general; and of these which are specified, the facts do not seem equipollent to the accusation. However, the limits I have assigned myself in this work are too short to permit a discussion of their veracity; and perhaps too it is our wisest way, at this distant period, to take the accounts as given us by the historians of the time, and not to show an affectation of sagacity, by attempting to new state an evidence which has been credited through successive ages. All that may be observed is, that the laws promulgated by this body of men were reckoned an admirable compilation, and ever after in Rome, and even in most parts of Europe, even to this day, have continued among lawyers to be of the greatest authority.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE EXPULSION OF THE DECEMVIRI TO THE BURNING OF ROME BY THE GAULS.

U.C. 304. THE people, now freed from a yoke which they had laid upon themselves, elected Valerius and Horatius consuls for the ensuing part of the year, and Virginiius and Icilius of the number of their tribunes. The punishment of the decemviri was what first engaged the attention of these popular magistrates; and Appius was appointed a day to answer the charges brought against him of tyranny and murder. Oppius, one of his colleagues, next to him in guilt, was also arraigned; but both too well saw what mercy they had to expect, either from their judges, who were professed enemies, or from the people, whose resentment they had but too frequently incurred: they therefore resolved to prevent that fury which they could not withstand, and both

died by their own hands in prison. The other eight went into voluntary exile ; and Claudius, the pretended master of Virginia, was driven out after them. Thus the vengeance of the tribunes pursued these devoted men, and seemed as yet unsatisfied with punishing. They were preparing to outgo those whom they had deposed for cruelty in the very same walks of rage ; and the senate began to tremble at seeing so many of their members devoted to destruction. Duilius, however, one of the tribunes, being more moderate than the rest of his colleagues, quieted their fears, by openly professing, that no more blood should be shed on this occasion ; that sufficient vengeance had been taken for the death of Virginia ; and that he forbade all future prosecutions on that account.

...This in some measure satisfied the senate for the present, but they soon found cause of fresh resentment. The two new consuls seemed entirely to have abandoned the interests of the patricians, and, equally popular with the tribunes themselves, to study only the gratification of the people. They procured a law, by which each of the plebeians should, in his individual capacity, have as much influence in all elections and deliberations whatsoever as any one of the patricians, which gave the finishing blow to all distinction between them.

A law, so injurious to the power of the senate; produced, as may be easily supposed, a desire to mortify the consuls, who only aimed at increasing their own influence by the depression of that body. An opportunity for this soon offered, for the consuls, having marched against the Æqui and Sabines, gained a complete victory, and demanded a triumph. The senate, however, were resolved not to comply, and declared them unworthy of that honour. The consuls appealed to the people, and, complaining loudly against the senate, procured a law for the privilege of a triumph, by the authority of the plebeians alone. Thus did the two orders of the state continue for some years mutually opposing each other ; the patricians defending the small shadow of distinction which they had left, and the people daily insisting upon fresh concessions, as if their appetites increased by what was granted to satisfy them.

In the mean time, these intestine tumults produced weakness within the state, and confidence in the enemy abroad. The wars with the Æqui and Volsci still continued ; and as each year some trifling advantages were obtained over the

Romans, they at last advanced so far as to make their incursions to the very walls of Rome. But not the U.C. 309. courage only of the Romans seemed diminished by these contests, but their other virtues also, particularly their justice. About this time, the inhabitants of two neighbouring cities, Ardea and Aricia, had a contest between themselves about some lands that had long been claimed by both. At length, being unable to agree, they referred it to the senate and the people of Rome. The senate had yet some of the principles of primitive justice remaining, and refused to determine the dispute. But the people readily undertook the decision; and one Scaptius, an old man, declaring that these very lands of right belonged to Rome, they immediately voted themselves to be the legal possessors, and sent home the former litigants, thoroughly convinced of their own folly and the Roman injustice.

The tribunes now grew more and more turbulent, and having come into a principal share in the administration of government, nothing would satisfy them without having a participation of the whole. With these views they proposed two laws, one to permit plebeians to intermarry with patricians, and the other to permit them to be admitted to the consulship also. The senators received these proposals with their accustomed indignation, and seemed resolved to undergo the utmost extremities rather than submit to enacting them. However, finding their resistance only increase the commotions of the state, they at last consented to pass the law concerning marriages, hoping that this concession would satisfy the people. But they were to be appeased but for a very short time; for returning to their old custom of refusing to enlist upon the approach of the enemy, the consuls were forced to hold a private conference with the chief of the senate, where, after many debates, Claudius proposed an expedient, as the most probable means of satisfying the people in the present conjuncture. This was, by no means to contaminate the consulship by suffering it to come into the hands of the people, but to create six or eight governors in the room of consuls, whereof, one half at least should be patricians. This project, which was but a poor subterfuge, and was, in fact, granting what the people demanded, pleased the whole meeting; and that nothing might seem preconcerted among them, they

agreed, that at the next public meeting of the senate, the consuls should, contrary to their usual custom, begin by asking the opinion of the youngest senator, whereas, formerly, they always began by asking that of the senior. Upon assembling the senate, one of the tribunes accused them of holding secret meetings, and managing dangerous designs against the people. The consuls, on the other hand, averred their innocence, and, to demonstrate their sincerity, gave any of the younger members of the house leave to propound their opinions. These remaining silent; such of the older senators as were known to be popular began by observing, that the people ought to be indulged in their request, and that none so well deserved power as those who were most instrumental in gaining it, and that the city could not be free until all were reduced to perfect equality. Claudius, as was agreed upon, spoke next, and though very willing to advance the intentions of those who spoke before him, in order to conceal his designs, he broke out into bitter investives against the people, asserting, that it was his opinion, that the law should not pass. This produced some disturbance among the plebeians; but at length Genatius, as if to moderate between the senate and the people, proposed, as had been preconcerted, that six governors should be annually chosen, with consular authority, three from the senate and three from the people; and that when the time of their magistracy should be expired, then it would be seen, whether they would have the same office continued, or whether the consulship should be established upon its former footing. This project was eagerly embraced by the people, because it promised something new, and leave was given to any of the plebeians to stand for this new office. Yet so fickle were the multitude, that though many of their own rank stood, yet none of them were thought worthy of the honour, and the choice wholly fell upon the patricians who offered themselves as candidates. Thus a new form of government was now to be tried, the people still mistaking change for improvement. These new magistrates were called Military Tribunes; they were at first but three, afterwards they were increased to four, and at length to six. They had the power and the ensigns of consuls, yet their power being divided among a number, each singly was of less authority. The first that were chosen only continued in their office about three

months, the augurs having found something amiss in the ceremonies of their election.

The military tribunes being deposed, the consuls once more came into office; and, in order to lighten the weight of business which they were obliged to sustain, a new office was elected, namely, that of Censors, who were to be chosen every fifth year. Their business was to take an estimate of the number and estates of the people, and to distribute them into their proper classes; to inspect into the lives and manners of their fellow-citizens; to degrade senators for misconduct; to dismount knights, and to turn down plebeians from their tribes into an inferior, in case of misdemeanor. The first two censors were Papirius and Sempronius, both patricians; and from this order they continued to be elected for near a hundred years.

This new creation served to restore peace for some time among the orders; and a triumph gained over the Volscians, by Geganus the consul, added to the universal satisfaction that reigned among the people. As it was said of the Greeks, that a victory gained at the Olympic games raised the conqueror to the highest pitch of human splendour, so it might be said of the Romans, that a triumph was the greatest honour they had any idea of. For this their generals fought, not less than for the benefit of the state; the people also, when entertained with such spectacles, forgot their private distresses in an empty notion of their country's glory.

This calm, however, was but of short continuance; for some time after, a famine pressing hard upon the poor, the usual complaints against the rich were renewed, and these, as before, proving ineffectual, produced new seditions. The U.C.313. consuls were accused of neglect, in not having laid in proper quantities of corn; they, however, disregarded the murmurs of the populace, content with exerting all their care in attempts to supply the pressing necessities. But though they did all that could be expected from active magistrates, in dividing and distributing provisions to the poor, yet Spurius Mælius, a rich knight, who had purchased up all the corn of Tuscan, by far outshone them in liberality. This patrician, who had long beheld the struggles of the state, was inflamed with a secret desire of becoming powerful by its contentions: he therefore distributed corn in great quantities among the

poorer sort each day, till at last his house became the asylum of all such as wished to exchange a life of labour for one of lazy dependence. When he had thus gained a sufficient number of partizans, he procured large quantities of arms to be purchased and brought into his house by night, and formed a plan of conspiracy, by which he was to be made commander, while some of the tribunes, whom he had found means to corrupt, were to act under him, in seizing upon the liberties of his country. Minucius, who was at that time appointed to the care of providing for the people, soon discovered the plot that was thus formed against their freedom, and informing the senate thereof, they immediately formed a resolution of creating a dictator, who should have the power of quelling the conspiracy, without appealing to the people. Cincinnatus, who was now eighty years old, was chosen once more to rescue his country from impending danger. He began by summoning Mælius to appear, who being, as he thought, sufficiently supported by the multitude, refused to obey. He next sent Ahala, the master of his horse, to force him; who meeting him in the forum, and pressing Mælius to follow him to the dictator's tribunal, upon his refusal, Ahala killed him upon the spot. The dictator applauded the resolution of his officer, and commanded the conspirator's goods to be sold, and his house to be demolished, distributing his stores among the people.

The tribunes of the people were much enraged at the death of Mælius; and in order, in some measure, to punish the senate at the next election, instead of consuls, insisted upon restoring their military tribunes. With this the senate were obliged to comply; and though the U.C.315. plebeians had a right of being taken into the office, three patricians, as in the former election, were again chosen. The next year, however, the government returned to its ancient channel, and consuls were chosen.

During these contests, the Veians and the Volscians went on with their customary incursions, and the very allies of Rome themselves began to waver in their allegiance. Fidenæ, an ancient colony belonging to the Romans, revolted to Tolumnius, king of the Veians; and, still more to enhance their crime, murdered the ambassadors that were sent to complain of their infidelity. To punish this conduct with more

signal vengeance, a dictator was appointed, and the choice fell upon Mamercus Æmilius. A victory was obtained over the Veii, the king of their nation was slain, and Æmilius marched back to Rome with all the ensigns of triumph, ennobled by the spoils of a king.

It should seem now as if the senate and consuls could carry on no business by their own authority alone, since we find them, the year following, creating another dictator, to oppose a threatened confederacy of the Veian nations. Servilius Priscus was chosen to this high office. The year succeeding we read of Æmilius, who had been dictator so lately before, being again chosen. He having no employment abroad, was resolved to do something at home, and accordingly caused the censorship, which had been before appointed to continue eight years, to be held but for one year and a half; for which the censors soon after fined and degraded him, upon laying down his office. This conduct of theirs, on the other hand, enraged the people, and instead of consuls, military tribunes were the next time chosen. In about four years after, U.C.320. consuls were introduced again, and upon a threatened invasion of the Æqui, a dictator, Posthumius Tubero, was created, who closed his dictatorship with a triumph. Four years after this, the fluctuation of counsels brought up military U.C.326. tribunes again, and their want of success in war obliged the people to create Æmilius, for the third time, dictator, who gained another triumph. For two years after this military tribunes continued; then consuls, and then tribunes again: thus the state continued to fluctuate between the different orders for more than fifteen years, during which time there was but little of any thing important transacted, either abroad or at home; the senate seemed to have lost all its authority, and the people all their military virtue. The former, who were possessed of the riches of the state, seemed willing to grant all their privileges, in order to secure their property from the agrarian law; and the people employed so much time in attending the harangues of their tribunes, that they became poor, discontented, and noisy. Whenever the approach of an enemy was talked of, the danger was so magnified by either the fears or the real weakness of the state, that nothing but that desperate method of choosing a dictator could be found to oppose it. So that, in a period of twenty

years, we find the people above ten times giving up their liberty, their possessions, and their lives, to one of their fellow-citizens, and only indebted for their safety to his still remaining virtue. Thus after Æmilius, Servilius Priscus was again chosen, whom we have mentioned as thrice dictator before, and after him Cornelius Cossus. These absolute magistrates, it is true, in some measure restored discipline to the army, and increased the territories of the state: but it was purchasing conquest too dear, to give up all that was valuable in life to obtain it. The ill effects, indeed, of their absolute authority were not discovered till many years after; at present, the senate seemed pleased with electing a magistrate out of their own body, who could intimidate the people: the multitude, on the other hand, were proud to follow and obey one, who generally led them to conquest and plunder: for the dictators usually divided the spoils of the conquered towns among them, in order to increase their own popularity. Thus the plunder of Anxur, a city taken from the Volscians, seemed to diffuse a new spirit amongst them, which, however, continued no longer than until their necessities called for a new supply.

Things continued in this state of commotion for a long time, factions becoming every day stronger, and the government weaker; the tribunes of the people still augmenting the breach between the orders of the commonwealth, and calling their licentiousness liberty. At length, however, the senate hit upon an expedient, which served greatly to increase their own power, and, at the same time, highly pleasing to the people: though, it must be owned, it served to show how greatly the Romans were fallen from their former virtues. The citizens, who went to the field, had hitherto fought their country's battles for nothing; they were husbandmen and soldiers; the same hands, that drew the sword in one season, were seen holding the plough in another; and they were obliged to furnish, not only their own arms, but their own provisions, during the campaign. In these difficulties, however, they cheerfully acquiesced, as the hopes of plunder, and the honours of returning in triumph, were considered as an ample compensation. Nevertheless, it sometimes fell out, that if the campaign was of long continuance, their little farms remained untilled, and they themselves were re-

daced the next season to extreme indigence. Hence they were obliged to incur debts, and hence proceeded that various train of extortions, usuries, and petty cruelties, which the creditors made use of to oppress the people. To remedy these evils, the senate unanimously came to a resolution of paying the soldiery out of the treasury; and for this purpose they laid on a new tax, from which none of the citizens were to be exempted. This regulation, in some measure, gave a new turn to the Roman method of making war; as what might before have been called incursions, were now become regular, lengthened campaigns. The senate was now no longer to be obliged to the tribunes in order to raise an army, as the people would gladly enlist, since they were sure of their reward. Nothing, therefore, could exceed their joy upon this occasion; they surrounded the senate house with acclamations, they offered to follow their conscript fathers wherever they should lead them, and promised never to murmur more.

The senate thus reconciled to the people, and now become masters of an army that they could keep in the field as long as they thought proper, resolved to take signal vengeance of the Veians, and besiege their capital city, though the attempt should endanger their own. The city of Veii had long been a flourishing, strong, and formidable place: it was seated upon a craggy rock, and furnished with resolute and numerous defenders. It had lately changed its form of government, from republican into that of kingly; and such a change being disliked by the allies of this state, this contributed in some measure to their tamely suffering it to be surrounded by the Roman army. The Romans, indeed, had every reason to inspire them with resentment. The Veians had long been the rivals of Rome: they had ever taken the opportunity of its internal distresses to ravage its territories, and had even treated its ambassadors, sent to complain of these injuries, with outrage. It seemed now therefore determined, that Veii, whatever it should cost, was to fall; and the Romans accordingly sat regularly down before it, prepared for a long and painful resistance. The strength of the place may be inferred from the continuance of the siege, which lasted for ten years, during which time the army continued encamped round it, lying in winter, under tents made of the skins of beasts, and in summer driving on the operations of the attack. Various was the suc-

cess, and many were the commanders that directed the siege: sometimes all the besiegers' works were destroyed, and many of their men cut off, by sallies from the town: sometimes they were annoyed by an army of Veians, who attempted to bring assistance from without. A siege so bloody seemed to threaten depopulation to Rome itself, by draining its forces continually away; so that a law was obliged to be made, for all the bachelors to marry the widows of the soldiers who were slain. The tribunes of the people also did not fail to render this great undertaking still more arduous by their continual murmurs, and skill in raising dissensions at home. They blamed the commanders, and prohibited the taxes from being raised, which were to pay the soldiery; and, still more to perplex the senate, they began to make new proposals for passing the agrarian law. Such dissensions among the Romans, and so much obstinacy on the part of the Veii, began to depress the sanguine expectations of the senate: they trembled for the consequences of so much blood and treasure expended in an ineffectual siege; therefore, willing to strike one vigorous blow before relinquishing their favourite aim, they created *Furius Camillus* dictator, and to him was entrusted the sole power of managing the long-protracted war.

Camillus was a man, who, without intrigue or any solicitation, had raised himself to the first eminence in the state; he had been made one of the censors some time before, and was considered as the head of that office: he was afterwards made a military tribune, and had in this post gained several advantages over the enemy. It was his great courage and abilities in the above offices, that made him thought most worthy to serve his country on this pressing occasion. Upon his appointment numbers of the people flocked to his standard, confident of success under so experienced a commander. He accordingly drew out his forces against the enemy, and overthrew the *Halisci*, one of the little powers confederated against Rome, with great slaughter: the *Capenates* also shared the same fate, and were obliged to beg protection; wherefore, being thus master of the field, he turned all his force to prosecute the siege of *Veii* with vigour. Conscious, however, that he was unable to take the city by storm, he secretly wrought a mine into it, with vast labour, which opened into the midst of the citadel. Certain thus of success, and finding the city

incapable of relief, he sent to the senate, desiring, that all who chose to share in the plunder of Veii should immediately repair to the army. Then giving his men directions how to enter at the breach, the city was instantly filled with his legions, to the amazement and consternation of the besieged, who but a moment before had rested in perfect security. Thus, like a second Troy, was the city of Veii taken, after a ten years' siege, and with its spoils enriched the conquerors; while Camillus himself, transported with the honour of having subdued the rival of his native city, triumphed after the manner of the kings of Rome, having his chariot drawn by four milk-white horses; a distinction which did not fail to disgust the majority of the spectators, as they considered those emblems as sacred, and more proper for doing honour to their gods than their generals.

The people soon after pretended to find still greater cause of offence. Their tribunes had proposed, that the senate and people should divide into two parts, whereof one should continue in Rome, the other should settle at Veii, their new conquest. This, Camillus earnestly opposed, and diverted the multitude from their intention, though it procured their anger. Nor were they less displeased with him soon after, when they found themselves obliged to restore the tenth part of the plunder they had taken, which, before the siege, he had devoted to Apollo. The soldiers, for the most part, had spent theirs long since, so that they would have been incapable of refunding, had not the Roman women parted with their golden ornaments, to the amount of eight talents of gold, to supply them. For this generous action they were decreed the privilege of having funeral orations pronounced over their bodies, which had not been allowed to women before. Camillus was rendered by this step still more unpopular than before.

However, in the midst of this general dislike, he was, some time after, created one of the military tribunes, and sent against the Falisci, who had been making their accustomed incursions upon the Roman territories. His usual good fortune attended him in this expedition: he routed their army, and besieged their capital city, Falerii, which threatened a long and vigorous resistance. The reduction of this little place would have been scarcely worth mentioning in this scanty page, were it not for an action of the Roman general,

that has done him more credit with posterity than all his other triumphs united. A schoolmaster, who had the care of the children belonging to the principal men of the city, having found means to decoy them into the Roman camp, offered to put them into the hands of Camillus, as the surest means of inducing the citizens to a speedy surrender. The general was struck with the treachery of a wretch, whose duty it was to protect innocence, and not to betray it. He for some time regarded the traitor with a stern air; but at last finding words, "Execrable villain!" cried the noble Roman, "offer thy abominable proposals to creatures like thyself, and not to me. What though we be the enemies of your city, yet there are natural ties that bind all mankind, which should never be broken: there are duties required from us in war as well as in peace. We fight now, not against an age of innocence, but against men—men who have used us ill indeed, but yet whose crimes are virtues when compared to thine. Against such base arts let it be my duty to use only Roman arts, the arts of valour and of arms." So saying, he immediately ordered him to be stripped, his hands tied behind him, and in that ignominious manner to be whipped into the town by his own scholars. This generous behaviour in Camillus effected more than his arms could do: the magistrates of the town immediately submitted to the senate, leaving to Camillus the conditions of their surrender, who only fined them a sum of money to satisfy his army, and received them under the protection and into the alliance of Rome.

Notwithstanding the veneration, which the virtues of Camillus had excited abroad, they seemed but little adapted to bring over the respect of the turbulent tribunes at home, as they raised some fresh accusation against him every day. To the charge of being an opposer of their intended migration from Rome to Veii, they added that of his having concealed a part of the plunder of that city, particularly two brazen gates, for his own use, and appointed him a day on which to appear before the people. Camillus, finding the multitude exasperated against him upon many pretences, and detesting their ingratitude, resolved not to wait the ignominy of a trial, but, embracing his wife and children, prepared to depart from Rome. He had already passed as far as one of the gates, unattended on his way, and unlamented. There, however,

he could suppress his indignation no longer, but turning his face to the capitol, and lifting up his hands to Heaven; he entreated all the gods that his country might one day be sensible of their injustice and ingratitude; and so saying, he passed forward to take refuge at Ardea, a town at a little distance from Rome, where he afterwards learned that he had been fined fifteen hundred asses by the tribunes at Rome.

The tribunes were not a little pleased with their triumph over this great man; but they soon had reason to repent their injustice, and to wish for the assistance of one, who alone was able to protect their country from ruin. For now a more terrible and redoubtable enemy began to make its appearance than the Romans had ever yet encountered: the Gauls, a barbarous nation, had about two centuries before made an irruption from beyond the Alps, and settled in the northern parts of Italy. They had been invited over by the deliciousness of the wines, and the softness of the climate. Wherever they came, they dispossessed the original inhabitants, being men of extraordinary stature, fierce in aspect, barbarous in their manners, and prone to emigration. Not content with having subdued and peopled most of the northern parts of Italy, they were still inviting others from their native deserts beyond the Alps, to come over and spread terror and desolation in the fruitful regions of this new discovered country. A body of these, wild from their original habitations, were now besieging Clusium, a city of Etruria, under the conduct of Brennus their king. The inhabitants of Clusium, frightened at their numbers, and still more at their savage appearance, entreated the assistance, or at least the mediation, of the Romans.

The senate, who long had made it a maxim never to refuse succour to the distressed, were willing previously to send ambassadors to the Gauls, to dissuade them from their enterprise, and to show the injustice of their irruption. Accordingly, three young senators were chosen out of the family of the Fabii, to manage the commission, who seemed rather fitted for the field than the cabinet. Brennus received them with a degree of complaisance, that argued but little of the barbarian, and desiring to know the business of their embassy, was answered, according to their instructions, that it was not customary in Italy to make war but upon just grounds of provocation, and that they desired to know what offence the

citizens of Clusium had given to the king of the Gauls? To this Brennus sternly replied, that the rights of valiant men lay in their swords; that the Romans themselves had no other right to the many cities they had conquered; and that he had particular reasons of resentment against the people of Clusium, as they refused to part with those lands, which they had neither hands to till nor inhabitants to occupy. The Roman ambassadors, who were but little used to bear the language of a conqueror, for a while dissembled their resentment at this haughty reply; but, upon entering the besieged city, instead of acting as ambassadors, forgetful of their sacred characters, they headed the citizens in a sally against the besiegers. In this combat Fabius Ambustus killed a Gaul with his own hand, but was discovered while he was despoiling him of his armour. A conduct so unjust and unbecoming excited the resentment of Brennus, who having made his complaint, by a herald, to the senate, and finding no redress, immediately broke up the siege, and marched away with his conquering army directly to Rome.

The countries through which the Gauls passed, in their rapid progress, gave up all hopes of safety upon their approach, being terrified at their vast numbers, the fierceness of their natures, and their dreadful preparations for war. But the rage and impetuosity of this wild people were directed only against Rome. They went on without doing the least injury in their march, still breathing vengeance only against the Romans.

Six military tribunes at that time commanded the Roman army: the number of their forces, which amounted to forty thousand men, was nearly equal to those of Brennus; but the soldiers were less obedient, and the generals had neither subordination to assist, nor confidence to unite, each other. The two armies met beside the river Allia, eleven miles from the city, both equally confident of victory, both equally dreading to survive a defeat. The leaders on either side put their forces in array. The Romans, to prevent being surrounded, extended their lines, and placed their best legions in the wings of their army. The Gauls, on the other hand, by a happy disposition, had their choicest men in the middle, and with these they made the most desperate attack. The centre of the Roman army, unable to withstand

the impetuosity of the charge, quickly gave way, while the two wings saw themselves in a manner divided from each other, and their centre occupied by the enemy. They made, for a time, a feeble attempt to join each other, but finding it impracticable, a rout ensued, in which the Romans seemed to have lost all power, not only of resistance, but of flight. Nothing but terror and blind confusion reigned through their scattered troops; the wretched remains of their army, either were drowned in attempting to cross over the Tiber, or went to take refuge in Veii, while a few of them returned to Rome, with the dreadful account of their country's overthrow. All hopes being now over, the few remaining inhabitants that were able to bear arms threw themselves into the capitol, which they fortified, in order to hold out a siege. The rest of the people, a poor helpless multitude of old men, women, and children, endeavoured to hide themselves in some of the neighbouring towns, or resolved to await the conqueror's fury, and end their lives with the ruin of their native city. But more particularly the ancient senators and priests, struck with a religious enthusiasm, on this occasion resolved to devote their lives to atone for the crimes of the people, and habited in their robes of ceremony, placed themselves in the forum, on their ivory chairs. The Gauls, in the mean time, were giving a loose to their triumph, in sharing and enjoying the plunder of the enemy's camp. Had they immediately marched to Rome upon gaining the victory, the capitol itself had been taken; but they continued two days feasting upon the field of battle, and, with barbarous pleasure, exulting amidst their slaughtered enemies. On the third day after the victory, the easiness of which much amazed the Gauls, Brennus appeared with all his forces before the city. He was at first much surprised to find the gates wide open to receive him, and the walls defenceless; so that he began to impute the unguarded situation of the place to a stratagem of the Romans. After proper precautions, however, he entered the city, and marching into the forum, there beheld the ancient senators sitting in their order, observing a profound silence, unmoved and undaunted. The splendid habits, the majestic gravity, and the venerable looks of these old men, who had all, in their time, borne the highest offices of the state, awed the barbarous enemy into reverence; they took them to be the tutelar deities of the place, and be-

gan to offer blind adoration; till one, more forward than the rest, put forth his hand to stroke the beard of Papirius, whom we have already seen enjoying the dignity of dictator. This insult the noble Roman could not endure, but, lifting up his ivory sceptre, struck the savage to the ground. This seemed as a signal for general slaughter. Papirius fell first, and all the rest shared his fate, without mercy or distinction. Thus the fierce invaders pursued their slaughter for three days successively, sparing neither sex nor age, and then, setting fire to the city, burnt down every house to the ground.

All the hopes of Rome were now placed in the capitol, every thing without that fortress was but an extensive scene of misery, desolation, and despair. All the magnificent buildings, which were once the pride of Rome, were now become a heap of shapeless ruin. Nor was it the city alone that felt the utmost rage of the conquerors, but all the neighbouring towns that were accessible to their incursion shared the same fate, and were burnt without compassion. Still, however, the citadel remained, and Brennus tried every art to reduce it into his power; he first summoned it, with threats, to surrender, but in vain; he then resolved to besiege it in form, and hemmed it round with his army. The Romans, however, repelled his attempts with great bravery: despair had supplied them with that perseverance and vigour, which they seemed to want when in prosperity.

The siege had now continued for above six months, the provisions of the garrison were almost exhausted, their numbers lessened with continual fatigue, and nothing seemed to remain but death, or submitting to the mercy of the conquerors, which was worse even than death itself. They had resolved upon dying, when they were revived from their despondence by the appearance of a man, whom they saw climbing up the rock, and whom they knew upon his arrival to be a messenger from their friends abroad. This messenger's name was Pontius Comminus, who had swam across the Tiber by night, passed through the enemy's guards, and with extreme fatigue climbed up the Capitoline rock, with tidings to the besieged, that Camillus, their old dictator, was levying an army for their relief; that he had already surprised a body of the Gauls in one of their excursions, and had cut them off to a man; that the citizens of Ardea and Veii had armed in his favour, and had made him their general; and that

he only awaited the confirmation of the choice, to enter the field and give the barbarians battle. The Romans were struck with a mixture of rapture and confusion, to find that the man, whom they had formerly spurned from the city, was now, in its desperate state, become its defender. They instantly chose him for their dictator, and prepared to sustain the siege with recruited vigour. Thus the messenger, having received his answer and proper instructions, returned the way he came, not without encountering the utmost difficulties.

In the mean while, Brennus carried on the siege with extreme ardour; he hoped in time to starve the garrison into a capitulation; but they, sensible of his intent, although they were in actual want, caused several loaves to be thrown into his camp, to convince him of the futility of such expectations. His hopes, failing in this, were soon after revived, when some of his soldiers came to inform him, that they had discovered some footsteps which led up to the rock, and by which they supposed that the capitol might be surprised. Accordingly, a chosen body of his men were ordered by night upon this dangerous service, which they with great labour and difficulty almost effected: they were now got upon the very wall; the Roman sentinel was fast asleep; their dogs within gave no signal; and all promised an instant victory, when the garrison was awakened by the gagging of some sacred geese, that had been kept in the temple of Juno. The besieged soon perceived the imminence of their danger, and each snatching the weapon he could find, instantly ran to oppose the assailants. Manlius, a patrician of acknowledged bravery, was the first who exerted all his strength, and inspired courage by his example. He boldly mounted the rampart, and at one effort threw two Gauls headlong down the precipice: others soon came in to his assistance, and the walls were cleared of the enemy, in a space of time shorter than the description.

From this time forward the hopes of the barbarians began to decline, and Brennus wished for an opportunity of raising the siege with credit. His soldiers had often conferences with the besieged while upon duty, and the proposals for an accommodation were wished for by the common men, before the chiefs thought of a congress. At length the commanders on both sides came to an agreement, that the Gauls should immediately quit the city and territories of Rome, upon being paid a thousand pounds weight of gold. This agreement being

confirmed by oath on either side, the gold was brought forth, but, upon weighing, the Gauls attempted fraudulently to kick the beam, of which the Romans complaining, Brennus insultingly cast his sword and belt into the scale, crying out, that the only portion of the vanquished was to suffer. By this reply, the Romans saw that they were at the victor's mercy, and knew it was vain to expostulate against the conditions he should be pleased to impose. But in this very juncture, and while they were thus debating upon the payment, it was told them, that Camillus, their dictator, was at the head of a large army, hastening to their relief, and entering the gates of Rome. Camillus accordingly appeared soon after, and entering the place of controversy, with the air of one who was resolved not to suffer imposition, he demanded the cause of the contest; of which being informed, he ordered the gold to be taken and carried back to the capitol; "for it has ever been," cried he, "the manner with us Romans to ransom our country, not with gold, but with iron; it is I only that am to make peace, as being dictator of Rome, and my sword alone shall purchase it." Upon this a battle ensued, in which the Gauls were entirely routed, and such a slaughter followed, that the Roman territories were soon cleared of their formidable invaders.

The enemy was now vanquished, but Rome continued a heap of ruins; no part of its former magnificence remained, except the capitol, and the greatest number of its former inhabitants had gone to take refuge in Veii. The tribunes of the people, therefore, these men unheard of but in the calm of peace, began once more to urge for the removal of the poor remains of Rome to Veii, where they might have houses to shelter, and walls to defend them. On this occasion, Camillus was steady to his former principles: he attempted to appease them, with all the arts of persuasion; observing, that it was unworthy of them, both as Romans and as men, to desert the venerable seats of their ancestors, where they had been encouraged by repeated marks of Divine approbation, to remove to and inhabit a city which they had conquered, and which wanted even the good fortune of defending itself. By these and such-like remonstrances, he prevailed upon the people to go contentedly to work, and Rome soon began to rise from its ashes, though with diminished beauty.

These successes of Camillus were in some measure but preparatory to future victories. He was made dictator the next year, upon an irruption of the neighbouring states, and gained another triumph; and about three years after, overthrew the Latins, who had revolted from Rome, after an obedience of more than a hundred years' continuance. U.C.369. These successes served to render Camillus almost absolute in Rome; his moderation and patriotism, however, prevented his making a wrong use of his power, unless we may consider his conduct with regard to Manlius Capitolinus as an act of severity.

We have already seen the bravery of Manlius in defending the capitol, and saving the last remains of Rome. For this the people were by no means ungrateful, having built him a house near the place where his valour was so conspicuous, and having appointed him a public fund for his support. But his ambition was not to be satisfied with such trifling rewards; he still aspired at being not only equal to Camillus, but to be sovereign of Rome. With this view he laboured to ingratiate himself with the populace, paid their debts, and railed at the patricians, whom he called their oppressors. The senate was not ignorant of his discourses or his designs, and created Cornelius Cossus dictator, under pretext of sending him against the Volscians, who had made some successful irruptions into the Roman territories, but, in reality, with a view to curb the ambition of Manlius. The dictator soon finished his expedition against the foreign enemy by a victory, and upon his return called Manlius to an account, and put him in prison, for his conduct at home. Manlius, however, was too much the darling of the populace, to be affected by the power of Cossus; his partizans were too loud in their clamours, to permit any injury to be done to their favourite. Cossus was obliged to lay down his office, and Manlius was carried from confinement in triumph. This success only served to inflame his ambition. He now began to talk of a division of the lands among the people; he now insinuated, that there should be no distinctions in the state; and, to give weight to his discourses, he always appeared at the head of a large body of the dregs of the people, whom his largesses had made his followers. The city being thus filled with sedition and clamour, the senate were obliged to have recourse to another ex-

pedient, and to oppose the power of Camillus to his. Camillus accordingly, being made one of the military tribunes, appointed Manlius a day to answer for his life. The place in which he was tried was near the capitol, where, when he was accused of sedition, and aspiring at sovereignty, he only turned his eyes thither, and, pointing, put them in mind of what he had done for his country there. The multitude, whose compassion or whose justice seldom spring from rational motives, refused to condemn him, while he pleaded in sight of the capitol; but when he was brought from thence to the Peteline grove, and where the capitol was no longer to be seen, they condemned him to be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. Thus, the place which had been the theatre of his glory, became that of his punishment and infamy. His house, in which his conspiracies had been secretly carried on, was ordered to be razed to the ground, and his family were forbid ever after to assume the name of Manlius.

The death of Manlius in some measure renewed the murmurs of the tribunes and the people against Camillus, whom they considered as the chief instrument of his prosecution: ever unwilling to suppose themselves guilty of a severity to which they had given their consent, they began to turn their resentment upon the most worthy man of the state, as if to aggravate their baseness. However, Camillus was never, as it should seem, to want an opportunity of bringing them back to their veneration for him. Being chosen a military tribune a sixth time, though much against his consent, he, with his colleague Lucius, marched against the Volscians; Lucius all eagerness to engage the enemy, Camillus tempering his courage with moderation. This backwardness for the attack, Lucius ascribed to the timidity of old age, or the envy of a man unwilling to participate his fame; he therefore took the opportunity, when Camillus was sick, and obliged to keep his bed, to lead on his forces to the attack. But he too soon perceived the temerity of his conduct: his army was almost defeated, and an universal flight was going to ensue, when Camillus, roused from his bed, and being helped on horseback, old and infirm as he was, put himself at the head of a small body of men, opposing those that fled, and bringing them once more furiously up against their pursuers. The intrepidity of one man spread itself through the whole army; his soldiers

quickly rallied, resolving never to forsake a general, under whom they had so often fought with victory. The enemy being thus repulsed, the combat was renewed the day following, in which they were totally defeated, and Camillus returned to Rome once more loaded with the spoils of the conquest. But conquests abroad seemed only new occasions for dissensions at home, for the debtors began to complain of their hardships as formerly. The inhabitants of U.C.372. Præneste, a town belonging to the Latins, also made incursions upon the Roman territories; to quell these internal and external grievances, Quintus Cincinnatus was chosen dictator, who took Præneste by surrender, and returned in triumph with the statue of Jupiter Imperator, which he placed in the capitol; a circumstance, which, though of little seeming importance, first excited the desire of extending conquest among the Romans.

Two years after this, the contests between the U.C.375. patricians and tribunes broke out with more than usual violence. Many of the plebeians, during the distresses of their country, had either by accident or courage acquired large fortunes, and this produced a desire of sharing, not only in the government, but the honours of Rome. The people, as we have seen, had before this aspired at the consulship; and the senate, as has been related, by a trifling subterfuge, granted them military tribunes, which were possessed of consular power; but this it seems was not sufficient to satisfy their pride; the tribunes of the people now therefore renewed their claims, while the poorer part of the citizens, only intent upon acquiring the necessaries of life, and but little touched with its honours, were calm spectators of the contest: they only wanted something to strike the imagination, in order to interest them in the cause, and this at last offered. Fabius Ambustus, a tribune of the people, had two daughters, one of whom he married to a patrician, the other to a plebeian. The plebeian's wife, coming one day to visit her sister, was struck with envy at the honours which the latter received, in consequence of her patrician alliance, and from envying fell into a settled melancholy. Her father and husband, for a long time, conjured her to tell them the reasons of this alteration in her disposition, which she at last unwillingly revealed. The father, though himself a patrician, to comfort his daughter,

was prevailed upon to give her assurances that he would instantly use every means in his power to make her an equal sharer in the dignities of the state with her sister; and, not to be deficient in his promise, from that time consulted with her husband about preferring a law for making one consul out of the body of the people. Their first step was to get the husband elected a tribune of the people; and then, in order to ingratiate themselves with the multitude, they proposed, with the same law which made pretensions to the consulship, that the agrarian law, for the equal partition of lands, should also be passed; a measure, which they knew must give popularity to their ambition. The contests in consequence of this proposal were so violent, that for five years no supreme magistrate was chosen, the tribunes of the people and *adiles* governing all the time; if that might be called government, which was little better than anarchy and confusion. The military tribunes then came into government, and after two years were elapsed in this manner, Camillus was chosen dictator, who, finding the people resolute in their designs of choosing a plebeian consul, laid down his office. Upon his resignation, another dictator was chosen by the senate; but this high office had been now so often created where there was no absolute necessity, that its authority began to decline, while that of the tribunes rose upon its ruins. This dictator's name was Manlius Capitolinus: he seems to have little remarkable in his conduct, if we except his creating Licinius Stolo his master of the horse, who was the first plebeian who enjoyed that dignity. Stolo was the first also who caused a law to be passed, that no man should possess above five hundred acres of land, which was greatly disadvantageous to the patricians; but, what is still more particular, he was soon after found desirous of privately possessing more land than by his own law he was entitled to share, and, in consequence thereof, was punished by his own edict.

U. C. 377
to 382.

U. C. 384.

In this manner the flame of contention was carried on between the two orders of the state, with acrimony and perseverance, while foreign enemies only served to allay, not to extinguish it. Another invasion of the Gauls, to oppose whom Camillus was a fifth time made dictator, for a time repressed and gave a transient pause to these internal con-

motions. The dread of this people was so great among the Romans then, that a law was made, that priests should be excused from all wars, unless in an invasion of the Gauls. However, Camillus taught his countrymen the way to subdue them. Being sensible, that the chief weapon of this fierce people was the sword, he furnished his soldiers with iron helmets, and had their targets bound round with brass, and at the same time taught them the art of using their own arms to the best advantage. By these means he rendered the swords of the Gauls so unserviceable, that, giving them battle near the river Anio, he gained an easy victory, so that the Romans began to despise the Gauls, and wonder at their own pusillanimity.

A victory like this, it might be supposed, would have rendered Camillus absolute at Rome. But it seems that, whether from his advanced age, or the increasing power of the tribunes, he had by this time fallen even from the share of authority he was once possessed of. The law for
U.C.388. creating a plebeian consul being still agitated with increasing animosity, the senate as usual strongly opposed it, forbidding Camillus to lay down his dictatorship, in hopes that under the influence of his power they might be able to support their honour against the pretensions of the people. In consequence of this, while Camillus was one day sitting upon his tribunal, dispatching public affairs, the tribunes ordered that the votes of the people should be taken upon their favourite measure, and, upon the dictator's opposing, they sent a lictor to arrest and conduct him to prison. Such a mark of indignity offered to a magistrate, who had been hitherto held sacred, raised a greater commotion than had been hitherto seen in Rome. The patricians, who stood round the dictator, boldly repulsed the lictors, while the people, who stood below, with equal fury, cried out, "Down with him, down with him." In this universal uproar, Camillus was the only person that seemed unmoved. He entreated that the tribunes would give a moment's pause to their attempts: then calling the senators round him, and conducting them to a neighbouring temple, he entreated them to give peace to the city by their compliance; then turning his face towards the capitol, as if to take a last farewell of all future endeavours to serve his country, he vowed to build a temple to Concord, in case he

saw peace restored to the people. In consequence of his advice a law was made, that one of the consuls, for the future, should be chosen from the plebeians. Sextius, who had long been a turbulent tribune of the people, was the first plebeian consul that was chosen. After him succeeded Licinius, the husband of her whom we have already mentioned as languishing with the desire of dignity. There were also, at this time, two new magistrates created from among the patricians; namely, a Prætor, who was to supply the place of consul in the absence of that magistrate, and to administer justice to the people in civil and criminal cases; an officer so necessary to the state, that the number of prætors was, in after ages, increased to sixteen. There was also two Curule Ædiles created, officers so called to distinguish them from the sediles of the people, the former having the chair and other ensigns of magistracy attending them, which the latter were denied. Their chief business was to have the care of the great and public games, and of the corn and provisions taken in war. Thus Camillus, having spent a long life, being now above eighty, in the service of his country, throughout which having shown a courage not to be shaken by danger, and a patriotism which even the ingratitude of the people could not alter, laid down the dictatorship, and built a temple to Concord, according to his vow, which, however, he survived but two years, dying of the plague, and leaving behind him the reputation of being the second founder of Rome.

It was in vain, however, that measures were taken to ensure a lasting reconciliation between the patricians and the people; their disputes revived upon every occasion; for whenever new magistrates were to be chosen, each party trying all their interest to have the election in their own favour, hesitated not to use both fraud and violence to compass their desires. Thus the senate suspended all measures against the foreign enemy, lest the plebeian consul, newly elected, should come in for a share of the glory. Thus also the people soon after obtained, by their efforts, to have the curule sediles chosen, every second year from their own body, and even at length prevailed to have Marcus Rutilius, a plebeian, made dictator. To balance this, the year following, the patricians took away the consulship from the people, after they had enjoyed it ten years; and

U.C. 389.

four years after they were obliged to restore it. The election of a censor produced equal animosity; and, after many contests, the plebeian, who had been dictator, was elected to the office, against the united endeavours of the patricians.

During these contests at home, however, we are not to suppose that the Romans were unemployed, or unsuccessful in their foreign wars. They obtained a signal
U.C. 392. victory over the Hernici; so that Claudius Crassinus, the dictator, had the honour of an ovation allowed him by the senate. They obtained another over the
U.C. 393. Gauls, and Quintus Pennus, the dictator, returned with a triumph. Two succeeding victories were gained over the same people by two different dictators, namely, Servilius Ahala, and Sulpicius Deticus, who both triumphed in their turn. We read of two other dictators, namely, Manlius Torquatus and Caius Julius, who being created without any great necessity, did little, and consequently served to lessen the authority of the dictatorship. We read of a fourth triumph over the Gauls by Furius Camillus, who was created dictator to oppose them. The Arunci also, a people beyond the Volsci, made some incursions, but were repulsed by Camillus, who was created dictator a second time for that purpose.

Now were dictators created only for thus repelling the sudden incursions of the enemy, but for much more trifling purposes; in the time of a plague we find one created, namely, Manlius Capitolinus, merely to drive a nail, as a means of putting a stop to the contagion. This unimportant business he executed with great ceremony, driving it, on the right side
U.C. 391. of Jupiter's temple, into the capitol. Two dictators also were successively chosen, merely to hold the comitium, or assembly of the people, for a new election of consuls; Furius Camillus and Manlius Torquatus being chosen for these unimportant purposes.

In this manner, therefore, the Romans went gradually forward, with a mixture of turbulence and superstition within their walls, and success in enterprises without. Their contentions at home, much as war was abroad less painful and fatiguing, naturally prepared in them a turn to military glory. Their superstition also served as a help to their progress, for when the bonds of authority no longer prevailed, the priests were always sure to hold the people by the ties of religion.

What an implicit obedience they placed in their pontiffs we have already seen in many instances, and how far they might be impelled, even to encounter death itself, at their command, will evidently appear from the behaviour of Curtius, about this time, who, upon the opening of a gulf in the forum, which the gods indicated would never close up till the most precious thing in Rome was thrown into it, leaped with his horse and armour instantly into the midst, saying, that nothing was more truly valuable than patriotism and military virtue. The gulf, say the historians, closed immediately upon him, and he was never seen more. Such a spirit of religion, and so many advantages by following war, had extended their dominions already above double what they were in the times of the kings. However, their principal actions hitherto were against their nearest neighbours, in which they chiefly acted upon the defensive; but we are shortly to behold another scene, where their ambition catches fire, and is not appeased till the limits of the world itself seems to put bounds to the conflagration.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE WARS OF THE SAMNITES AND THE WARS WITH PYRRHUS TO THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR, WHEN THE ROMANS FIRST WENT OUT OF ITALY.

WE are now come to that period when all the peculiar privileges of patricians were but an empty name, and when wealth chiefly made distinction. The state has appeared hitherto an obscure, unnoted commonwealth, formidable only to the petty nations round it, and struggling less for conquest than self-preservation. But the Romans, having now triumphed over the Sabines, the Etrurians, the Latins, the Hernici, the Æqui, and the Volscians, began to look for greater conquests. They accordingly turned their arms against the Samnites, a people about a hundred miles east from the city.

The Samnites were a hardy nation, descended from the Sabines, inhabiting a large tract of southern Italy, which at

this day makes a considerable part of the kingdom of Naples. They were equally powerful, both in numbers and discipline, with the Romans; and had, like them, confederated states to assist them. Two such aspiring neighbours, both equally fond of arms and living by war, could not long want a pretext for a rupture. The pretended occasion of this was, that the Samnites had oppressed the Sidicini, who, being too weak to manage the war alone, called in the Campanians to their assistance, who, also being overthrown, implored the assistance of Rome. The senate for some time, to give a colour of justice to their ambition, seemed to defer granting aid against the Samnites, as being their friends and allies: but the importunate entreaties of the Campanian ambassadors, and the offers of the rich, luxurious country which they inhabited, and still more the refusal of the Samnites to desist from ravaging a country, which the Romans considered as their own, determined them to undertake the war. Valerius Corvus and Cornelius were the two consuls to whose care it first fell to manage this dreadful contention between rival states, that for the space of sixty years after deluged Italy with blood. Valerius was one of the greatest commanders in his time; he was surnamed Corvus, from a strange circumstance of being assisted by a crow in a single combat, in which he fought and killed a Gaul of a gigantic stature. To his colleague's care it was consigned to lead an army to Samnium, the enemy's capital, while Corvus was sent to relieve Capua, the capital of the Campanians. Never was a captain more fitted to his soldiers than he. To a habit naturally robust and athletic he joined the gentlest manners: he was the fiercest and yet the most good-natured man in the army; and while the meanest sentinel was his companion, no man kept them more strictly to their duty: but what completes his character, he constantly endeavoured to preserve his dignities by the same arts with which he gained them. Such soldiers as the Romans then were, hardened by their late adversity, and led on by such a general, were unconquerable. The Samnites were the bravest men they ever yet encountered, and the contention between them was managed on both sides with the most determined resolution. But the fortune of Rome prevailed; the Samnites at length fled, averring that they were not able to withstand the fierce looks and the fire-darting eyes of the Romans.

The other consul, however, was not at first so fortunate; for having unwarily led his army into a defile, he was in danger of being cut off, had not Decius, a tribune in the army, possessed himself of a hill, which commanded the enemy; so that the Samnites, being attacked on either side, were defeated with great slaughter, not less than thirty thousand of them being left dead on the field of battle.

Soon after, the inhabitants of Capua requested to have a Roman garrison to winter there, to secure them from the insults of the Samnites. Their desire was accordingly complied with; but Capua was ever noted for being the destroyer of military discipline, and for enervating its protectors. It afforded so many delights, and gratified so largely all the softer passions, that the Roman garrison began to lose, not only their courage, but their virtue. They formed a design of destroying the inhabitants, and taking the town to themselves. This design they communicated to their companions in other parts of the country, and they as readily embraced the proposal. At length, however, it came to the notice of the officers, who, detesting so much baseness, led the legions into the field, and kept them in action, in order to prevent their returning to their former designs. But notwithstanding the care of the general and officers, the soldiers, finding themselves liable to the severest punishments for their late perfidious schemes, began to mutiny, and, uniting themselves into one body, marched directly forward for Rome. For some time they were without a leader, no man being bold enough, or base enough, to head an army, whose confederating principle was treachery. At length they forced Quintius, an old and eminent soldier, who was then residing in the country, to be their leader; and, conducted by their rage more than their general, came within eight miles of the city. So terrible an enemy, almost at the gates, not a little alarmed the senate, who immediately created Valerius Corvus dictator, and sent him forth with another army to oppose them. The two armies were now drawn up against each other, while fathers and sons beheld themselves prepared to engage in opposite causes. Any other general but Corvus might have brought this civil war to an extremity; but he, knowing his influence among the soldiery, instead of going forward to meet the mutineers in a hostile manner, went with the most cordial friendship to em-

brace his old acquaintance. "I have had," cried he, "my friends, opportunities enough of showing my valour in war: I now only want to acquire reputation by making peace. You cannot distrust me, my friends, or think Valerius Corvus can ever be severe, who never yet got one law enacted in the senate, that was contrary to your interests. You cannot think he will be severe, whose austerities were ever practised only upon himself. But whatever you do, I am resolved to behave as becomes me. If I draw my sword, it shall not be till you have drawn yours first: if blood must be shed, you shall begin the slaughter. But whom will you destroy? Not your enemies, not the Samnites or the Volscians, but your fathers, brothers, children, countrymen; and in the view of these very mountains that gave you birth and education together. But let it not be so. You, Quintius, if indeed you are the commander of this shameful expedition, have only to ask with reason, and we will grant with mercy." The whole army seemed affected with this speech. Quintius, as their speaker, only desired to have their defection from their duty forgiven: and as for himself, as he was innocent of their conspiracy, he had no reason to solicit pardon for any offence. Thus this defection, which at first threatened such dangers to Rome, was repaired by the prudence and moderation of a general, whose ambition it was to be gentle to his friends, and formidable only to his enemies. The mutineers were once more received into favour, and the dictator, having no further employment abroad, laid down his office.

In the mean while, as the war with the Samnites U.C.411. was for some time carried on with various success, a peace was concluded, which seemed so offensive to the Latins and the Campanians, that it induced them to revolt. The former carried their demands so far as to insist, that one of the consuls and half the senate should be chosen out of their body before they would submit to think of peace. The Romans at first tried by gentle means to turn them from their purpose; but they insisted upon it still more resolutely, ascribing the lenity of Rome to its fears. In order, therefore, to chastise them, the two consuls, Manlius Torquatus, and his colleague, Decius Mus, were sent by the senate to invade their country. However, the Latins were not remiss in their preparations for a defence, so that the two armies met with

equal animosity, and a bloody and obstinate battle ensued. In this battle, the strict discipline of the Romans, and their amazing patriotism, were displayed in a manner that has excited rather the wonder than the admiration of posterity. As the Latins and Romans were a neighbouring people, and their habits, arms, and language were the same, the most exact discipline was necessary, to prevent confusion in the engagement. Orders therefore were issued by Manlius the consul, that no soldier should leave his ranks upon whatever provocation, and that he should be certainly put to death who offered to do otherwise. With these injunctions, both armies were drawn out in array, and ready to begin; when Metius, the general of the enemy's cavalry, pushed forward from his lines, and challenged any knight in the Roman army to single combat. For some time there was a general pause, no soldier offering to disobey his orders, till Titus Manlius, the consul's son, burning with shame to see the whole body of the Romans intimidated, boldly singled out against his adversary. The soldiers on both sides, for a while, suspended the general engagement, to be spectators of this fierce encounter. The two champions drove their horses against each other with great violence: Metius wounded his adversary's horse in the neck; but Manlius, with better fortune, killed that of Metius. The Latin being thus fallen to the ground, for a while attempted to support himself upon his shield; but the Roman followed his blows with so much force, that he laid him dead, as he was endeavouring to rise, and then, despoiling him of his armour, returned in triumph to the consul his father's tent, where he was preparing and giving orders relative to the engagement. Howsoever he might have been applauded by his fellow-soldiers, being as yet doubtful of the reception he should find from his father, he came with hesitation, to lay the enemy's spoils at his feet, and with a modest air insinuated, that what he did was entirely from a spirit of hereditary virtue. But he was soon dreadfully made sensible of his error, when his father, turning away, ordered him to be led publicly forth before the army. Here, being brought forward, the consul, with a stern countenance, and yet with tears, spoke as follows:—"Titus Manlius, as thou hast regarded neither the dignity of the consulship nor the commands of thy father, as thou hast destroyed military discipline, and set a pattern of

disobedience by thy example, thou hast reduced me to a deplorable extremity of sacrificing my son or my country. But let us not hesitate in this dreadful alternative : a thousand lives were well lost in such a cause : nor do I think, that thou thyself wilt refuse to die, when thy country is to reap the advantage of thy sufferings. Go, lictor, bind him, and let his death be our future example." The whole army was struck with horror at this unnatural mandate ; fear, for a while, kept them in suspense ; but when they saw their young champion's head struck off, and his blood streaming upon the ground, they could no longer contain their execrations and their groans. His dead body was carried forth without the camp, and, being adorned with the spoils of the vanquished enemy, it was buried with all the pomp of military distress.

In the mean time, the battle joined with mutual fury ; and, as the two armies had often fought under the same leaders, they combated with all the animosity of a civil war. The Latins chiefly depended on their bodily strength, the Romans on their invincible courage and conduct. Forces so nearly matched seemed only to require the protection of their deities, to turn the scale of victory ; and, in fact, the augurs had foretold, that whatever part of the Roman army should be distressed, the commander of that part should devote himself for his country, and die as a sacrifice to the immortal gods. Manlius commanded the right wing, and Decius led on the left. Both sides fought for some time with doubtful success, as their courage was equal ; but, after a time, the left wing of the Roman army began to give ground. It was then that Decius, who commanded there, resolved to devote himself for his country, and to offer his own life as an atonement to save his army. Thus determined, he called out to Manlius with a loud voice, and demanded his instructions, as he was the chief pontiff, how to devote himself, and the form of the words he should use. By his direction, therefore, being clothed in a long robe, his head covered, and his arms stretched forward, standing upon a javelin, he devoted himself to the celestial and infernal gods for the safety of Rome. Then, being armed and on horseback, he drove furiously into the midst of the enemy, carrying terror and consternation wherever he came, till he fell, covered with wounds. In the mean time, the Roman army considered his devoting himself in this manner

as an assurance of success: nor was the superstition of the Latins less powerfully influenced by his resolution: a total rout began to ensue, the Romans pressed them on every side; and so great was the carnage, that scarce a fourth part of the enemy survived the defeat. This was the last battle of any consequence that the Latins had with the Romans: they were forced to beg a peace upon hard conditions; and two years after, their strongest city, Pædum, being taken, they were brought into an entire submission to the Roman power.

The Samnites, however, were still unconquered: a peace had been made with them some time before, which neither side seemed long inclined to preserve. Their giving assistance to the Campanians, who had formerly begged the protection of the Romans against them, and now entreated theirs against Rome, renewed a war, which, though intermitted by various treaties and suspensions, was to end only with the ruin of the state. For some time, indeed, the fate of either nation seemed uncertain, for though the Samnites were in general worsted, a signal disgrace which U.C. 431. the Romans sustained about this time, made a pause in their usual good fortune, and turned the scale for a while in the enemy's favour. The senate having denied the Samnites peace, Pontius, their general, was resolved to gain by stratagem what he had frequently lost by force. Accordingly, leading his army to a defile, called Claudium, and taking possession of all its outlets, he sent ten of his soldiers, habited like shepherds, with directions to throw themselves in the way the Romans were to march. Exactly to his wishes, the Roman consul met them, and taking them for what they appeared, demanded the route the Samnite army had taken: they with seeming indifference replied, that they were gone to Luceria, a town in Apulia, and were then actually besieging it. The Roman general, not suspecting the stratagem that was laid against him, marched directly by the shortest road, which lay through the defiles, to relieve the city, and did not find himself deceived, till he saw his army surrounded and blocked up on every side. The Samnites having the Roman army at this great disadvantage, immediately sent off to Herennius, their general's father, for instructions how to proceed. The old crafty Samnite, who knew the disposition of the Romans, and that a fierce enemy was either to be entirely

vanquished or entirely won, advised his son, either to put them indiscriminately to the sword, or to disarm them all without shame or injury; urging, at the same time, that one of these two ways was absolutely necessary; the first would incapacitate them from future annoyance, the last would lay them under an obligation, which they could never remove. This counsel, though the most prudent that could be imagined, was rejected; a middle way was taken, which only served to exasperate the Romans, but not to subdue them. Pontius first obliged their army to pass under the yoke, having been previously stripped of all but their under garments; he then stipulated, that they should wholly quit the territories of the Samnites, and that they should continue to live upon terms of former confederacy. The Romans were constrained to submit to this ignominious treaty, and marched into Capua disarmed, half naked, and burning with a desire of retrieving their lost honour. When the army arrived at Rome, the whole city was most surprisingly afflicted at their shameful return. Nothing but fury and revenge appeared on every face, while the consuls, who were the unfortunate instruments of their disgrace, refused to appear abroad, or to perform the necessary functions of their office. A dictator was chosen, who had no opportunity of acting: he laid down his office, and the state continued for some time without any supreme magistrate at its head; nothing but grief and resentment was to be seen, and the whole city was put into mourning.

But this was but a transitory calamity; the state had suffered a diminution of its glory, but not of its power; it only, therefore, sought an opportunity of breaking a compact, which the army had made merely by compulsion. The two consuls, who had entered into this treaty, offered themselves up to the enemy, as being the only persons that could be called to account: but Pontius, who justly observed, that the lives of two men were not an equivalent for those of an army, refused to receive the forfeit, and sent them back, greatly exclaiming against the perfidiousness of Rome. The war was now therefore renewed, and the Samnites overthrown in several battles, the Romans serving them as they themselves had been treated before. These successes produced a truce of two years, which when expired the war was carried on as usual for many years; the power of the Samnites declining

every day, while the Romans gathered fresh confidence from every victory. Under the conduct of Papirius Cursor, who was at different times consul and dictator, repeated triumphs were gained. Fabius Maximus also had his share in the glory of conquering them, and Decius, the son of that Decius, whom we have seen devoting himself for his country, about forty years before, followed the example of his noble father, and, rushing into the midst of the enemy, saved the lives of his countrymen by the loss of his own. It may seem indeed strange, how the Samnites could so long continue to make head against the Roman power; but we must consider, that they were aided by all the little states round them, who were either attached to them by interest, or united by a jealousy of Rome's growing greatness. Thus the Tarantines, the Lucani, the Thurini, and all the southern states of Italy, by turns, sent assistance, which for a while checked the progress of the conquerors. But their stop was of short duration: both they, as well as the Samnites, after repeated defeats, saw themselves at last stripped of their cities, and the greatest part of their country: they saw themselves, at the end of a long war, quite exhausted, near two hundred thousand of their bravest men being killed in battle. In this distress, as the Italian states were unable to defend themselves, they were obliged to call in the assistance of a foreign power, and had recourse to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to save them from impending ruin.

Pyrrhus, a king of great courage, ambition, and power, had always kept the example of Alexander, his great predecessor, before his eyes; he was reckoned the most experienced general of his time, and commanded a body of troops, then supposed to be the best disciplined of all the nations round them. The Romans were now therefore no longer to combat with a tumultuary force, raised in times of exigence, and depending on their courage alone for victory: they were to oppose an army levied amongst the most polished people then existing, formed under the greatest generals, and led on by the most noted commander of his time. Pyrrhus, as was said, having been applied to for succour by the Tarantines, who, in the name of all the declining states of Italy, conjured him to save them from the threatening distress, promised to come to their assistance. In the mean time he dispatched over a body of three thousand men, under the

command of Cineas, an experienced soldier, and a scholar of the great orator Demosthenes. Nor did he himself remain long behind, but soon after put to sea with three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, and twenty elephants, in which the commanders of that time began to place very great confidence. Only a small part, however, of these great preparations arrived in Italy with him, for many of his ships were dispersed, and some totally lost in a tempest. Upon his arrival at Tarentum, his first care was to reform the people he came to succour: for, observing a total dissolution of manners in this luxurious city, and how the inhabitants were rather occupied with the pleasures of bathing, feasting, and dancing, than in preparing for war; he gave orders to have all their places of public entertainment shut up, and that they should be restrained in all those amusements that render soldiers unfit for battle. He attempted to repress their licentious manner of treating their governors, and even summoned some who had mentioned his own name with ridicule, to appear before him. However, he was prevented from punishing them by their ingenuous manner of confessing the charge. "Yes," cried they, "we have spoken all this against you, and would have said still more, but that we had no more wine." But though he forgave them with a smile, he took the most prudent precautions to guard himself against their well-known insincerity; sending his son out of the city, and removing all those he suspected most forward to promote sedition. In the mean time, the Romans did all that prudence could suggest, to oppose so formidable an enemy, and the consul Lævinus was sent with a numerous army to interrupt his progress. Wherefore Pyrrhus, though his whole army was not yet arrived, drew out to meet him, but previously sent an ambassador, desiring to be permitted to mediate between the Romans and the people of Tarentum. To this Lævinus returned for answer, that he neither esteemed him as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy; and then, leading the ambassador through the Roman camp, desired him to observe diligently what he saw, and report the result to his master.

War being thus determined on either part, both armies approaching, pitched their tents in sight of each other, upon the opposite banks of the river Liris. Pyrrhus was always extremely careful in directing the situation of his own camp,

and in observing that of the enemy. It was here, that walking along the banks of the river, and surveying the Roman method of encamping, "These barbarians," cried he, turning to one of his favourites, "seem to me to be no way barbarous, and I fear we shall too soon find their actions equal to their resolution." However, ordering a body of men along the bank of the river, he placed them in readiness to oppose the Romans, in case they should attempt to ford it before his whole army was brought together. Things turned out according to his expectations; the consul, with an impetuosity that marked his inexperience, gave orders for passing the river where it was fordable, and the Epiroan advanced guard having attempted to oppose him in vain, were obliged to retire to the main body of their army. Pyrrhus being apprised of the enemy's attempt, at first hoped to cut off their cavalry, before they could be reinforced by the foot, that were not as yet got over, and led on in person a chosen body of horse against them. It was on this occasion, that he showed himself equal to his great reputation: he was constantly seen at the head of his men, leading them on with spirit, yet directing them with calmness; at once performing the office of a general, and the duty of a common soldier, he showed the greatest presence of mind, joined to the greatest valour. He was chiefly conspicuous by the nobleness of his air, and the richness of his armour; so that wherever he appeared, the throng of the battle was gathered round him. In the midst of the engagement his horse happening to be killed under him, he was obliged to change armour with one of his attendants, and go to another part of the combat, that required his immediate presence. Meanwhile, the Roman knights mistaking this attendant for the king himself, levelled all their attempts that way, and at last slew him, and carried his armour to the consul. The report being spread through both armies, that the king was slain, the Greeks were struck with a general panic, and the Romans began to assure themselves of victory. But Pyrrhus in the instant came bareheaded into the van, and repeatedly crying out, that he still lived, he inspired his soldiers with new vigour. At length the Roman legions had advanced across the river, and the engagement was become general; the Greeks fought with a consciousness of their former fame, and the Romans with a desire of gaining

fresh glory; mankind had never before seen two such differently disciplined armies opposed to each other, nor is it to this day determined, whether the Greek phalanx or the Roman legion were preferable. The combat was long in suspense; the Romans had seven times repulsed the enemy, and were as often driven back themselves, but at length, while the success seemed doubtful, Pyrrhus sent his elephants into the midst of the engagement, and these turned the scale of victory in his favour. The Romans had never before seen creatures of such magnitude; they were terrified, not only with their intrepid fierceness, but with the castles which were built upon their backs filled with armed men; they considered them, rather as prodigies sent to destroy, than as animals trained up to subdue them. But not only the men, but the horses shared in this general consternation, neither enduring the smell nor the cries of these formidable creatures, but, throwing their riders, they filled the ranks with confusion. It was then that Pyrrhus saw the day was his own, and sending in his Thessalian cavalry to charge the enemy in disorder, the rout became general. A dreadful slaughter of the Romans ensued, fifteen thousand men being killed on the spot, and eighteen hundred taken prisoners. Nor were the conquerors much in a better state than the vanquished, Pyrrhus himself being wounded, and thirteen thousand of his forces slain. Night coming on put an end to the slaughter on both sides, and Pyrrhus was heard to cry out, that one such victory more would ruin his army. The next day, as he walked to view the field of battle, he could not help regarding with admiration the bodies of the Romans which were slain: upon seeing them all with their wounds before, their countenances, though even in death, marked with noble resolution, and a sternness that awed him into respect; he was heard to cry out, in the true spirit of a military adventurer, "O with what ease could I conquer the world, had I the Romans for soldiers, or had they me for their king!" The Romans were highly pleased with this politeness in an enemy, but still more with his civil treatment, and his courtesy to the prisoners he had taken: complaisance to the captives was a degree of refinement the Romans were yet to learn from the Greeks; but it was only sufficient to show this brave people an improvement, either in morals or war, and they immediately set about imitation.

The Romans, though defeated, were still unconquered; they again began to use all necessary diligence to recruit their army, and to oppose the conqueror, who, joined by the southern states of Italy, was marching directly towards Rome. However, he was still unwilling to drive them to an extremity, and finding them making great preparations, he considered, that it was best treating with an enemy after having gained a victory over them; he resolved therefore to send his friend Cineas, the orator, to negotiate, and use all his arts to induce them to peace. He had long reposed great confidence in the abilities and persuasive powers of this scholar of Demosthenes, and often asserted, that he had won more towns by the eloquence of Cineas than by his own arms. The old crafty Grecian readily undertook the embassy, and entering Rome, began his negotiation, by attempting to influence not only the senators, but even their wives, by presents, which he said were sent them by his master. This, however, was the age of Roman virtue; the senators refused to accept these bounties, which they considered as bribes to betray their country; and the women were not behind their husbands in their noble disinterestedness. They bade him give back to his master those allurements to treason, adding, that they would then only accept his offers, when the senate had considered whether they should accept his terms of peace. Never was there a time in which all the military and patriotic virtues shone with greater lustre than now. The senators having by a late law, as has been related, reduced their fortunes more nearly to a level with those of the people, began to seek distinction from virtue only, and despised those riches, which could not be increased so as to place them at a distance from the vulgar. Thus Cineas, with all his art, found the Romans impenetrable, either by bribery or private persuasion: finding, therefore, these methods ineffectual, he proceeded to his commission more publicly, and was, at his request, introduced to the senate. Here he began by extolling his master's courage and clemency; his desire of patronising the brave, and his particular esteem for the Romans. He proceeded to illustrate the blessings of peace, and the fine opportunity the senate then had of restoring it. He offered, in his master's name, to return all that had been lately taken in battle, without ransom; to give assistance to the Romans on any future occa-

sion; and all that was asked in return was their alliance and friendship, together with permission to have the Tarentines included in the treaty. These offers, and still more the orator's eloquence, appeared to touch the whole assembly: a general inclination seemed to prevail in favour of the king's proposal, and a peace was confidently talked of in every part of the city. In this juncture, Appius Claudius, an old senator, who was now grown blind with age, and had long discontinued public business, caused himself to be carried into the house in a litter. The surprise of seeing him in the senate again, and numberless infirmities which he appeared to surmount in coming, awed the whole assembly into silence and attention: "I have long," cried he, raising himself from his couch, "considered my blindness and my infirmities as evils; thought that Heaven had been willing to punish my old age, for the faults I had committed when young, and had repaid a youth of folly with an age of pain; but now, conscript fathers, I find that I have been peculiarly indulged in what I considered as calamities, since my loss of sight has hindered me from seeing the late dishonour of my country. Nay, might I make a wish, it should be for deafness also, and then I should no longer hear of what must now excite indignation in the breast of every virtuous Roman. How different are you now from what you were some years ago! Alexander, whom the world has called Great, was then thought nothing of in Rome; we then universally ascribed his conquests, not to his valour but his fortune. You then wished that the tide of war might have brought him into Italy, only to show the world your own superior prowess. But how are you fallen at present! You then wished to combat with the conqueror of Greece, and now you fear to engage one of those states, which he actually conquered. You desired to cope with Alexander, and yet you refuse to meet one who has left his native country, rather through a fear of his ancient enemies, than a desire of finding new. We have therefore but this alternative, either boldly to meet Pyrrhus in the field, or to be content to suffer all the contempt the neighbouring states of Italy shall throw upon us, and thus, by endeavouring to avoid one war, engage ourselves in a hundred." This speech was received with universal approbation: the assembly grew warm in the praises of their rough old orator, and the smooth orations of Cincas

were heard no more. Being therefore unable to make any progress in his embassy, he was dismissed with an answer intimating, that when Pyrrhus should withdraw his forces from Italy, that then the senate would treat with him concerning peace.

Cineas, being thus frustrated in his expectations, returned to his master, extolling both the virtues and the grandeur of the Romans. The senate, he said, appeared a reverend assembly of demi-gods, and the city a temple for their reception. Of this Pyrrhus soon after became sensible, by an embassy from Rome, concerning the ransom and exchange of prisoners.

At the head of this venerable deputation was Fabricius, an ancient senator, who had long been a pattern to his countrymen of the most extreme poverty, joined with the most cheerful content. This practical philosopher, who had been formerly consul, and was now the ambassador of Rome, had no other plate furniture in his house, except a small cup, the bottom even of which was of horn. His daughters being without fortunes, the senate generously portioned them from the public treasury. When the Samnites had formerly offered him large presents, he refused them, saying, that he was already rich, as he had learned the art of lessening his wants by retrenching his appetites. Pyrrhus received this celebrated old man with great kindness, and willing to try how far fame had been just in his favour, offered him rich presents, which however the Roman refused; the day after, he was desirous of examining the equality of his temper, and ordered one of his elephants to be placed behind the tapestry, which, upon a signal given, raised its trunk above the ambassador's head, at the same time using other arts to intimidate him. Fabricius, however, with a countenance no way changing, smiled upon the king, observing, that he looked with an equal eye on the terrors of this day, as he had upon the allurements of the preceding. Pyrrhus, pleased to find so much virtue in one he had considered as a barbarian, was willing to grant him the only favour which he knew could make him happy. He released the Roman prisoners, entrusting them to Fabricius alone, upon his promise, that in case the senate were determined to continue the war, he might reclaim them whenever he thought proper.

U.C. 474. By this time the Roman army was recovered from its last defeat, and Sulpicius and Decius, the consuls for the following year, were placed at its head. The panic, which had formerly seized it, from the elephants, now began to wear off, and the generals, with great assiduity, applied themselves to imitate the discipline of Pyrrhus, and the Grecian method of encampment. It was in this manner they always adopted the improvements of other nations, and learned by defeat the power of becoming invincible. Both armies met near the city Asculum, both pretty nearly equal in numbers, being about forty thousand strong. Pyrrhus found himself incommoded by a woody country, that prevented his phalanx and elephants from being so serviceable as in the plain; he, therefore, continued for some time rather upon the defensive, until night should give him time to make a more advantageous disposition. The next morning he caused a detachment of his cavalry to possess themselves of the upper grounds; and thus force the enemy into the plain, which when they had successfully effected, he brought down his elephants into the thickest of the fight, and, mixing his slingers and archers among them, formed a body that the Romans were scarce able to resist; besides, not having the advantages of advancing and retreating, as the day before, the battle became close and general. The Roman legions at first were unable to pierce the Greek phalanx, but at length, careless of their own lives, they made a desperate slaughter among them. In fine, after a long and desperate fight, the Grecian discipline prevailed, and the Romans, being pressed on every side, particularly by the elephants, were obliged to retire to their camp, leaving six thousand men dead upon the field of battle. But the enemy had no great reason to boast of their triumph, as they had four thousand slain, so that Pyrrhus replied to one of his soldiers, who was congratulating him upon his victory, "One such triumph more, and I shall be undone." Nor was he unjust in his assertion, as by this time the greatest part of those forces which had followed him from home were destroyed, and his friends and generals were mostly cut off.

This battle finishing the campaign, the next season began with equal vigour on both sides, Pyrrhus having received new succours from home, while old Fabricius, who was made con-

sul with Æmilias, led on the Romans, no way discouraged by their former defeat. While the two armies were approaching, and yet but a small distance from each other, a letter was brought to Fabricius from the king's physician, importing, that, for a proper reward, he would take him off by poison, and thus rid the Romans of a powerful enemy and a dangerous war. Fabricius felt all the honest indignation at this base proposal, that was consonant with his former character; he communicated it to his colleague, and instantly gave it as his opinion, that Pyrrhus should be informed of the treachery that was plotted against him. Accordingly, letters were dispatched for that purpose, informing Pyrrhus of his unfortunate choice of friends and enemies: that he had trusted and promoted villains, while he carried his resentment against the generous and the brave. Pyrrhus now began to find that these bold barbarians were by degrees schooling into refinement, and would not suffer him to be their superior even in generosity: he received the message with equal amazement at their candour, and indignation at his physician's treachery. "Admirable Fabricius!" cried he, "it would be as easy to turn the sun from its course, as thee from the paths of honour." Then making the proper inquiry among his servants, and having discovered the treason, he ordered his physician to be executed. However, not to be outdone in magnanimity, he immediately sent to Rome all his prisoners without ransom, and again desired to negotiate a peace. The Romans, on the other hand, refused him peace, but upon the same conditions as they had offered before, and released as many of the Samnites and Tarentines as equalled the number of the prisoners they had received. The king was a good deal astonished at the Roman obstinacy; he appeared divided between shame and necessity; his circumstances obliging him in some measure to discontinue the war, while his honour was hurt in being compelled to leave it unfinished. However, an invitation from the Sicilians, begging relief against the Carthaginians, who had possessed their island, and treated them cruelly, relieved him from his embarrassment. This expedition promised more rewards and less labour, and such were the chief objects of this military rambler's attention. He, therefore, placed a garrison in Tarentum; much against the inclination of the inhabitants, and

then, sending his friend Cineas before him, followed with all the rest of his forces to relieve Sicily.

In the mean time the Samnites and Tarentines, being left to the mercy of the Romans, continued to solicit him, with the most earnest supplications, to return to protect them. Pyrrhus, whom his successes in Sicily had for some time made deaf to their entreaties, was, after a lapse of two years spent in ineffectual victory, glad to have a specious pretext to leave this country also, as he had formerly left Italy. He, therefore, with some difficulty, once more returned to Tarentum, at the head of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. The Romans, though pressed by so formidable a power as that of Pyrrhus, had not yet forgotten the ancient animosity between the orders of the state, and, upon a levy being sent forward to form an army to oppose him, several of the people refused to enlist. In order to repress a sedition, which threatened nothing less than the destruction of the empire, the consuls resolved to act with spirit, and accordingly commanded, that the names of the citizens should be drawn by lot, and that he who first refused to take the field should be sold as a slave. This timely severity had its effect, and whenever after any man refused to enlist when called upon, he was instantly treated by the consuls in that manner. Having thus raised a sufficient body of forces, the consuls divided their army into two parts, and marched into the enemy's country, one into Lucania, and the other among the Samnites. Pyrrhus, having increased his army also by new levies, and being informed of this, divided his forces also, and sent one part to oppose the march of Lentulus, while he himself went to attack Curius Dentatus, before his colleague could come up. His principal aim was to surprise the enemy by night, but unfortunately passing through woods, and his lights failing him, his men lost their way, so that, at the approach of morning, they saw themselves in sight of the Roman camp, with the enemy drawn out ready to receive them. The vanguard of both armies soon met, in which the Romans had the advantage. Soon after a general engagement ensuing, Pyrrhus, finding the balance of the victory turning still against him, had once more recourse to his elephants. These, however, the Romans were now too well acquainted with to feel any vain terrors from;

and having found that fire was the most effectual means to repel them, they caused numbers of balls to be made, composed of flax and rosin, which were thrown against them as they approached the ranks. The elephants, thus rendered furious by the flame, and as boldly opposed by the soldiers, could no longer be brought on, but ran back on their own army, bearing down their ranks, and filling all places with terror and confusion. Thus victory at length declared in favour of Rome: Pyrrhus in vain attempted to stop the flight and the slaughter of his troops; he lost not only twenty-three thousand of his best soldiers, but his camp was also taken. This served as a new lesson to the Romans, who were even open to improvement; they had formerly pitched their tents without order; but by this, they were taught to measure out their ground, and fortify the whole with a trench; so that many of their succeeding victories may be ascribed to their improved method of encamping.

In the mean time, while the two consuls were entering triumphant into Rome, Pyrrhus bore his defeat with unbroken courage: his first care was to secure a retreat, and then to keep up the spirits of the allies, with promises of better success for the future. This he did, till he had tried the utmost of what his interest could do to furnish out another campaign. However, finding all hopes of that fruitless, he resolved to leave Italy, where he had found only desperate enemies and faithless allies. Accordingly, calling together the Tarentines, he informed them, that he had received assurances from Greece of speedy assistance, and desiring them to expect the event with tranquillity, the night following he embarked his troops, and returned undisturbed into his native kingdom, with the remains of his shattered forces; first leaving a garrison in Tarentum, merely to save appearances. In this manner ended the war with Pyrrhus, after six years' continuance. Through the whole of this, we find the Romans acting a nobler part than in any former period; endeavouring to join the politeness of Greece to the virtuous austerity of their own manners. A spirit of frugality, contempt of wealth, and virtuous emulation, had spread itself over the whole senate. Fabricius not only brought poverty into fashion by his example, but punished all approaches to luxury by his authority as a magistrate. About this time, in the censorship of Fa-

bricias, Rullianus, who had been twice a consul and once a dictator, was turned out of the senate, and had a mark of infamy put upon his name, for no other offence than being possessed of ten pounds of silver plate for the use of his table. By this love of temperance, and these successes in war, though the individuals were poor, the public was rich; the number of citizens also was increased to above two hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms; and the fame of the Roman name was so far extended, that Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, sent ambassadors to congratulate their success, and to entreat their alliance. As for the poor luxurious Tarentines, who were the original promoters of this war, they soon began to find a worse enemy, in the garrison that was left for their defence, than in the Romans who attacked them from without. The hatred between them and Milo, who commanded their citadel for Pyrrhus, was become so great, that nothing but the fear of their old inveterate enemies, the Romans, could equal it. In this distress they applied to the Carthaginians, who, with a large fleet, came and blocked up the port of Tarentum; so that this unfortunate people, who once were famous through Italy for their refinements and pleasures, now saw themselves contended for by three different armies, while they were not even left the choice of a conqueror. At length, however, the Romans found means to bring over the garrison to their interest; after which they easily became masters of the city, and demolished its walls, granting the inhabitants liberty and protection.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR TO
THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND, WHEN THE RO-
MANS BEGAN TO GROW POWERFUL BY SEA.

U.C.489. THE Romans had now destroyed all rival pretensions in Italy; the Tarentines, the Samnites, the Lucanians, were now no more, or patiently took laws from the conquerors. Their victory over Pyrrhus not only gave them reputation abroad, but kindled an ambition for

foreign conquest. They began also to know, though not to practise, the refinements of the Greeks and Tarentines, whom they had conquered; the number of their husbandmen diminished, while, as in all states becoming opulent, their artisans and gentry continually increased. The environs of the city were now therefore no longer able to furnish their growing numbers with corn, and supplies were brought from the kingdoms abroad. Of these, Sicily sent by far the greatest proportion; so that the people began secretly to wish for the possession of a country, which had for some time served as the granary of Rome. To minds predisposed for conquest, a pretext to begin is seldom wanting. The Carthaginians were at that time in possession of the greatest part of Sicily; and, like the Romans, only wanted an opportunity of embroiling the natives, in order to become masters of the whole island. This opportunity had now offered; Hiero, king of Syracuse, one of the states of the island as yet unconquered, entreated their aid against the Mamertines, a little people of the same country, and they sent him supplies both by land and sea. The Mamertines, on the other hand, to shield off impending ruin, put themselves under the protection of Rome. The Romans, however, not thinking the Mamertines worthy of the name of allies, instead of professing to assist them, boldly declared war against Carthage, alleging as a reason, the assistance which Carthage had lately lent to the southern parts of Italy against the Romans. In this manner a war was declared between these two powerful states, who were both grown too great to continue patient spectators of each other's increase.

Carthage, a colony of the Phoenicians, was built on the coast of Africa, near the place where Tunis now stands, about a hundred and thirty-seven years before the foundation of Rome. As it had been long growing into power, so it had extended its dominions all along the coasts, and was in possession also of many of the principal islands in the Mediterranean sea. But its chief strength lay in its fleets and commerce; by these its riches were become immense; and by their money alone they were capable of hiring and sending forth armies to conquer or to keep their neighbours under subjection. However, as they had now been long in possession of affluence, the state began to feel the evils that wealth

is too apt to produce; for as at Rome public employments were made the reward of virtue only, and superior honour only raised to a preference of toils; so in Carthage the several offices which the state had to bestow were venal, and those who purchased them only aimed at being reimbursed by all the sordid arts of speculation. Thus unequally matched, these two great powers began what was called the first Punic war; the Carthaginians possessed of gold and silver, which might be exhausted; the Romans of perseverance, patriotism, and poverty, which seemed to gather strength by every defeat.

As the Romans had been hitherto shut up in their own dominions, they had but little knowledge of the method of transporting an army by sea. Appius Claudius was the first, who, by means of a feeble fleet, or as some will have it, a raft of timber, carried over a small body of forces into Sicily, where victory, as usual, was still attendant upon the fortune of Rome. A league made with Hiero, king of Syracuse, soon after the consul's arrival, began to inspire the Romans with hopes of expelling the Carthaginians from the island, and becoming masters of it in their turn. But still there seemed an insurmountable obstacle to their ambitious views; they had no fleet, or at least what deserved that title; while the Carthaginians, being masters of a very powerful one, had the entire command at sea, and kept all the maritime towns under their obedience. In such a situation, any people but the Romans would have rested contented, under disadvantages which nature seemed to have imposed; but nothing could conquer or intimidate them. They began to apply themselves to maritime affairs; and though without shipwrights to build, or seamen to navigate a fleet, yet they resolved to surmount every obstacle with inflexible perseverance. A Carthaginian vessel happened to be in a storm driven ashore; and this was sufficient to give the Romans hopes of building vessels, that might one day control the long established naval power of the Carthaginians. Accordingly they diligently set about imitating this ship, which was in itself little better than a wreck, building a hundred and twenty more according to the model before them. But now, although they had something like a fleet, which, though clumsy and ill adapted for sailing, was of some force, they still wanted sailors to manage it. As for the Romans themselves, being bred up to husbandry, they were perfectly ignorant of maritime

affairs; and the neighbouring states, whom they had lately conquered; were either unwilling to embark, or not to be relied on. In this exigence they taught their men to row upon land, instructing them in the naval manner of engaging, as well as they could, leaving it to their native valour to do the rest. The consul Duillius was the first who ventured to sea with this new-constructed armament; but he soon, however, found, that the enemy was every way superior in point of sailing, and bringing on their vessels to an engagement. But the indefatigable spirit of the Romans was not to be subdued; he found out a remedy even here, by inventing an instrument, which, upon an impulse of two ships, kept them both grappled together, so that neither could separate, until courage had decided the victory. By this a naval engagement became more like one on land; so that when the two rival fleets met the Romans had the victory, the Carthaginians losing fifty of their ships, and the undisturbed sovereignty of the sea, which they valued more. These successes were so unexpected by the senate, that Duillius, their admiral, obtained a signal triumph, with orders, that whenever he went out to supper, there should be a band of music to attend him.

In the mean time, the contest was carried on by land in Sicily with various success, the Romans as well as their enemies having sometimes the worst of the campaign. But the conduct of both nations, during the continuance of this war, was manifestly different. The Carthaginians appeared always murmuring against their generals and admirals, and sometimes punished them with death, for want of success. The Romans went on still contented and persevering, and seemingly as easy under a defeat, as happy when victorious. Their chief successes during the latter part of the war in Sicily were owing to the conduct and courage of their consul Regulus, who subdued the islands Lippara and that of Melita, so celebrated at this day for being the residence of the knights of Malta. The city of Agrigentum in Sicily, and of Alberia in Corsica, were also attached to the conquests of Rome.

But these trifling successes were by no means sufficient to gratify the sanguine expectations of the people; for though the Carthaginians were sometimes defeated even at sea, yet they still continued most powerful there, and sent in supplies to the island at pleasure. The conquest therefore of Sicily

was only to be obtained by humbling the power of Carthage at home. For this reason, the senate resolved to carry the war into Africa itself, and accordingly they sent Regulus and Manlius, with a fleet of three hundred sail, to make the invasion. Regulus was reckoned the most consummate warrior that Rome could then produce: he was a professed example of frugal severity, but less austere to others than to himself; he only reprehended those faults, which he would have died rather than have committed: his patriotism was still greater than his temperance; all the private passions seemed extinguished in him, or they were all swallowed up in one great ruling affection, the love of his country. The two generals set sail with their fleet, which was the greatest that had ever yet left an Italian port, carrying a hundred and forty thousand men. They were met by the Carthaginians, with a fleet as powerful, and men better used to the sea. While the fight continued rather between the ships than the men, at a distance, the Carthaginians seemed successful; but when the Romans came to grapple with them, the difference between a mercenary army, and one that fought for fame, was apparent. The resolution of the Romans was crowned with success; the enemy's fleet was dispersed, and fifty-four of their vessels taken. The consequence of this victory was an immediate descent upon the coasts of Africa, and the capture of the city Clupea, together with twenty thousand men, who were made prisoners of war.

The senate being informed of these great successes, and applied to for fresh instructions, commanded Manlius back to Italy, in order to superintend the Sicilian war, and directed that Regulus should continue in Africa, to prosecute his victories there; but as his consulship was expiring, they continued him their general under the title of proconsul. Happy in the approbation of his country, Regulus continued his successes, and led his forces along the banks of the river Bragada. Here, while he was waiting for the approach of the Carthaginians, a serpent of enormous size attacked his men as they went for water, and seemed as if resolved to guard the banks of the river. It was a hundred and twenty feet long, with scales impenetrable to any weapon. Some of the boldest troops at first went up to oppose its fury; but they soon fell victims to their rashness, being either killed by its

devouring jaws, or crushed to pieces by the windings of its tail. The poisonous vapour that issued from it made it still more formidable; and the men were so much terrified at its appearance, that they asserted, they would much more joyfully have faced the whole Carthaginian army. For some time it seemed uncertain which should remain masters of the river, as, from the hardness of its scales, no ordinary efforts could drive it away. At last, Regulus was obliged to make use of the machines employed in battering down the walls of cities. Notwithstanding, the serpent for a long time withstood all his efforts, and destroyed numbers of his men; but, at length, a very large stone, which was flung from an engine, happened to break its spine, and destroyed its motion: by these means the soldiers surrounded and killed it. Regulus, not less pleased with his victory than if he had gained a battle, ordered its skin to be sent to Rome, where it continued to be seen till the time of Pliny.

Meanwhile the Carthaginians, finding the Romans proceeding towards their very capital, brought out a considerable army to oppose them. A battle ensued, in which Carthage was once more defeated, and some of its best troops were cut off. This fresh victory contributed to throw them into the utmost despair; more than eighty of their towns submitted to the Romans. The Numidians, their ancient allies, rose against them at the same time, and combined to ravage the country. The peasants, who fled on every side, flocked into Carthage, as to the only place of refuge, and brought with them only misery and famine. In this distress, the Carthaginians, destitute of generals at home who had abilities to oppose the conqueror, were obliged to send to Lacedæmon, offering the command of their armies to Xantippus, a commander of great experience, who undertook to conduct them. They, at the same time, dispatched some of the principal men of the state to Regulus to beg a peace. The Roman general had long wished to terminate the war, and go back to his native country. He had even sent to the senate some time before, demanding a successor, and leave to return, in consequence of an account he had received, informing him, that his steward, who cultivated his estate, which consisted but of seven acres, was dead, and that his servant had stolen all the instruments of husbandry that were used in its cultivation. He informed the

senate, that, while he was leading on the armies of the state, his wife and children were in danger of wanting bread; and that his little domestic affairs required his presence at home. The senate upon this ordered a sufficient maintenance for his wife and children; furnished his estate with proper instruments of husbandry at the public expense, and gave him orders to continue at the head of the army. When the Carthaginians therefore sent proposals of peace, he was very much inclined to come to treaty; but in some measure considering himself as master of Carthage, he thought it was his duty to dictate the terms. These were, that Carthage should give up all the cities they were possessed of in Sicily and Sardinia; that they should deliver up all their prisoners without reward, and at the same time ransom those that were made of their own. These and some other conditions of the same nature were offered, but the Carthaginians thinking them too rigid, the treaty broke off, and both sides prepared for war.

Xantippus, the Lacedæmonian general, was arrived by this time, and gave the magistrates proper instructions for levying their men: he assured them, that their armies were hitherto overthrown, not by the strength of the enemy, but the ignorance of their own generals: he therefore only required a ready obedience to his orders, and assured them of an easy victory. The whole city seemed once more revived from despondence, by the exhortations of a single stranger, and soon, from hope, grew into confidence. This was the spirit the Grecian general wished to excite in them; so that, when he saw them thus ripe for the engagement, he joyfully took the field. The forces on both sides were but few; the Carthaginian army consisting only of twelve thousand foot and four thousand horse; those of the Romans of about the same, or rather a superior number. The first circumstance, which alarmed Regulus, was to find the enemy alter their plan of encampment, and make a new choice of their ground. They had hitherto chosen the most woody and unequal places, where their cavalry were embarrassed, and their elephants utterly unserviceable. They now continually kept in the open country, and so harassed the Roman army, that, at length, Regulus was obliged to descend into the plain, and cross the river to give them battle. The Lacedæmonian made the most skilful disposition of his forces; he placed his cavalry in the

wings, he disposed the elephants at proper intervals behind the line of heavy-armed infantry, and bringing up the light-armed troops before, he ordered them to retire through the line of infantry, after they had discharged their weapons. This was a most masterly disposition, and such as was useful to the Romans in succeeding engagements, though it was fatal to them in this. For now both armies engaging, after a long and obstinate resistance, the Romans were overthrown with dreadful slaughter, the greatest part of their army being destroyed, and Regulus himself taken prisoner. A victory so great and unexpected, filled the streets of Carthage with ungovernable joy; they could never sufficiently satisfy themselves with gazing on the conqueror, though he was but small of stature, and of a very mean appearance. But this disposition was but of short continuance, for soon their admiration was turned into envy. They could not bear to owe to a stranger that safety, which they wanted abilities and virtue to procure for themselves. Xantippus, however, who knew their malignity, and who never much prided himself upon their barbarous praise, was desirous of lessening their malevolence by removing the cause: he therefore requested permission to return home, and desired a ship for that purpose. Their ingratitude on this occasion, if historians say true, was even more shocking than their former antipathy; for, pretending to furnish him with the most honourable conveyance, the mariners had private orders to throw him and his companions overboard, lest the honour of obtaining so great a victory should be taken from them, to be ascribed to a stranger.

However this may be, the affairs of the Carthaginians for some time went on to improve, while those of Rome seemed to be declining. The remains of the Roman army were besieged in Clupea, a city on the coast of Africa, which Regulus had taken; and though it was for a while relieved by means of a naval victory under the conduct of *Æmilius Paulus*, yet they were obliged to evacuate the place. Soon after, the Romans lost their whole fleet in a storm; and *Agri-gen-tum*, their principal town in Sicily, was taken by *Karthalo*, the Carthaginian general. The Romans, not easily to be deterred, undertook to build a new fleet, which also shared the fate of the former; the mariners, as yet unacquainted with the

Mediterranean shores, drove it upon quicksands; and, soon after, the greatest part perished in a storm. Thus distressed in every naval attempt, they, for a while, gave up all hopes of rivalling the Carthaginians at sea, and placed all their hopes in the conquest of Sicily, which they in a great measure effected. Mean time, the Carthaginians, being now more successful than when they had formerly made proposals of peace, were desirous of a new treaty, hoping to have better terms than those insisted upon before. They, therefore, resolved to send to Rome to negotiate this business, or at least to procure an exchange of prisoners. For this purpose they supposed that Regulus, whom they had now for four years kept in a dungeon confined and chained, would be a proper solicitor. It was expected, that, being wearied with imprisonment and bondage, he would gladly endeavour to persuade his countrymen to a discontinuance of the war, which only prolonged his captivity. He was accordingly sent with their ambassadors to Rome, but with a promise previously exacted from him, to return in case of being unsuccessful. He was even given to understand, that his life depended upon the success of the expedition.

When this old general, together with the ambassadors of Carthage, approached Rome, numbers of his friends came out to meet and congratulate his return. Their acclamations resounded through the city; but Regulus refused with settled melancholy to enter the gates. It was in vain that he was entreated on every side to visit once more his little dwelling, and share in that joy which his return had inspired. He persisted in saying, that he was now but a slave belonging to the Carthaginians, and unfit to partake in the liberal honours of his country. The senate assembling without the walls, as usual, to give audience to the enemy's ambassadors, Regulus opened his commission, as he had been directed by the Carthaginian council, and their ambassadors seconded his proposals. The senate were, by this time, themselves weary of a war, which had been protracted above eight years, and were no way disinclined to a peace. It seemed the general opinion, that the enmity between the two states had continued too long, and that no terms should be refused, which would not only give rest to the two nations, but liberty to an old general, whom the people revered and loved. It only

remained for Regulus himself to give his opinion; who, when it came to his turn to speak, to the surprise of all the world, gave his voice for continuing the war. He assured the senate, that the Carthaginian resources were now almost exhausted; their populace harassed out with fatigues, and their nobles with contention: that all their best generals were prisoners with the Romans, while Carthage had none but the refuse of the Roman army: that not only the interest of Rome, but its honour also, was concerned in continuing the war, for their ancestors had never made peace till they were victorious. So unexpected an advice not a little disturbed the senate: they saw the justice of his opinion, but they also saw the dangers he incurred by giving it; they seemed entirely satisfied of the expediency of prolonging the war; their only obstacle was how to secure the safety of him who had advised its continuance: they pitied, as well as admired, a man, who had used such eloquence against his private interest, and could not conclude upon a measure which was to terminate in his ruin. Regulus, however, soon relieved their embarrassment, by breaking off the treaty, and rising in order to return to his bonds and confinement. It was in vain that the senate and all his dearest friends entreated his stay: he still repressed their solicitations. Maria, his wife, with her little children, filled the city with her lamentations, and vainly entreated to be permitted to see him: he still obstinately persisted in keeping his promise; and though he was sufficiently apprised of the tortures that awaited his return, without embracing his family, or taking leave of his friends, he departed with the ambassadors for Carthage. Nothing could equal the fury and the disappointment of the Carthaginians, when they were informed by their ambassadors of Regulus, instead of hastening a peace, having given his opinion for continuing the war. First, his eyelids were cut off, and then he was remanded to prison. He was, after some days, brought out and exposed with his face opposite the burning sun. At last, when malice was fatigued with studying all the arts of torture, he was put into a barrel stuck full of nails, that pointed inwards, and in this painful position he continued till he died.

Both sides now took up arms with more than former animosity. The Romans, who were inflexible in their purposes,

although they had so many times been wrecked at sea, and had lost such numbers of their bravest troops there, once more fitted out a fleet, and again bid defiance to Carthage. It seemed, however, as if fortune was resolved to drive them from this unstable element; for by the bad conduct of Claudius Pulcher, their consul, and by other various disasters, their fleet was destroyed, like all the former, and the Romans seemed drained of every resource to furnish out a new one. In consequence of this, they were obliged to abstain for seven years from all naval preparations. But their spirit was not to be broken; they yet again resolved to build another fleet, and to try their wayward fortune in forming a naval power. At length their perseverance was crowned with success: one victory followed on the back of another. Fabius Buteo, the consul, showed them the way, by defeating a large squadron of the enemy's ships; but Lutatius Catulus gained a victory still more complete, in which the power of Carthage seemed totally destroyed at sea, by the loss of a hundred and twenty ships, according to the smallest computation. This loss brought them to sue for peace, which Rome thought proper to grant; but, still inflexible in its demands, exacted the same conditions which Regulus had formerly offered at the gates of Carthage. These were, that the Carthaginians should lay down a thousand talents of silver to defray the charge of the war; and should pay two thousand two hundred more in ten years' time: that they should quit Sicily, with all such islands as they possessed near it: that they should never make war against the allies of Rome, or come with any vessels of war within the Roman dominions: and, lastly, that all their prisoners and deserters should be delivered up without ransom. To these hard conditions the Carthaginians, now exhausted, readily subscribed; and thus ended the first Punic war, which had lasted twenty-four years, and, in some measure, had drained both nations of every resource to begin anew.

U.C. 513.

CHAPTER XVI.

FROM THE END OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR TO THE END OF THE SECOND.

THE war being ended between the Carthaginians and Romans, a profound peace ensued; and in about six years after the temple of Janus was shut, for the second time since the foundation of the city. Rome, being thus in friendship with all nations, had an opportunity of turning to the arts of peace; they now began to have a relish for poetry, the first liberal art which rises in every civilized nation, and the first also that decays. Hitherto, they had been entertained only with the rude drolleries of their lowest buffoons. They had sports called Fescennini, in which a few debauched actors made their own parts, while raillery and smut supplied the place of humour. To these a composition of a higher kind succeeded, which they called satire; which was a kind of dramatic poem, in which the characters of the great were particularly pointed out, and made an object of derision to the vulgar. After these came tragedy and comedy, which were borrowed from the Greeks; and indeed the first dramatic poet of Rome, whose name was Livius Andronicus, was by birth a Grecian. The instant these finer kinds of composition appeared, this great people rejected their former U.C. 514. impurities with disdain. From thenceforward they laboured upon the Grecian model; and though they were never able to rival their masters in dramatic composition, they soon surpassed them in many of the more soothing kinds of poetry. Elegiac, pastoral, and didactic compositions, began to assume new beauties in the Roman language; and satire, not that rude kind of dialogue already mentioned, but a nobler sort, invented by Lucilius, was all their own.

While they were thus admitting the arts of peace, they were not unmindful of making fresh preparations for war; all intervals of ease seemed rather to give fresh vigour for new designs than to relax their former intrepidity. The Illyrians were the first people upon whom they tried their strength,

after some continuance of peace. That nation, which had long plundered the merchants of the Mediterranean with impunity, happened to make depredations upon some of the trading subjects of Rome. This being complained of to Teuta, the queen of the country, she, instead of granting redress, ordered the ambassador, that was sent to demand restitution, to be murdered. A war ensued, in which the Romans were victorious. Most of the Illyric towns were surrendered to the consuls, and a peace at last concluded, by which the greatest part of the country was ceded to Rome, a yearly tribute exacted for the rest, and a prohibition added, that the Illyrians should not sail beyond the river Lissus with more than two barks, and those unarmed.

The Gauls were the next people that incurred the displeasure of the Romans. Supposing a time of peace, when the armies were disbanded, a proper season for new irruptions, this barbarous people, inviting fresh forces from beyond the Alps, and entering Etruria, wasted all with fire and sword, till they came within about three days' journey of Rome. A prætor and a consul were sent to oppose them; who, now instructed in the improved arts of war, were enabled to surround the Gauls, who still retained their primæval barbarity. It was in vain that those hardy troops, who had nothing but their courage to protect them, formed two fronts to oppose their adversaries; their naked bodies and undisciplined forces were unable to withstand the shock of an enemy completely armed and skilled in military evolutions. A miserable slaughter ensued, in which forty thousand were killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners. This victory was followed by another gained over them by Marcellus, in which he killed Viridomarus their king, with his own hand, and gained the third royal spoils that were yet obtained at Rome. These conquests forced them to beg a peace, the conditions of which served greatly to enlarge the empire. Thus the Romans went on with success; they had now totally recovered their former losses, and only wanted an enemy worthy of their arms to begin a new war.

An occasion soon offered to renew their military aims. The Carthaginians, who only made a peace because they were no longer able to continue the war, took the earliest opportunity of breaking the treaty: they besieged Saguntum, a city of

Spain, which had been in alliance with Rome; and, though desired to desist, prosecuted their operations with vigour. Ambassadors were sent, in consequence, from Rome to Carthage, complaining of the infraction of their articles, and requiring that Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, who had advised this measure, should be delivered up. This demand being refused, the ambassador began to perceive their inclinations for a rupture; and holding out the skirt of his robe, as was the custom, told the Carthaginian ministry, that he brought them peace or war, of which they might choose. They desired him to deliver which he thought proper; to which he returned, "Then let it be war;" and thus, leaving the assembly, returned to Rome.

War being thus again declared between these great rival powers, the Carthaginians trusted the management of it on their side to Hannibal, the son of Amilcar, their former general. Hannibal had been made the sworn foe of Rome, almost from his infancy; for, while yet very young, his father brought him before the altar, and obliged him to take an oath, never to be in friendship with the Romans, nor desist from opposing their power, until he or they should be no more. On his first appearance in the field, he reconciled in his own person the most just method of commanding with the most perfect obedience to his superiors. Thus he was equally beloved by his generals and the troops he was appointed to lead. He was possessed of the greatest courage in opposing danger, and the greatest presence of mind in retising from it. No fatigue was able to subdue his body or break his spirit: equally patient of heat and cold, he only took sustenance to content nature, and not to delight his appetite. His seasons for repose or labour were never marked, but he was ever ready when difficulties or his country demanded his aid. He was frequently found stretched on the ground among his sentinels, covered only with a watch-coat. His dress differed in nothing from the most ordinary man of his army, except that he affected peculiar elegance in his horses and armour. He was the best horseman and the swiftest runner of his time. He was ever the foremost to engage and the last to retreat; he was ever prudent in his designs, which were extensive; and ever fertile in expedients to perplex his enemies, or to rescue himself from hardships. He was expe-

rienced, sagacious, provident, and bold. Such were the admirable qualities of this inimitable soldier, who is generally allowed the greatest general of all antiquity. But, on the other hand, he was cruel and faithless, without honour, without religion; and yet so deceitful as to assume the appearance of them all. Yet after all we must remember, that it is his enemies who give him this character.

From such a soldier and politician the Carthaginians formed the greatest expectations; and his taking Saguntum shortly after confirmed them in their opinion of his abilities. But he soon gave proofs of a much more extensive genius than they could have conceived; for having overrun all Spain, and levied a large army of various languages and nations, he resolved to carry the war into Italy, as the Romans had before carried it into the dominions of Carthage. For this purpose, leaving Hanno with a sufficient force to guard his conquests in Spain, he crossed the Pyrenean mountains into Gaul, with an army of fifty thousand foot and nine thousand horse. He quickly traversed that country, which was then wild, extensive, and filled with inimical nations. In vain its forests and rivers appeared to intimidate him; the Rhone with its rapid current, and its banks covered with enemies, or the Dura, branched out into numberless channels, opposed his way; he passed them all with perseverance, and in ten days arrived at the foot of the Alps, over which he was to explore a new passage into Italy.

It was now in the midst of winter when this astonishing project was undertaken: the season added new horrors to a scene, that nature had already crowded with objects of dismay. The prodigious height and tremendous steepness of the mountains capped with snow; the rude cottages, that seemed to hang upon the sides of the precipices; the cattle, and even the wild beasts themselves, stiff with cold, or desperate with famine; the people barbarous and fierce, dressed in skins with long shaggy hair, presented a picture that impressed the beholders with astonishment and terror. But nothing was capable of subduing the courage of the Carthaginian general: after having harangued his army, he undertook to lead them up the sides of the mountain, assuring the soldiers, that they were now scaling, not the walls of Italy but of Rome.

The soldiers in this march had not vain fears alone to com-

bat, but with numberless and unforeseen calamities. The intenseness of the cold, the height of the precipices, the smoothness of the ice, but, above all, the opposition of the inhabitants, who assailed them from above, and rolled down huge rocks upon them in their march, all contributed to dispirit the army. At length, after nine days' painful march through these untrodden paths, Hannibal gained the top of the mountains, where he rejoiced his soldiers by showing them the charming and fertile vales of Italy, which were stretched out beneath. After two days' respite, he next prepared to descend; and this was found a work of more danger even than the former. Prodigious quantities of snow having lately fallen, as many were swallowed up in that as had before been destroyed by the enemy. Every new advance seemed but to increase the danger, till at last he came to the verge of a precipice, above three hundred yards perpendicular, which seemed utterly impassable. It was then that despair appeared in every face but Hannibal's; but he still remained unshaken: his first effort was to endeavour, by taking a circuit, to find a more commodious passage; but finding this only increase his difficulty, he resolved to undertake levelling the rock. For this purpose, great numbers of large trees were felled, and a mighty pile made against it, and set on fire. The rock being thus heated, says Livy, was softened by vinegar, and a passage opened through which the whole army might safely pass. This seemed to be the end of the difficulties of this march; for as he descended, the vallies between the mountains became more fertile, so that the cattle found pasture, and the soldiers had time to repose. Thus, at the end of fifteen days spent in crossing the Alps, Hannibal found himself in the plains of Italy, with about half his army remaining, the rest having died or been cut-off in their march.

As soon as it was known at Rome that Hannibal, at the head of an immense army, was crossing the Alps, in order to invade their dominions, the senate sent Scipio to oppose him, as a general on whom they placed great dependence. Scipio, being desirous of making his principal effort while Hannibal's army was not yet recovered from the fatigues of their march, brought up his forces, and attacked him near Ticinium. The engagement was for some time doubtful; but a party of Numidian horse wheeling round attacked the Romans in the

rear, and at last obliged them to retreat with considerable loss. The consul was wounded in the beginning of the fight, and would have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had not his son Scipio, afterwards called Africanus, opposed himself to the shock of the engagement, and saved his father's life at the hazard of his own. Hannibal, being thus victorious, took the most prudent precautions to increase his army, giving orders to Mago, his general of the cavalry, when he ravaged the country round, always to spare the possessions of the Gauls, while his depredations were permitted upon those of Rome. This so pleased that simple people, that they declared for him in great numbers, and flocked to his standard with alacrity.

Soon after this defeat, Sempronius, the other consul, was resolved to repair the injury sustained by his colleague; and seeing the continual defection of the Gauls, going off to increase the strength of the Punic army, he determined to give battle the first opportunity. Hannibal was not long in delaying his expectations; and both armies met upon the banks of the river Trebia. The Carthaginian general, being apprised of the Roman impetuosity, of which he always availed himself in almost every engagement, had sent off a body of a thousand horse, each with a foot soldier behind him, across the river, to ravage the enemy's country, and provoke them to engage. The Romans quickly routed this force, who, seeming to be defeated, took the river, and were as eagerly pursued by the consul. It was not, however, till his army was got upon the opposite bank, that he perceived himself half conquered already, his men being fatigued by wading up to the arm-pits, and quite benumbed by the intense coldness of the water. But it was now too late to retire; for Hannibal came pouring down his forces, fresh and vigorous, so that the battle soon became general. The courage of the Romans for a while withstood every disadvantage, and kept the victory doubtful; but they soon found themselves attacked also in the rear by a party of horse, which the Carthaginian general had laid in ambush to be ready on this occasion. At length a total rout ensued: twenty-six thousand of the Romans were either killed by the enemy or drowned in attempting to repass the river. A body of ten thousand men were all that survived; who, finding themselves enclosed on every side, broke desperately

through the enemy's ranks, and fought retreating, till they found shelter in the city of Placentia.

The loss of these two battles only served to increase the caution of Hannibal and the vigilance of Rome. Preparations for the ensuing campaign were carried on with greater vigour than before; and the Carthaginian general, finding himself in a condition to change the seat of the war, resolved to approach Rome, by marching into Etruria. There were two ways for effecting his march thither; one more tedious, but secure; the other, which was shorter, led through the marshes, caused by the overflowing of the river Arno. All the former fatigues of the Carthaginian army were nothing, compared to their sufferings here. They were forced to march, three days and nights successively, up to the knees in water, without sleep or without rest; the hoofs of the horses came off in their passage, while the beasts of burthen, that carried the baggage, unable to support the fatigue, were left dead in the mud. Hannibal himself, riding upon an elephant, which was the only one left alive, felt all the complicated distress of his own situation and that of his army. His health had been impaired in the preceding spring; and having then an inflammation in his eyes, he, by his present fatigues, lost one of them entirely. At last, however, he arrived upon dry ground, where he was informed, that Flaminius, the consul, was encamped near Aricia, waiting the arrival of the other consul with reinforcements from Rome.

One of Hannibal's chief excellencies in war was the care he took to inform himself of the temper and disposition of the generals who opposed him; and finding that Flaminius was rash and overbearing, swollen with his former successes; and confident of the future, he resolved to bring him to an engagement before his colleague could come up. Seeming, therefore, to take no notice of his army, that lay in the direct road towards Rome, he left it on one side; and marching onward, as if to besiege the capital itself, he ravaged the whole country round in a terrible manner with fire and sword. Flaminius, as was expected, could not tamely bear to see an insulting enemy laying every thing waste before him, but burned for the engagement. It was in vain that he was advised by the senate, and all about him, to use caution, and not to let the enemy's insults provoke him to an unequal

combat. He immediately ordered his troops to march, his friends foreboding their future danger, while the soldiers went rejoicing in the courage of their general, and indulging their hopes, rather than considering the reasons they had for hoping.

Hannibal was with his army, at the time when Flaminius came out to engage him, at the lake of Thrasymene, near to which was a chain of mountains, and between these and the lake a narrow passage leading to a valley that was embosomed in hills. It was upon these hills that he disposed his best troops, and it was into this valley that Flaminius led his men to attack him. A disposition every way so favourable for the Carthaginians was also assisted by accident; for a mist rising from the lake kept the Romans from seeing their enemies, while the army upon the mountains, being above its influence, saw the whole disposition of their opponents. The fortune of the day was such as might be expected from the conduct of the two generals: the Roman army was broken and slaughtered almost before they could perceive the enemy that destroyed them. About fifteen thousand Romans fell in the valley, and six thousand more were obliged to yield themselves prisoners of war. In this general carnage the unfortunate Flaminius did all that courage could inspire to save his army: wherever the enemy was most successful, he flew with a chosen body of his attendants to repress them: at last, despairing of victory, and unwilling to survive a defeat, he flung himself alone into the midst of the enemy, and was killed by a Gaulish horseman, who struck him through the body with a blow of his lance. Hannibal, after the battle, kept the Roman prisoners, but civilly dismissed those of the Latins; and willing to give the consul an honourable interment, he sought his body amongst the heaps of slain, but it could not be found.

Upon the news of this defeat at Rome, after the general consternation was allayed, the senate, upon mature deliberation, resolved to elect a commander with absolute authority, in whom they might repose the last and greatest expectations. Their choice fell upon Fabius Maximus, a man of great courage, but with a happy mixture of caution; less enraptured with the glare of victory than the consciousness of deserving it. This old commander, thus invested with the

supreme dignity, set forward with what preparations he was able to make, but with no intentions of fighting an enemy whom he knew more powerful than himself. He had long before setting out laid a plan by which to proceed, and to that he strictly adhered during all the ensuing campaigns. He was apprised, that the only way to humble the Carthaginians, at such a distance from home, was rather by harassing them than by fighting. For this purpose, he always encamped upon the highest grounds, inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry. Whenever they moved he moved, watched their motions, straitened their quarters, and cut off their provisions. It was in vain that Hannibal used every stratagem to bring him to a battle; the cautious Roman, thence surnamed Cunctator, still kept aloof, contented with seeing his enemy in some measure defeated by delay. Hannibal now therefore, perceiving that his adversaries had altered their plan of operations, tried his usual arts to make Fabius appear despicable to his own army. He sometimes, therefore, braved him in his camp, he sometimes wasted the country round him, talked of his abilities with contempt, and in all his excursions spared the possessions of Fabius, while those of the other Romans were plundered without mercy. These arts in some measure succeeded: the Romans began to suspect their general either of cowardice or treachery; and a slight action that ensued a little after gave strength to their suspicions. For Hannibal, designing to march, for the convenience of forage, to a place called Cassinum, was, by a mistake of his guide, conducted towards Cassilium, where he found himself in a close country, hemmed in on every side. However, willing to draw all the advantages he was able from his situation, he ordered his cavalry to pillage the country round, which the Roman army, that still kept him in view, beheld from a neighbouring hill. Hannibal knew that his depredations would excite them to a desire of revenge; but it was in vain they cried out to their phlegmatic general to lead them down upon the enemy. Fabius still kept his post, contrary to all the entreaties of his men, and even the expostulations of Minucius, his master of the horse. It was now therefore found, that the prudent Roman began to practise Hannibal's own stratagems against himself; he had now enclosed him among mountains, where it was impossible to winter, and yet from which it was almost

impracticable to extricate his army without imminent danger. In this exigence, nothing but one of those stratagems of war which fall to the lot of great abilities only to invent could save him. Hannibal's amazing fertility in expedients suggested one at this time, which was successful: he ordered a number of small faggots and lighted torches to be tied to the horns of two thousand oxen that he had in his camp, and that they should be driven towards the enemy. These tossing their heads, and running up the sides of the mountains, seemed to fill the whole neighbouring forest with fire, while the sentinels, that were placed to guard the approaches of the mountains, seeing such a number of flames advancing towards their posts, fled in consternation, supposing the whole body of the enemy was in arms to overwhelm them. By this stratagem Hannibal drew off his army, and escaped through the defiles that led beneath the hills, though with considerable damage to his rear. Although Fabius had conducted himself in this expedition with all the prudence and conduct of the most consummate general, he could not prevent the murmurs of his army, who now began to tax his ignorance in war, as they had formerly impeached his valour and fidelity.

Fabius, no way solicitous to quiet the murmurs either of his army or of the citizens themselves, returned to Rome, in order to raise money to ransom some Roman prisoners, whom Hannibal offered to release: but, in the mean time, he gave instructions to Minucius, his master of the horse, to abstain from giving the enemy battle, upon any occasion whatsoever. Minucius, however, who now began to have the same opinion of the dictator that the rest of the soldiers entertained of him, little regarded his instructions; but venturing out against the Carthaginians, skirmished with such success, that by universal consent he was made equal in power to the dictator, and both generals were appointed to command, each his own part of the army. Being thus possessed of equal power, Minucius began by altering the former conduct of Fabius. From keeping on the tops of the mountains, he now drew down his part of the army into the plain, and offered the enemy battle. This was the disposition that Hannibal had long wished for; and pretending to be very earnest in taking possession of a hill which commanded the camp of the Romans, he drew the eyes of all to that quarter, while he formed an ambuscade on

the other side, with orders to sally forth in the midst of the engagement. The Romans accordingly made a most vigorous attack upon the Carthaginians, who had taken possession of the hill, while new reinforcements were sent from either army. At last, Minucius drew out his legions, and the engagement became general. It was then that the superior conduct of the Carthaginian commander was discovered; for the men who were placed in ambush sallying forth upon the rear, began to throw the whole Roman army into confusion; and nothing less than a total defeat threatened to ensue. In the mean time Fabius, who was returned from Rome, after soliciting an exchange of prisoners, and after selling all his little patrimony to raise a sum which he was denied by the senate to pay their ransom, came in while Minucius was in this desperate situation. He did not long hesitate upon the course he should pursue, but falling upon the Carthaginians at once stopped the flight of the Romans, and obstructed the enemy's purguit. Hannibal now perceived, that the cloud which had so long hovered upon the mountains, at last broke upon him in a storm; he was obliged to command a retreat; while Minucius was so convinced of his former rashness, that he confessed his error to Fabius, whom he now called his father; and renouncing his new power, again subjected his office freely to the dictatorship.

Soon after, however, Fabius was obliged to lay down his office, his time being expired; and a violent contest ensued at Rome about the proper persons to be elected to the consulship, the patricians and the plebeians, as usual, taking opposite sides. At last the multitude prevailed, and Terentius Varro was chosen alone, by the majority of voices in the assembly of the people. This Terentius Varro was a man sprung from the dregs of the people, and with nothing but his confidence and riches to recommend him. He had long aspired at the highest offices of the state: being ignorant, vain, boastful, and confident, but fond of popular applause, and seeking it by all the arts of meanness and adulation. With him was joined *Æmilius Paulus*, of a disposition entirely opposite; experienced in the field, cautious in action, and impressed with a thorough contempt of the abilities of his plebeian colleague. Fabius, who had just resigned his office, saw, with his usual sagacity, the danger that threatened the state from two such

ill-matched commanders; and entreated *Æmilius*, by all he held dear, to guard against the devices of *Hannibal*, and the rashness of *Terentius Varro*. However, it was now no time for indulging fearful apprehensions, the enemy being at hand, and the Romans finding themselves enabled to bring a competent force into the field, being almost ninety thousand strong.

Hannibal was at this time encamped near the village of *Cannæ*, with the wind, that for a certain season blows still one way, in his rear, which raising great clouds of dust from the parched plains behind, he knew must greatly distress an approaching enemy. In this situation he waited the coming up of the Romans, with an army of forty thousand foot and half that number of cavalry. The two consuls soon appeared to his wish, dividing their forces into two parts, and agreeing to take the command every day by turns. On the first day of their arrival, it falling to the lot of *Æmilius* to command, he was entirely averse to engaging; and though *Hannibal* did all that lay in his power, by insulting his men in their camp, and his colleague, by reproaching his timidity, to bring him to a battle, yet he obstinately declined fighting, conscious of the enemy's superior disposition. The next day, however, it being come to *Varro's* turn to command, he, without asking his colleague's concurrence, gave the signal for battle, and passing the river *Aufidus*, that lay between both armies, put his forces in array. The two consuls commanded the two wings, *Varro* on the right, and *Æmilius* on the left; to him also was consigned the general conduct of the engagement. On the other hand, *Hannibal*, who had been from day-break employed in the field marshalling his forces as they came up, and inspiring them with courage by his voice and example, had so artfully disposed them, that both the wind and the sun were in his favour. His cavalry were ordered to oppose those of Rome. His heavy-armed African infantry were placed in either wing. These, says the historian, might have been mistaken for a Roman army themselves, being dressed in the spoils of such as were killed at *Trebia* and *Thrasymene*. Next these were the Gauls, a fierce people, naked from the waist, bearing large round shields, and swords of an enormous size, blunted at the point. The Spaniards were placed in the centre, brandishing short pointed daggers, and dressed in linen vests

embroidered with the brightest scarlet. Asdrubal commanded the left wing, the right was given to Maberbal, and Hannibal himself fought on foot in the centre of the army. The battle began with the light-armed infantry; the horse engaged soon after, and the Roman cavalry being unable to stand against those of Numidia, the legions came up to reinforce them. It was then that the conflict became general; the Roman soldiers, for a long time, endeavoured, but in vain, to penetrate the centre, where the Gauls and Spaniards fought; which Hannibal observing, ordered part of these troops to give way, and to permit the Romans to embosom themselves within a chosen body of his Africans, whom he had placed on either wing, so as to surround them; upon that a terrible slaughter began to ensue of the Romans, fatigued by their repeated attacks, by the Africans, who were fresh and vigorous. All the hopes of Rome now lay in the cavalry of the allies, which yet continued unbroken: but even on that side the great art of Hannibal discovered itself: for having ordered five hundred of his Numidian horse, who had daggers concealed under their coats of mail, to go against the enemy, and to make a show of surrendering themselves prisoners of war: these obeying, and being placed by the allied cavalry, for greater security, in the rear, while they were employed in combating the troops that opposed them in front, all of a sudden, these supposed prisoners fell upon them with their daggers from behind, and put them into irrecoverable confusion. Thus the rout at last became general in every part of the Roman army: the boastings of Varro were now no longer heard; while Æmilius, who had been terribly wounded by a slinger in the very beginning of the engagement, still feebly led on his body of horse, and did all that could be done to make head against the enemy; however, being unable to sit on horseback, he was forced to dismount, as did also those who followed him; but what could be expected from a measure dictated only by despair! Though they fought with great intrepidity for some time, they were at last obliged to give way, those that were able remounting their horses, and seeking safety by flight. It was in this deplorable condition of things, that one Lentulus, a tribune of the army, as he was flying on horseback from the enemy, which at some distance pursued him, met the consul Æmilius sitting upon a stone, covered over with blood and

wounds, and waiting for the coming up of the pursuers. "Æmilius," cried the generous tribune, "you, at least, are guiltless of this day's slaughter: take my horse, while you have any strength remaining. I will engage to assist, and will with my life defend you. We have already lost blood enough in the field; do not make the day more dreadful by the loss of a commander." "I thank thee, Lentulus," cried the dying consul; "for ever guard thy virtue, and may the gods recompense thy piety; but as for me, all is over, my part is chosen; do not, therefore, by attempting to persuade a desperate man, lose the only means of procuring thine own safety. Go, I command thee, and tell the senate from me, to fortify Rome against the approach of the conqueror. Tell Fabius also that Æmilius, while living, ever remembered his advice, and now dying, approves it." While he was yet speaking, the enemy approached; and Lentulus, before he was out of view, saw the consul expire, feebly fighting in the midst of them. The slaughter had now continued for several hours, till at last, the conquerors being quite weary with destroying, Hannibal gave orders for them to desist, and led them back to encampment, a large body of Romans having previously surrendered, upon condition of being dismissed without arms. In this battle the Romans lost fifty thousand men, two quaestors, twenty-one tribunes, eighty senators, and so many knights, that it is said Hannibal sent three bushels of gold rings to Carthage, which those of this order had worn on their fingers.

This seemed the decisive blow that was to determine the fate of Rome; it only now remained, and was universally expected, that Hannibal should march his army to the gates of the city, and make it an easy conquest. This was the advice of Maherbal, his captain of the horse; who, when Hannibal rejected it, could not help observing, that the Carthaginian general was much more skilful in gaining victories than in improving them. Indeed, the justice of Maherbal's advice seems to appear from the general terror that universally prevailed in Rome at that time. Nothing was heard throughout the city but shrieks and lamentations of women, who on every side demanded their husbands or their children. In vain, for a time, could the senators consult together, being disturbed by the cries of the populace. Nothing but terror appeared in

every face, and despair was the language of every tongue. At length, when the first consternation was abated, the senate came to a general resolution to create a dictator, in order to give strength to their government. Orders were also given, to keep all women from coming abroad and spreading the consternation; strict guards were placed at the city gates, with strict injunctions, that none should leave the city. It was at this time that young Scipio, whom we have already seen saving his father's life in battle, was now resolved to save his country also. He was then but a tribune of the army; and having retired, the night after the battle, to a little town in the neighbourhood of Rome, was informed, that some young men of the first families in the city were at a certain house, preparing to abandon their country, and resolving to seek for safety elsewhere. He was instantly filled with indignation at their pusillanimity; he, therefore, resolved to prevent that influence which their example might have upon others; and turning to some of his fellow-soldiers, who were with him, "Let those," cried he, "to whom Rome is dear, follow me." So saying, he went directly to the house in question, where he found them in actual deliberation. Upon this, laying his hand upon his sword, "I swear," cried he, "that I will never abandon Rome, and will never suffer that others should abandon it. Those, who will not take the same oath, are not only their country's enemies, but mine." The resolute manner, in which he spoke this, together with his known courage, in some measure intimidated the conspirators: they all took the same oath, and vowed, rather than forsake Rome, to stay till they were buried beneath its ruins. Thenceforward the people seemed to gather new resolution; the senate conceived new hopes of victory, and the augurs gave them assurances of a turn in their favour. A short time after, Varro arrived near Rome, having left behind him the wretched remains of his army: he had been the principal cause of the late calamity; and it was natural to suppose, that the senate would severely reprimand the rashness of his conduct. But far otherwise! The Romans went out in multitudes to meet him; and the senate returned him thanks, that he had not despaired of the safety of Rome. Such a conquest over all the vindictive passions was much greater than the victory at

Cannæ. The people being thus, by Hannibal's delay, inspired with fresh courage, made all possible preparations for another campaign. They armed their slaves, and filled up the senate, which wanted near half its number. Fabius, who was considered as the shield of Rome, and Marcellus as the sword, were appointed to lead the armies; and though Hannibal once more offered them peace, they refused it, but upon condition that he should quit Italy; terms similar to those they had insisted upon from Pyrrhus before.

In the mean time Hannibal, either finding the impossibility of marching directly to Rome, or willing to give his forces rest after such a mighty victory, led them to Capua, where he resolved to winter. This city had long been considered as the nurse of luxury and the corrupter of all military virtue; here, therefore, a new scene of pleasure opened to his barbarian troops, and they at once gave themselves up to the intoxication, till, from being hardy veterans, they became infirm rioters. For this he has been greatly blamed by antiquity, as losing that happy occasion when fortune seemed kind, and exchanging empire for dissipation: but it is not considered what numberless obstacles he had to surmount, and what an enemy he had to deal with. Rome was as yet powerful; it could bring into the field, if we may judge from the latest estimate that was made of its numbers, two hundred thousand fighting men; it might therefore have been rashness itself in Hannibal to lead his army to the siege of a city, strongly defended by art, and with a garrison more than four times his equal. We have only to give him credit upon this occasion for what he would have done, by remembering the seeming impossibilities which he happily achieved. To have led and maintained a large army, consisting of various nations, more than a thousand miles from home; to have surmounted precipices, which, considering the place he entered Italy, are, to this day, regarded as impassable; to have fought successfully, for many years, in the heart of an enemy's country; to have, by his single presence, united into obedience, and formed into one body, an army composed of Spaniards, Africans, Gauls, and Ligurians, and kept them steady to him, though often wanting bread; to have an obstinate enemy to combat, and faithless employers at home, who retarded, because they envied, his successes: when we

consider him as triumphing over all these obstacles by the strength of his own genius only, we view in him the most august spectacle that all antiquity has ever exhibited.

Hitherto we have found this great man successful; but now we are to reverse the picture, and survey him struggling with accumulated misfortunes, and at last sinking beneath them. His first repulse was from his own countrymen at home. Whilst, at Rome, the thanks of the senate were voted to a consul who fled; at Carthage, Hanno, one of their former generals, began to form a party against Hannibal; and more an enemy to his rival than to the Romans themselves, forgot nothing that might obstruct the successes he had in prospect, or tarnish the splendour of those he had already obtained. Upon Hannibal's sending for a new supply of men and money to the senate of Carthage, "What would this man have asked," cried Hanno, "if he had lost a battle, when he makes such draughts upon us after gaining a victory? No, no; he is either an impostor, that amuses us with false news, or a public robber, that enriches himself and not his country." This opposition, the effects of which still continued to operate, delayed the necessary succours, though it could not hinder their tardy compliance. Thus, being frequently destitute of money and provisions, and reduced to the necessity of being always successful, with no recruits of strength in case of ill fortune, and no encouragement even in the good; it is not to be wondered at that his affairs began at length to decline, and that those of the opposing generals began to prosper, whose employers observed a contrary conduct.

His first loss was at the siege of Nola, where Marcellus the prætor made a successful sally. He some time after attempted to raise the siege of Capua, and attacked the Romans in their trenches, but he was repulsed with considerable loss. He then made a feint of going to besiege Rome; but finding a superior army ready to receive him, he was obliged to retire. For some years after he fought with various success; Marcellus, his opponent, sometimes gaining and sometimes losing the advantage, but coming to no decisive engagement. However, even victories themselves could not restore the affairs of Hannibal; for though these might lessen the number of his enemy's forces, he had exhausted all the arts of recruiting his own. U.C. 554.

The senate of Carthage at length came to a resolution of sending his brother Asdrubal to his assistance, with a body of forces drawn out of Spain. Asdrubal's march being made known to the consuls, Livius and Nero, they went against him with great expedition, and surrounded him in a place into which he was led by the treachery of his guides, and cut his whole army to pieces. Hannibal had long expected these succours with impatience; and the very night on which he had been assured of his brother's arrival, Nero ordered Asdrubal's head to be cut off and thrown into his camp. He now, therefore, began to perceive the approaches of the downfall of Carthage; and could not help, with a sigh, observing to those about him, that fortune seemed fatigued with granting favours.

But it was not in Italy alone that the affairs of Carthage seemed to decline; for the Romans, while yet bleeding from their defeat at Cannæ, sent legions into Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily. This unconquerable people, surrounded by enemies on every side, still found resources to oppose them all; they not only fought those nations, but appointed fresh succours to the few allies that yet adhered to them; they made head against Hannibal in Italy, and, still more, undertook a new war against Philip, king of Macedon, for having made a league with the Carthaginians. Fortune seemed to favour them in almost all their enterprises. Lævinus, the consul, gained considerable advantages over Philip; and Marcellus took Syracuse in Sicily, which was defended by the machines and fires of Archimedes the mathematician.

This great city first invited the efforts of the besiegers, as it was generally thought indefensible, and its riches were immense. The Romans therefore sat down before it, with the expectation of a speedy surrender, and immense plunder. But the wisdom of one man alone seemed to suspend its fate; this was Archimedes, the celebrated mathematician, many of whose works are still remaining; he destroying their men, and demolishing their shipping. He so united the powers of mechanism, that he raised their vessels into the air, and let them dash to pieces by the violence of their fall. He also made use of burning glasses, which, at the distance of some hundred yards, set the Roman ships and wooden towers on fire. At last, however, the town was taken on a

great festival by surprise. The inhabitants were put to the sword; and among the rest Archimedes, who was found meditating in his study, was slain by a Roman soldier. Marcellus, the general, was not a little grieved at his death: a passion for letters at that time began to prevail among the higher ranks of people at Rome. He therefore ordered his body to be honourably buried, and a tomb to be erected to his memory, which, however, his works have long survived.

As for their fortunes in Spain, though for a while they appeared doubtful, two of the Scipios being slain, and Claudius Nero, the governor of the province, much an undermatch for the cunning of the Carthaginian general; yet they soon recovered their complexion under the conduct of Scipio Africanus, who sued for the office of proconsul for that kingdom, at a time when every one else was willing to decline it. Scipio, who was now but twenty-four years old, had all the qualifications requisite for forming a great general and a good man: he united the greatest courage with the greatest tenderness; superior to Hannibal in the arts of peace, and almost his equal in those of war. His father had been killed in Spain; so that he seemed to have an hereditary claim to the conquest of the country. He therefore appeared irresistible, obtaining many great victories, yet subduing still more by his generosity, mildness, and benevolent disposition, than by the force of his arms. Among other instances of the greatness of Scipio's mind was the following: upon the taking of New Carthage, he treated his prisoners with the utmost lenity; and different from other generals, who permitted every barbarity to their soldiers, he repressed his men from doing any injury to such as sued for mercy. Among the prisoners that were made at the taking this city, a young princess was brought before him of the most exquisite beauty: she had been promised to Alleucius, a prince of that country, who loved her with the most ardent passion, and had felt the most poignant distress for her captivity. It was thought, by the solicitude the generous Roman seemed to show, that he designed asking her from her parents for himself; and more so, when he desired that the prince and they might come before him. The young prince approached, trembling with anxiety, expecting to hear that his mistress, who was now the property of another, was intended to promote the happiness of her conqueror: but his fears were dis-

pelled when Scipio, giving the princess to his arms, bade him take what was his by a prior claim, and only desired his friendship and alliance in return: at the same time he refused the ransom which her parents had brought; and when they pressed him to take it, he desired it might be added to her portion. It was by such generous acts as these, as well as the fortune of his arms, that he reduced the whole country to the obedience of the empire.

In this manner Spain and Sicily being added to the Roman empire, it now found resources for continuing the Punic war. However, Hannibal still kept his ground in Italy, although he was unsupported at home, and but indifferently assisted by the alliance he had made since his crossing the Alps. He had now continued in this country for more than fourteen years, and, as Polybius says, had never lost a single battle where he himself was the commander. But it was now too late to retrieve his fortune; the Romans were taught his own arts, his old army was worn out, either with excesses of fatigue or debauchery; his countrymen had given over sending new supplies, so that he had nothing now to make him formidable but the fame of his former good fortune.

It was in this posture of his affairs that Scipio returned with an army from the conquest of Spain, and was made consul at the age of twenty-nine. It was at first supposed he intended meeting Hannibal in Italy, and then he would attempt driving him from thence; but he had already formed a wiser plan, which was to carry the war into Africa, and while the Carthaginians kept an army near Rome, to make them tremble for their own capital. This measure was opposed with great heat by Fabius, and thereupon a considerable difference arose; but at last it was determined by the senate, that Scipio should be granted Sicily for his province, and that leave should be given him to pass over into Africa, if he saw it convenient for the interests of Rome. This he considered as a concurrence with his aims; he accordingly spent his first year in Sicily, providing necessaries for his intended expedition; and went over into Africa the beginning of the next, with a large fleet, where he was joined by Masinissa, the deposed king of Numidia, with whom he had made an alliance in Spain.

Scipio was not long in Africa without employment; for, in

a short time, Hanno opposed him, who was defeated and slain. Syphax, the usurper of Numidia, led up a large army against him. The Roman general, for a time, declined fighting; till, finding an opportunity, he set fire to the enemy's tents, and attacking him in the midst of the confusion, killed forty thousand of his men, and took six thousand prisoners. Not long after, Syphax, willing to strike one blow more for empire, and fearing that his kingdom would return to the true possessor in case the Romans should succeed, gathered together a numerous army of various nations, and with these unexperienced troops marched against Scipio. His former ill fortune followed him, he was soon defeated, and he himself taken prisoner. Masinissa, being thus put in possession of the usurper's person, the better to regain his kingdom, marched with the utmost expedition to Cirta, the chief city; and, showing Syphax in bonds, procured the gates to be opened, every one striving to make up their former disloyalty by their ready obedience. In this manner, Masinissa became possessed of the royal palace, and all the wealth of the late king; but, among the rest, of a treasure that he esteemed above all, Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax. Sophonisba was the daughter of Asdrubal, one of the Carthaginian generals: she was a woman of great ambition, and incomparable beauty: it was she, that from the beginning had incited Syphax to declare against Rome, in favour of Carthage; and the influence of her charms was such, that he gave up safety to be possessed of love. Upon Masinissa's entering the palace, he was met by the queen, who with all the allurements of weeping beauty fell at his feet, and entreated him to spare her youth, and not deliver her up to the Romans, who were prepared to take revenge upon her for all the injuries done them by her father. While she yet hung upon his knees, and in some measure mixed caresses with her entreaties, Masinissa found himself touched with a passion that was something more than pity; he fell in love: he therefore quickly granted her request, and finding her not averse to his solicitations, the very day they first met was that of their nuptials. The first account that Scipio had of this hasty and unjust marriage was from the unfortunate Syphax himself, who attempted to palliate his enmity to Rome by throwing the blame upon Sophonisba; and then described the wretchedness of his situation,

with an eloquence pointed by jealousy. Scipio was instantly fired with resentment at the conduct of the young king: he now saw that all his former lectures, exhorting to continence and humanity, were but thrown away; he therefore desired to speak with Masinissa in private, where he urged the cruelty, the impropriety, and the injustice of taking the wife of another, and that on the very day on which he had lost his liberty and his kingdom: he entreated the young king to recollect his former virtuous resolutions; and reject a passion that was attended with infamy. Finding, however, these remonstrances make no impression, he added, that Syphax was now the prisoner of Rome, that he must wait upon the senate, and that his queen, who was a prisoner also, must attend him there. Masinissa, now finding that the obstacles to his happiness were insurmountable, left the general in a seeming acquiescence in his advice, but feeling all that tumult of passions which disappointed love and ungoverned inclination could excite; at last, calling one of his slaves who carried poison, according to the custom of barbarian kings, "Go," said he, "and present the queen from me with a bowl of poison; death is now the only way she has left of escaping the power of the Romans. The daughter of Asdrubal, and the wife of a king, will consult for glory." When the slave presented his mistress with the bowl, "I take it," cried she, "as the kindest offering he can make. In the mean time, inform him, that my death would have been more glorious, had it been more remote from my marriage." So saying, she drank off the poison with intrepidity, and died without showing any signs of terror.

In the mean time, while these things were transacting at Cirta, the Carthaginians were so terrified at their repeated defeats, and the fame of Scipio's former successes, that they determined to recal Hannibal, their great champion, out of Italy, in order to oppose the Romans at home. Deputies were accordingly dispatched, with a positive command to return and oppose the Roman general, who at that time threatened Carthage with a siege. Nothing could exceed the regret and disappointment of Hannibal upon receiving this order; he had long foreseen the ruin of his country, but at the same time knew that Italy was the only place in which its fate could be suspended. However, he obeyed the orders of the infatuated people, with the same submission that the

meanest soldier would have done; and took leave of Italy, with tears in his eyes, after having kept possession of the most beautiful parts of it for above fifteen years.

After a melancholy passage from Italy, where he had lost his two brothers and most of his bravest generals, and left the allies of his country to the fury of the conquerors, he arrived at Leptis in Africa, from whence he marched to Adrumetum, and at last approached Zama, a city within five days' journey of Carthage. Scipio, in the mean time, led his army to meet him, joined by Masinissa with six thousand horse; and to show his rival in the field how little he feared his approach, sent back the spies which were sent to explore his camp, having previously shown them the whole, with directions to inform Hannibal of what they had seen. The Carthaginian general soon found out the superior force of the enemy, composed of the flower of the Romans; while his own army was now but a mixture of various nations, drawn together by necessity, with no experience, and with little other discipline but what the short time he commanded them would give. The troops that almost subdued all Italy were worn out, or but nominally existing in his army. Conscious of this, therefore, his first endeavours were to discontinue the war by negotiation; and he therefore desired a meeting with Scipio, to confer upon terms of peace; to which the Roman general assented. It was in a large plain between the two armies, that the two greatest generals in the world came to this interview: both, for a while, silently regarded his opponent, as if struck with mutual reverence and esteem. Scipio was, in figure, adorned with all the advantages of manly beauty; Hannibal bore the marks in his visage of hard campaigns, and being blind of one eye, it gave a stern air to his countenance. Hannibal spoke first, to this effect: "Were I not convinced of the equity of the Romans, I would not this day have come to demand peace from the son, over whose father I have formerly been victorious. Would to Heaven, that the same moderation, which I hope inspires us at this day, had prevailed among us at the beginning of the war; that you had been content with the limits of your Italian dominions, and that we had never aimed at adding Sicily to our empire: we had then on both sides spared that blood, which no rewards from victory can repay. As for myself, age has taught me

the inanity of triumphs, and the instability of fortune; but you are young, and, perhaps, not yet lessoned in the school of adversity; you are now what I was after the battles of Cannæ and Thrasymene; you perhaps will aim at splendid, rather than at useful virtues. But consider, that peace is the end at which all victories aim; and that peace I am sent here by my country to offer: do not, therefore, expose to the hazard of an hour, that fame which you have obtained by an age of conquests. At present, Scipio, fortune is in your power, a moment of time may give it to your enemy. But let me not call myself such; it is Hannibal that now addresses you; Hannibal, that esteems your virtues, and desires your friendship. Peace will be useful to us both: as for me, I shall be proud of the alliance of Rome; and as for you, you will convert an active enemy into a steadfast friend." To this Scipio replied, "That as to the wars which he complained of, as they were begun by the Carthaginians, so they must abide by the consequence. That as to himself, he could never condemn his own perseverance on the side of justice. That some late outrages had been committed during a late truce; which required the greater reparation, which if consented to, he was willing to conclude a treaty." Both sides parting dissatisfied, they returned to their camps, to prepare for deciding the controversy by the sword.

Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we regard the generals, the armies, the two states that contended, or the empire that was in dispute. The disposition Hannibal made of his men is said, by the skilful in the art of war, to be superior to any even of his former arrangements. He encouraged the various nations of his army, by the differing motives which led them to the field; to the mercenaries, he promised a discharge of their arrears, and double pay, with plunder, in case of a victory: the Gauls he inspired, by aggravating their natural hatred to the Romans; the Numidians, by representing the cruelty of their new king; and the Carthaginians, by reminding them of their country, their glory, their danger of servitude, and their desire of freedom. Scipio, on the other hand, with a cheerful countenance, bade his men rejoice, for that their labours and their dangers were now near an end: that the gods had given Carthage into their hands; and that they should soon return triumphant to

their friends, their wives, and their children. The battle began by the elephants, on the side of the Carthaginians; which, being terrified by the cries of the Romans, and wounded by the slingers and archers, turned upon themselves, and caused much confusion in both wings of their army, in which the cavalry was placed. Being thus deprived of the assistance of the horse, in which their greatest strength consisted, the heavy infantry joined on both sides. The Romans were more vigorous and powerful in the shock, the Carthaginians more active and ready. However, they were unable to withstand the continual pressure of the Roman shields, but at first gave way a little, and this soon brought on a general flight. The rear-guard, who had orders from Hannibal to oppose those that fled, now began to attack their own forces, so that the body of the infantry sustained a double encounter, of those who caused their flight, and those who endeavoured to prevent it. At length, however, the general, finding that they were not to be made to stand, directed that they should fall behind, while he brought up his fresh forces to oppose the pursuers. Scipio, upon this, immediately sounded a retreat, in order to bring up his men a second time in good order. And now the combat began afresh, between the flower of both armies. The Carthaginians, however, having been deprived of the succour of their elephants and their horses, and their enemies being stronger of body, were obliged to give ground. In the mean time, Masinissa, who had been in pursuit of their cavalry, returning and attacking them in the rear, completed their defeat. A total rout ensued, twenty thousand men were killed in battle or in the pursuit, and as many were taken prisoners. Hannibal, who had done all that a great general and an undaunted soldier could perform, fled with a small body of horse to Adrumetum, fortune seeming to delight in confounding his ability, his valour, and experience.

This victory brought on peace. The Carthaginians, by Hannibal's advice, offered conditions to the Romans, which they dictated, not as rivals, but as sovereigns. By this treaty, the Carthaginians were obliged to quit Spain, and all the islands in the Mediterranean sea. They were bound to pay ten thousand talents in fifty years; to give hostages for the delivery of their ships and their elephants; to restore Masinissa all the territories that had been taken from him, and not

to make war in Africa but by the permission of the Romans. Thus ended the second Punic war, seventeen years after it had begun: Carthage still continued an empire, but without power to defend its possessions, and only waiting the pleasure of the conquerors, when they should think proper to end the period of its continuance. After the depression of U.C. 553. this mighty dominion, the Romans were scarce engaged but in petty wars, and obtained mighty victories; whereas, before, they had obtained but petty victories, and were engaged in dangerous wars.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM THE END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR TO THE
END OF THE THIRD, WHICH TERMINATED IN THE
DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE.

UPON the conclusion of so great and long a war as that of Carthage, there seemed to arise a certain spirit in the Roman republic, unknown till that time. Men, till now, had received distinction from their abilities, their families, their offices, or their virtues: but, upon the conquest of such various countries, such great riches, and so many slaves were brought into Rome, that the manners of the people began to alter. Riches gave them a taste for pleasures unknown before, and the slaves they had taken were put to those offices of labour and husbandry that had formerly contributed to harden the warrior, and mark the character of Roman simplicity. Their love of their country, and their zeal for the public good, seemed exhausted in the war against Hannibal: many had given up their whole fortunes to the republic; and not finding that recompence in peace, which the public was as yet unable to grant them, they suffered neglect patiently for a while, and at last converted their anger at the ingratitude of the state into a desire of private interest; they sought new connections in society, and, forgetting the whole, laboured to form particular dependencies.

The senate, however, prosecuted new wars, rather with a view of keeping these spirits employed from doing harm to the

empire, than of advancing its interests. They continued to carry on the Macedonian war against Philip, who, as was said before, had entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians during the conquests of Hannibal. To this war the Romans were not a little incited by the prayers of the Athenians; that polite people, who, from once controlling the power of Persia, were now unable to defend themselves. The Rhodians, with Attalus, king of Pergamus, also entered into the confederacy against Philip. He was more than once defeated by Galba, the consul, who was sent against him. He attempted to besiege Athens; but the Romans obliged him to raise the siege. He attempted to take possession of the straits of Thermopylæ; but was driven from them by Quintus Flaminius with great slaughter. He attempted to take refuge in Thessaly, where he was again defeated with considerable loss, and obliged to beg a peace, upon condition of paying a thousand talents, half down, and the other half in the space of ten years. The peace with Philip gave the Romans an opportunity of showing their generosity, by restoring liberty to Greece. They had, for some time, submitted to the institutions of this most refined people: and now, out of a principle of gratitude, endeavoured to recompense their masters. The senate, therefore, sent over ten men of the first rank, with Flaminius at their head, to proclaim an universal freedom at the Isthmian games, where the people were assembled. This was the most surprising and joyful gift that could be imagined, to a people panting after liberty, and whose ancestors had spent their dearest blood in its cause. The Greeks gave them all the return that was now in their power, namely, praise; this satisfied the Romans, for vanity was now the ruling passion of the times; and thus ended what was called the first Macedonian war, five years after it was last proclaimed, and twenty U.C. 568. after it had begun.

During the continuance of this war, the Gauls, who had joined with Hannibal, received some signal overthrows. The Spaniards also, who had revolted, were quelled by Cato the censor. The Ligurians, though joining with the Gauls, were subdued. Nabis, the deposed king of Lacedæmon, opposed the Romans, but was forced to submit. Scarce any nation or prince of power attempted to oppose them, that was not over-

thrown. Antiochus, king of Syria, was a monarch, whose strength and fame invited their ambition; and, after some embassies on the one side and the other, a war was declared against him, five years after the conclusion of the U.C. 563. Macedonian war. The pretext of the Romans was, that he had made encroachments upon the Grecian states, who were their allies, and that he had given refuge to Hannibal, their inveterate enemy, who had been expelled from Carthage.

This Antiochus, who was surnamed the Great, was one of Alexander's successors, a potent prince, bold, ambitious, and master of very extensive dominions, which his personal abilities invigorated and inspired. The Ætolians, who had imagined they should bear sway in Greece by joining with the Romans, found, too late, that they had only brought themselves to share the general subjection in which the rest of the states of Greece were held under the specious denomination of freedom. In order, therefore, to correct one extravagance by another, they had invited this prince among them, in the same manner as before they had invited the Romans. He accordingly came to their assistance, but with an army rather as if he intended only to be a spectator than a manager of the war; and, instead of preparing for the Romans, sat down at Ephesus to take his pleasures. Being, however, apprized of the enemy's approach, he endeavoured to treat for a peace: this not succeeding, he placed his dependence on his maritime forces; but even there his expectations were frustrated, though the great Hannibal was his admiral. In the midst of the consternation occasioned by these misfortunes, he abandoned Lysimachia, a place where he might have held the enemy for a year; and, adding one indiscretion to another, suffered Scipio, brother to the famous Africanus, to pass the Hellespont with his army without opposition. He then attempted to obtain a peace by offering to quit all places in Europe, and such in Asia as professed alliance with Rome. But it was now too late: the Roman general perceived his own superiority, and was resolved to avail himself of it. Antiochus, thus driven into resistance, for some time retreated before the enemy, till, being pressed hard, near the city of Magnesia, he was forced to draw out his men, to the number of seventy thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. Scipio

opposed him with forces as much inferior in number as they were superior in courage and discipline. He was, in a short time, entirely defeated; his own chariots, armed with scythes, being driven back upon his men, contributed much to his overthrow. Antiochus, thus reduced to the last extremity, was glad to procure peace of the Romans upon their own terms; which were, to pay fifteen thousand talents towards the expenses of the war; to quit all possessions in Europe, and likewise all in Asia on that side Mount Taurus; to give twenty hostages as pledges of his fidelity; and to deliver up Hannibal, the inveterate enemy of Rome. Thus ended the war with Antiochus, twelve years after the second Punic war, and two after it had been begun. Lucius Scipio, who conducted it, with the assistance of his brother Scipio Africanus, who went as his lieutenant, was called Asiaticus, from his success in Asia.

In the mean time Hannibal, whose destruction was one of the articles of this extorted treaty, endeavoured to avoid the threatened ruin. This consummate general had been long a wanderer, and an exile from his ungrateful country: all that prudence or justice could inspire he had done for the safety of Carthage, even after the battle which he had lost at Zama. Upon his return to his native city he found the public treasures exhausted among those who pretended to collect them; and when he endeavoured to punish their avarice, they accused him to the Romans of attempting to renew the war. This bringing on a demand that he should be delivered up, he resolved to yield to the necessity of the times, and fly. Thus leaving Carthage, in the very robe he wore in council, and attended only by two followers, who were ignorant of his intentions, he began his voluntary exile. After two days' travelling by land, he embarked, and landed on a little island in the Mediterranean sea. There being known by one, who had formerly fought under his command, he was quickly surrounded by the inhabitants, who came from motives of reverence and curiosity. From thence he sailed to Tyre, where he met with a kind reception from the inhabitants, who remembered their ancient alliance with Carthage. He thence went to the court of Antiochus, who at first gave him a sincere welcome, and made him admiral of his fleet, in which station he showed his usual skill in stratagem. But he soon sunk in the Syrian's esteem, for having advised schemes which that monarch had neither genius to un-

derstand nor talents to execute, particularly that of a second invasion of Italy. At last, finding himself destined to be given up, in order to propitiate the Romans and confirm the peace, and finding no hopes of safety or protection there, he departed by stealth, and after wandering for a time among petty states, who had neither power nor generosity to protect him, he took refuge at the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia. However, the Romans, with a vindictive spirit utterly unworthy of them, sent *Æmilius*, one of their most celebrated generals, to demand him of this king; who, fearing the resentment of Rome, and willing to conciliate their friendship by this breach of hospitality, ordered a guard to be placed upon Hannibal, with an intention of delivering him up. The old general, thus implacably persecuted from one country to another, and finding all methods of safety cut off, determined to die; he therefore desired one of his followers to bring him poison, which he had prepared for this exigence; and while he was preparing to take it, "Let us rid the Romans," says he, "of their terrors, since they are unwilling to wait for the death of an old man like me. There was a time when there was more generosity remaining among them: they have been known to guard their enemy from poison; and now they basely send an embassy to seek the life of a banished man, and to make a feeble monarch break the laws of hospitality." Thus saying, and drinking the poison, he expired, as he had lived, with intrepid bravery.

In the mean time, while these things were doing abroad, the spirit of dissension seemed to rekindle in Rome. In the third year after ending the war with Antiochus, the tribunes of the people undertook to accuse *Scipio Africanus* of defrauding the treasury of the plunder which was taken in war, and of too intimate a correspondence with that king. Accordingly a day was set him by the tribunes to answer for his conduct. *Scipio* appeared at the appointed time; but, instead of attempting a defence, he reminded his countrymen, that on that very day he had gained the victory of *Zama*. This struck the assembly of the people so strongly, that they all left the tribunes in the forum, and went to attend *Scipio* to the capitol, to return their annual thanks to the gods for the victory. The tribunes, finding themselves disappointed here, were resolved to accuse him in the senate, and desired that he should bring his accounts to answer their charge. *Scipio*, instead of gratifying them even in this, tore his accounts before them, and

soon after withdrew to Linternum, a town on the coast of Campania, where he spent the rest of his life in peace and privacy: he lived, however, but three years longer; testifying his displeasure against his countrymen by the epitaph which he ordered to be engraved on his tomb: "Ungrateful country, my very bones shall not rest among you." This was the same year in which Hannibal died; as also U.C. 573. Philopoemen, a Grecian general, who was reckoned equal to either of the former.

The factious spirit, which was now excited in the republic, continued for some years, during all their subsequent wars and victories over the Ligurians, Istrians, Sardinians, Corsicans, and Macedonians; for the Romans soon after entered into a second Macedonian war. This was U.C. 583. with Perseus, the son of Philip, the king of that country, whom we have already seen obliged to beg a peace of the Romans. Perseus, in order to secure the crown, had contrived to murder his brother Demetrius, and upon the death of his father, pleased with the hopes of imaginary triumphs, made war against Rome. During the course of this war, which continued about three years, many opportunities were offered him of cutting off the Roman army; but being perfectly ignorant of making his advantage of their rashness, he spent the time in empty overtures for a peace. At length Æmilius gave him a decisive overthrow near the river Enipeus. He attempted to procure safety by flying into Crete; but, being abandoned by all, he was obliged to surrender himself, and to grace the splendid triumph of the Roman general. He was led, with his two sons, before the conqueror's chariot into Rome; while Gentius, king of the Illyrians, and his confederates, was in the same manner led captive before the chariot of Lucius Amicius, one of the Roman admirals.

These wars, which brought immense riches into the Roman treasury, were no sooner finished than they found a pretext to enter upon the third and last Punic war. Carthage was now a state that only subsisted by the mercy of the conquerors, and was to fall at the slightest breath of their indignation. About this time Masinissa, the Numidian, having made some incursions into a territory claimed by the Carthaginians, they attempted to repel the invasion. This brought on a war between that monarch and them; while the Romans, who pretended to consider this conduct of theirs as an infraction of the treaty, sent to them to make com-

plaint. The ambassadors, who were employed upon this occasion, finding the city very rich and flourishing, from the long interval of peace which it had now enjoyed for near fifty years, either from motives of avarice to possess its plunder, or from fear of its growing greatness, insisted much on the necessity of a war. Among the chief of these was Cato, who never spoke in the senate upon public business, but he ended his speech by inculcating the necessity of destroying Carthage. It was in vain that he was opposed by Nasica, who, with more sagacious forecast, urged the danger of destroying a rival state, that still would be an incentive to Roman discipline. Cato's opinion prevailed, and the senate, having a fair pretence to begin, ordered war to be proclaimed, and the consuls set out with a thorough resolution utterly to demolish Carthage.

The Carthaginians now too late perceived the wisdom of Hannibal, who had foreseen the consequences of their conduct; but it was not till they had found their want of him. Affrighted at the Roman preparations (for they had, during this long period, been only intent on amassing private wealth, and no way careful for public safety), they immediately condemned those who had broken the league, and most humbly offered any reasonable satisfaction. To these submissions the senate only returned an evasive answer, demanding three hundred hostages within thirty days, as a security for their future conduct, and an implicit obedience to their further commands. With these articles it was supposed the Carthaginians would not comply; but it turned out otherwise; for this infatuated people, desiring peace on any terms, sent their children within the limited time; and the consuls, landing at Utica soon after, were waited upon by deputies from Carthage, to know the senate's further demands, as certain of a ready compliance. Upon this the Roman generals were not a little perplexed, in what manner to force them into disobedience; wherefore Censorinus the consul, commending their diligence, demanded all their arms; but these also, contrary to expectation, they delivered up. At last they found, that the conquerors would not desist making demands, while the vanquished had any thing left to supply. They now therefore received orders to leave their city, which was to be levelled with the ground; being granted, at the same time, permission to build another, in any part of their territories, within ten miles of the sea. This severe command they received with all the concern and dis-

tress of a despairing people: they implored for a respite from such a hard sentence: they used tears and lamentations: but finding the consuls inexorable, they departed with a gloomy resolution, prepared to suffer the utmost extremities, and to fight to the last for their seat of empire and ancient habitation.

Upon returning home, and divulging the ill success of their commission, a general spirit of resistance seemed to inspire the whole people: they now, too late, began to see the danger of riches in a state, when it had no longer power to defend them. Those vessels, therefore, of gold and silver, which their luxury had taken such pride in, were converted into arms, as they had given up their iron, which was, in their present circumstances, the most precious metal. The women parted also with their ornaments, and even cut off their hair to be converted into strings for the bowmen. Asdrubal, who had lately been condemned for opposing the Romans, was now taken from prison to head their army; and such preparations were made, that when the consuls came before the city, which they expected to find an easy conquest, they met such resistance as quite dispirited their forces, and shook their resolution. Several engagements were fought before the walls, with disadvantage to the assailants; so that the siege would have been discontinued, had not Scipio *Æmilianus*, the adopted son of *Africanus*, who was now appointed to command it, used as much skill to save his forces after a defeat, as to inspire them with fresh hopes of victory. But all his arts would have failed, had he not found means to seduce *Pharneas*, the master of the Carthaginian horse, who came over to his side. He from that time went on successfully. That part of Carthage called *Megara* was the first that was taken, while the inhabitants were driven into the citadel. He then secured the isthmus which led to the city, and thus cut off all supplies of provisions from the country. He next blocked up the haven: but the besieged, with incredible industry, cut out a new passage into the sea, whereby, at certain times, they could receive necessaries from the army without. That army therefore was to be subdued, ere the city could be thoroughly invested. Wherefore Scipio set upon them the beginning of the ensuing winter, killed seventy thousand of their men, and took ten thousand prisoners of war.

The unhappy townsmen, now bereft of all external succour, resolved upon every extremity rather than submit: but they soon saw the enemy make nearer approaches: the wall which led to the haven was quickly demolished: soon after the forum itself was taken; which offered the conquerors a deplorable spectacle of houses tottering to the fall, heaps of men lying dead beneath, hundreds of the wounded struggling to emerge from the carnage around them, and deploring their own and their country's ruin. The citadel soon after surrendered at discretion. All now but the temple was subdued, and that was defended by deserters, and those who had been most forward to undertake the war. These, however, expecting no mercy, and finding their condition desperate, set fire to the building, and voluntarily perished in the flames. Aadrubal, the Carthaginian general, delivered himself up to the Romans when the citadel was taken; but his wife and two children rushed into the temple while yet on fire, and expired with their country. Then was this magnificent city laid in ashes by the merciless conquerors; and so extensive was it, being twenty four miles in compass, that the burning continued for seventeen days together. The senate of Rome ordered that no part of it should be rebuilt; it was demolished to the ground; so that travellers are unable to say where Carthage stood at this day. All the cities, which assisted Carthage in this war, were ordered to share the same fate; and the lands belonging to them were given to the friends of the Romans. The other towns of Africa became tributary to Rome, and were governed by an annual prætor; while the numberless captives, who were taken in the course of this war, were sold as slaves, except some few, who were adjudged to die by the hands of the executioner. This was the end of one of the most renowned cities in the world, both for arts, opulence, and extent of dominion; it had rivalled Rome for above a hundred years, and at one time was thought to have the superiority. But all the grandeur of Carthage was founded on commerce alone, which is ever fluctuating, and, at best, serves to dress up a nation, to invite conquest, and to adorn the victim for its destruction.

This conquest over Carthage was soon followed by many over other states. Corinth, one of the noblest cities of Greece, in the same year sustained the same fate, being en-

tered by Mummius the consul, and levelled to the ground. The pretext for this violence was, that the Achæans had declared war against the Lacedæmonians, who were in alliance with Rome. Metellus, the consul, in consequence of this, drawing his army into Bœotia, overthrew their general, Critolaus; and Mummius, succeeding him in the command, overthrew Dica, the Achæan general, and in consequence entered and demolished Corinth, the spoils of which afterwards not a little contributed to embellish Rome. Spain, though at first victorious, was soon after entirely subdued. Viriatus, the Spanish commander, who from a shepherd became a robber; and from that a general over a numerous body of men like himself, gave the Romans some trouble, but was taken off by the basest treachery; Cæpio, the Roman general, having bribed his own ambassadors, who were sent to treat of a peace, to murder their master in his bed upon their return. Quintus Pompeius and Mancianus also gained no greater honour by combating this brave people: they were both obliged, in order to save their armies, to make so disadvantageous a treaty, that the senate, by a mean subterfuge, sent back Mancianus bound, for concluding upon terms with which they had refused to concur. Lepidus also was equally unsuccessful; for setting upon the Vaccæi, a harmless and peaceable people of that country, he was entirely defeated. At last, however, Scipio, who had destroyed Carthage (and who now, like the former of that name, was also surnamed Africanus), being made consul, restored the fortune of Rome; and laying siege to Numantia, the strongest city in Spain, the wretched inhabitants, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, fired the city over their own heads, and all, to a man, expired in the flames: thus Spain became a province to Rome, and was governed thenceforward by two annual prætors. From this treatment given to the conquered, we see how very different the Romans were from their ancestors, whose boast it was to use lenity to those whom they had subdued. But few nations can withstand the intoxication of success: as they began to consider the whole world as their own, they resolved to treat all those who withstood their arms, not as opposers, but revellers.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE TO THE END OF THE SEDITION OF THE GRACCHI.

U.C. 621. We have hitherto seen this great people by slow degrees rising into power, and at length reigning without a rival. We have hitherto seen all the virtues, which give strength and conquest, one by one entering into the state, and forming an unconquerable empire. From this time forward we are to survey a different picture; a powerful state giving admission to all the vices that tend to divide, enslave, and at last totally destroy it. This seems to be the great period of Roman power: their conquests afterwards might be more numerous, and their dominions more extensive; but their extension was rather an increase of glory than of strength. For a long time, even after the admission of their vices, the benefits of their former virtues continued to operate; but their future triumphs rather spread their power than increased it; they rather gave it surface than solidity. They now began daily to degenerate from their ancient modesty, plainness, and severity of life. The triumphs and the spoils of Asia brought in a taste for splendid expense, and these produced avarice and inverted ambition: so that, from henceforward, the history seems that of another people.

The two Gracchi were the first who saw this strange corruption among the great, and resolved to repress it, by renewing the Licinian law, which, as we have seen, had enacted, that no person in the state should possess above five hundred acres of land, but that the overplus should become the property of the state. Tiberius Gracchus, the elder of the two, was a person very considerable, both for the advantages of his body and the qualities of his mind. Very different from Scipio, of whom he was the grandson, he seemed more ambitious of power than desirous of glory: he had a mind fonder of embracing novelties than of advancing or supporting establishments already made: his contempt of money was apparent; and this only served to lessen his power in a

country that now began to set an immoderate value on riches; his compassion for the oppressed was equal to his animosity against the oppressors; but unhappily his passions, rather than his reason, operated even in his pursuit of virtue, and these always drove him beyond the line of duty: his designs seemed in the main honest; but opposition put his intentions into disorder; and though he began with principles of justice, he was at last obliged to exchange his rectitude for his party. This was the disposition of the elder Gracchus; who found the lower part of the people (for the distinction between patrician and plebeian was now no more), ready to second all his proposals. These, after long services to the state, found themselves exposed to the oppressions of the rich; who by wresting the laws, of which they had the management, in their own favour, seized upon all the property, and left the poor only the danger and fatigue of defending it. Their continual injuries, however, had alienated the hearts of the multitude, which they concealed, or thought it their duty to suffer; while the senate, unjust, corrupt, and mercenary, were only intent on covering their internal meanness by the dignity of their conquests abroad. This was the state of parties, when Tiberius Gracchus procured himself to be chosen tribune of the people. It was he that had formerly attempted to retrench the power of Scipio Africanus, and had set him a day to answer before the people; and that now prevailed for preferring the Licinian law, by which it was prohibited, that any person should possess above five hundred acres of land. But willing to prevent this law being wrested to the advantage of the great, as it had hitherto been, he caused it to be enacted also, that one half of the illicit surplus should be given to the children of the transgressor, and the other half given to such of the poor as had nothing: and lest any, by purchase, should enlarge their possessions, three officers were appointed, called the Triumviri, who were to determine and examine the quantity of land occupied by every individual. This law, though at first carried on with proper moderation; greatly disgusted the rich, who endeavoured to persuade the people, that the proposer only aimed at disturbing the government, and putting all things into confusion. But Gracchus, who was a man of the greatest eloquence of his time, easily wiped off these impressions from minds already irritated with their wrongs, and,

besides, willing enough to forward a law by which they were to be the only gainers. But while the poor were eager for passing this law, the rich were equally strenuous in opposing it. What was in the beginning but debate, by degrees grew into enmity, and the opposition seemed to kindle as it proceeded. Octavius, one of the tribunes, who opposed the law, was, partly by art and partly by violence, obliged to resign, while Mummius, who was in the opposite confederacy, was elected tribune in his stead. The death of Attalus, king of Pergamus, furnished Tiberius Gracchus with a new opportunity of gratifying the meaner part of the people, at the expense of the great. This king had by his last will left the Romans his heirs; and it was now proposed, that the money so left should be divided among the poor, in order to furnish them with proper utensils for cultivating the lands which became theirs by the late law of partition. This caused still greater disturbances than before; the senate assembled upon this occasion, in order to consult the most proper methods of securing these riches to themselves, which they now valued above the safety of the commonwealth; they had numerous dependents, who were willing to give up liberty for plenty and ease; these, therefore, were commanded to be in readiness, to intimidate the people, who expected no such opposition, and who were now attending to the harangue of Tiberius Gracchus in the capitol. Here, as a clamour was raised by the clients of the great on one side, and by the favourers of the law on the other, Tiberius found his speech entirely interrupted, and begged in vain to be attended to, till at last raising his hand to his head, to intimate that his life was in danger, the partizans of the senate gave out that he wanted a diadem. In consequence of this, an universal uproar now spread itself through all ranks of people; the corrupt part of the senate were of opinion, that the consul should defend the commonwealth by force of arms; but this prudent magistrate declining such violence, Scipio Nasica, kinsman to Gracchus, rose up, and preparing himself for the contest, desired that all, who would defend the dignity and the authority of the laws, should follow him. Upon this, attended by a large body of senators and clients, armed with clubs, he went directly up to the capitol, striking down all who ventured to resist. Gracchus, perceiving by the tumult that his life was sought for, en-

deavoured to fly, and throwing aside his robe to expedite his escape, attempted to get through the throng, but, happening to fall over a person already on the ground, Satureius, one of his colleagues in the tribuneship, who was of the opposite faction, struck him dead with a piece of a seat; and not less than three hundred of his hearers shared the same fate, being killed in the tumult. Nor did the vengeance of the senate rest here, but extended to numbers of those who seemed to espouse his cause; many of them were put to death, many were banished, and nothing was omitted to inspire the people with an abhorrence for his pretended crimes.

These dissensions, though for a little while interrupted by a victory gained by Aristonicus, bastard brother to the late king of Pergamus, and pretender to his crown, over the Roman consul, Licinius Crassus, were soon renewed again. For Aristonicus being overthrown by Perpenna, the consul, then besieged in Stratonice, and compelled by famine to surrender, was, after gracing the conqueror's triumph, strangled in prison by order of the senate, which afforded an opportunity to the people for renewing the former animosities, headed by Caius Gracchus, the brother of him who was slain.

Caius Gracchus was but twenty-one upon the death of his brother Tiberius, and as he was too young to be much dreaded by the great, so he was at first unwilling to incur their resentment by aims beyond his reach; he therefore lived in retirement, unseen and almost forgotten. But while he thus seemed desirous of avoiding popularity, he was employing his solitude in the study of eloquence, which was the readiest means to obtain it; at length, when he thought himself qualified to serve his country, he offered himself candidate for the questorship to the army in Sardinia, which he readily obtained. His valour, affability, and temperance in this office was remarked by all. The king of Numidia, sending a present of corn to the Romans, ordered his ambassadors to say, that it was entirely as a tribute to the virtues of Caius Gracchus. This the senate treated with scorn, and ordered the ambassadors to be dismissed with contempt, as ignorant barbarians, which so inflamed the resentment of young Gracchus, that he immediately came from the army to complain of the indignity thrown upon his reputation, and to offer himself for tribune of the people. It was then that the great found in

this youth, who had been hitherto neglected upon account of his age, a more formidable antagonist than even his brother had been: his eloquence against the calumnies which were laid to his charge exceeded whatever had been heard in Rome; and his intrepidity, in supporting his pretensions, equalled the rest of his virtues. Notwithstanding the warmest opposition from the senate, he was declared tribune by a very large majority, and he now prepared to run the same career which his brother had gone before him.

His first effort was to have Popilius, one of the most inveterate of his brother's enemies, cited before the people, who, rather than stand the event of a trial, chose to go into voluntary banishment. He next procured an edict, granting the freedom of the city to the inhabitants of Latium, and, soon after, to all the people on that side the Alps. He afterwards fixed the price of corn to a moderate standard, and procured a monthly distribution of it among the people. He then proceeded to an inspection into the late corruptions of the senate, in which, the whole body being convicted of bribery, extortion, and the sale of offices (for at that time a total degeneracy seemed to have taken place), a law was made, transferring the power of judging corrupt magistrates from the senate to the knights; which made a great alteration in the constitution. The number of these officers, thus placed as inspectors over the conduct of all the other magistrates of the state, amounted to three hundred, and they were chosen from among the friends of Gracchus. Thus, ever attentive to the good of the commonwealth, he ordered the highways to be improved and adorned; he caused public granaries to be built, and stored with grain against times of scarcity; and, to give a pattern of justice to the people, he caused large quantities of corn, which Fabius the proprætor of Spain had extorted from his government, and had presented as a largess to the people, to be sold, and the money remitted to the injured owners. In short, on whatever side we view the character of this great man, we shall find him just, temperate, wise, active, and seemingly born to restore the ancient simplicity of Rome. However, historians pretend to assert, that all his aims were to extend his own power, and that all his virtues were but the children of his ambition. These assertions, however, do not seem verified in any of the actions of his life which they

have recorded : however, it is not for the moderns to dispute with ancient historians upon characters of antiquity ; they knew best the men of their own times, and, perhaps, have often condemned them in the gross for defects, which they thought not worth while to mention in the detail.

Gracchus, by these means, being grown not only very popular, but very powerful, in the state, was become an object at which the senate aimed all their resentment. At first, they seemed to wait only till his tribuneship expired, in order to wreak their vengeance with safety ; but, contrary to their expectations, he was chosen a second time to that office, though without the least efforts on his side to get himself re-elected. They now, therefore, resolved to alter their method of proceeding, and endeavoured to oppose his popularity by setting up a rival. This was Drusus his colleague, who seemed to go even beyond Gracchus in every proposal ; and, being secretly backed by the senate, so far succeeded in his schemes, as to divide the affections of the people. The jealousy of Gracchus on this occasion quickly blazed out ; he treated his colleague with contempt ; and, as the senate foresaw, it caused a very powerful party of his former admirers now to declare against him. But the greatest effort to undo him was yet in reserve. For, from the time of his return to Rome from Sardinia, he had been elected one of the triumviri, an office which, as I have mentioned before, was appointed by his brother Tiberius, to determine the quantity of land possessed by each individual in the state. In this employment Gracchus showed himself extremely assiduous ; and, impressed with the same spirit of equality that inspired his brother, endeavoured to regulate each man's possessions, according to the Licinian law, with inflexible justice. Those, who thought themselves aggrieved by his severity, had recourse to Scipio Africanus for redress. Scipio, who had been long an enemy to this law, was too sensible of the people's power to oppose it directly ; but proceeding with more art, obtained a new officer to be chosen, whose business it was to settle the claims of individuals amongst each other, before those of the public could be determined by the triumviri. For this purpose, Tuditanus the consul was chosen ; who thus having a power of protracting the wished-for division of lands for a while, seemed to bend assiduously to the business for which he was chosen. However, when he could no

longer defer the settlement of the lands in question, he pretended to be called off to quell an insurrection in one of the provinces, and thus left the claims and the wishes of the people undecided. An universal murmur now, therefore, rose against Scipio, by whose arts the execution of the law was protracted; and one of the tribunes even cited him to appear, and give an account how Tiberius Gracchus came to be slain. Scipio, however, disdained to answer the charge, but went home, as some thought, to meditate a speech for the ensuing day, but in the morning he was found dead in his bed; and, by a mark round his neck, it appeared that he was strangled. The death of this great man produced much suspicion against the leaders of the popular party; but Gracchus particularly came in for the greatest share. He, however, disdained to vindicate himself from a crime of which there were no proofs against him; but willing to turn the thoughts of the people another way, proposed the rebuilding of Carthage, and peopling it from Rome. This scheme was gladly embraced by the people; and six thousand families, with Gracchus at their head, left the city in order to settle there. However, they had scarce begun to clear away the rubbish, when they were disturbed by several omens; which, to a superstitious people, was sufficient to check the progress of every undertaking. But much more powerful motives called Gracchus back to Rome; for his enemies, during his absence, used all their art to blacken his character, so that he found himself obliged to return, in order to support his party, and remove those prejudices which had been formed in the minds of the people to his disadvantage. But he soon found the populace a faithless and unsteady support: they began to withdraw all their confidence from him, and to place it upon Drusus, whose character was unimpeached. It was in vain that he designed new laws in their favour, and called up several of the inhabitants of the different towns of Italy to his support; the senate ordered them all to depart Rome, and even sent one stranger to prison whom Gracchus had invited to live with him, and honoured with his table and friendship. To this indignity was shortly after added a disgrace of a more fatal tendency; for, standing for the tribuneship a third time, he was rejected; it being supposed, that the officers, whose duty it was to make the return, were bribed to reject him, though fairly chosen.

The senate no sooner saw Gracchus reduced to a private station, than they determined to destroy him; and deputed Opimius the consul, who was his mortal enemy, to be the instrument of their malignity against him. The consul, who, beside the greatest pride, was possessed of the utmost cruelty, undertook the office with great readiness; and first annulled those laws which were made for establishing a colony at Carthage. He then proceeded to abrogate all the other laws which had been made during his two tribuneships, and set a day for a general assembly of the people for that purpose.

It was now seen that the fate of Gracchus was resolved on. The consul was not contented with the protection of all the senate and the knights, with a numerous retinue of slaves and clients; but ordered a body of Caudians, that were mercenaries in the Roman service, to follow and attend him. Thus guarded, and conscious of the superiority of his forces, he insulted Gracchus wherever he met him, doing all in his power to produce a quarrel, in which he might have a pretence of dispatching his enemy in the fray. Gracchus, however, avoided all recrimination; and, as if apprised of the consul's designs, would not even wear any kind of arms for his defence. His friend Flaccus, however, a zealous tribune, was not so remiss, but resolved to oppose party against party; and for this purpose brought up several countrymen to Rome, who came under a pretence of desiring employment. When the day for determining the controversy was arrived, the two parties, early in the morning, attended at the capitol, where, while the consul was sacrificing, according to custom, one of the lictors, taking up the entrails of the beast that was slain in order to remove them, could not forbear crying out to Fulvius and his party, "You, ye factious citizens, make way for honest men." This insult so provoked the party to whom it was addressed, that they instantly fell upon him, and pierced him to death with the instruments they used in writing, which they then happened to have in their hands. This murder caused a great disturbance in the assembly; but particularly Gracchus, who saw the consequences that were likely to ensue, reprimanded his party for giving his enemies such advantage over him: he made many attempts to speak, but could not be heard by reason of the tumult: wherefore he was at last obliged to retire homewards, and wait the event. As he was going

through the *feram*, he stopped before a statue that was raised to his father's memory; and regarding it for some time, he burst into a flood of tears, as if deploring the spirit of the times. His followers were not less moved than he; and all joining in the sorrow, vowed never to abandon a man whose only crime was his affection to his country. In the mean time, the senate took every method to alarm the city, and increase their apprehensions of the danger. The consul was directed, that the commonwealth should receive no injury; by which form they invested him upon this slight occasion with absolute and uncontrollable power. The dead victor's corpse was carried in triumph through the streets, and exposed to view before the senate-house; and the whole body of the nobles received orders to be in arms the next day, with their slaves and dependants, upon Mount Aventine. On the other side, Flaccus was sedulously employed in getting together the remains of his shattered partizans; but it was not at present as in the former commotions of the commonwealth, when the plebeians were to be excited against the patricians; for those distinctions were long broken down: it was now only an opposition between the poor and the rich, and the depressed party were of consequence timorous and unconnected, as if already humbled by their imperious masters. Gracchus, who easily foresaw his weakness, was, however, resolved not to abandon his friends, though he knew them to be unable to resist his opponents. Notwithstanding, he refused to go armed as the rest; but taking his usual robe, and a short dagger for his defence, in case of being attacked, he prepared to lead his followers to Mount Aventine. It was there he learned that proclamation had been made by the consuls, that whoever should bring either his head, or that of Flaccus, should receive its weight in gold for the reward. It was to no purpose that he sent the youngest son of Flaccus, who was yet a child, with proposals for an accommodation. The senate and the consuls, who were sensible of their superiority, rejected all his offers, and resolved to punish his offence with nothing less than his death; and, in order to weaken his party, they offered pardon to all who should leave him immediately. This produced the desired effect; the people fell from him by degrees, and left him very inferior forces. He now, therefore, resolved to wait upon the senate in person; but his friends would not

permit him, through an apprehension of losing their commander. The child of Flaccus was therefore sent once more to demand peace; but Opimius, the consul, who thirsted for slaughter, ordered it to prison, and, leading his forces up to Mount Aventine, fell in among the crowd with ungovernable fury. A terrible slaughter of the scarce resisting multitude ensued; not less than three thousand citizens were slain upon the spot. Flaccus attempted to find shelter in a ruinous cottage, but, being discovered, was slain with his eldest son. Gracchus at first retired to the temple of Diana, where he was resolved to die by his own hand, but was prevented by two of his faithful friends and followers, Pomponius and Licinius, who forced him to seek safety by flight. From thence he made the best of his way in order to cross a bridge that led from the city, still attended by his two generous friends, and a Grecian slave, whose name was Philocrates. But his pursuers still pressed upon him from behind, and, when come to the foot of the bridge, he was obliged to turn and face the enemy. His two friends were soon slain, defending him against the crowd, and he forced with his slave into a grove beyond the Tiber, which had long been dedicated to the Furies. Here, finding himself surrounded on every side, and no way left of escaping, he prevailed upon his slave to kill him, who immediately after killed himself, and fell down dead upon the body of his beloved master. The pursuers, soon coming up, cut off the head of Gracchus, and placed it for a while as a trophy upon a spear. Soon after, one Septimuleius, carrying it home, first having secretly taken out the brain, filled it with lead, in order to make it weigh the heavier, and thus received of the consul seventeen pounds of gold as his recompense.

Thus died Caius Gracchus, about ten years after his brother Tiberius, and six after he began to be active in the commonwealth. He is usually impeached by historians as guilty of sedition; but, from what we see of his character, the disturbance of public tranquillity was rather owing to his opposers than to him; so that, instead of calling the tumults of that time the sedition of the Gracchi, we should rather call them the sedition of the senate against the Gracchi, since the efforts of the latter were made in vindication of a law to which the senate had assented, and as the former were supported by a foreign armed power, that had never before meddled in the

business of legislation, and whose introduction at that time gave a most irrevocable blow to the constitution. Whether the Gracchi were actuated by motives of ambition or patriotism in the promulgation of these laws it is impossible to determine; but certain it is, from what appears, that all justice was on their side, and all injury on that of the senate. In fact, this body was now quite changed from that venerable assembly which we have seen overthrowing Pyrrhus and Hannibal, as much by their virtues as their arms. They were now only to be distinguished from the rest of the people by their superior luxuries, and ruled the commonwealth by the weight of that authority which is gained from riches, and a number of mercenary dependencies. All the venal and the base were attached to them from motives of self-interest; and they, who still ventured to be independent, were borne down and entirely lost in the infamous majority. In short, the empire at this period came under the government of a hateful aristocracy; the tribunes, who were formerly accounted protectors of the people, becoming rich themselves, and having no longer opposite interests from those of the senate, concurred in their oppressions; since, as has been said, it was not now the struggle between patricians and plebeians, who only nominally differed, but between the rich and the poor. The lower orders of the state, being by these means reduced to a degree of hopeless subjection, instead of looking after liberty, only sought for a leader; while the rich, with all the suspicion of tyrants, terrified at the slightest appearance of opposition, entrusted men with uncontrollable power, from whom they had not strength to withdraw it when the danger was over. Thus both parts of the state concurred in giving up their freedom; the fears of the senate first made the dictator, and the hatred of the people kept him in his office. Nothing can be more dreadful to a thinking mind than the government of Rome from this period, till it found refuge under the protection of Augustus.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM THE SEDITION OF GRACCHUS TO THE PERPETUAL
DICTATORSHIP OF SYLLA, WHICH WAS THE FIRST
STEP TOWARDS THE RUIN OF THE COMMONWEALTH
OF ROME.

WHILE the Romans were in this state of deplorable corruption at home, they nevertheless were very successful in their transactions with regard to foreign powers. The senate, though corrupt fathers of the commonwealth, were skilful conductors of the empire, so that Rome, while she was losing liberty, was every day gaining new territories. The Balearic islands were subdued. The Allobroges, who inhabited the country now called Savoy, were conquered by Domitius Ænobarbus, and annexed to the empire. Gallia Narbonensis was also reduced into a province. The Scordici, a U.C. 634. people inhabiting Thrace, though at first successful, were at last overcome, and Jugurtha, king of Numidia, was totally overthrown. The war with this monarch having been related by the most elegant historian of antiquity, makes it incumbent upon us to give it greater room, in this general picture of history, than the importance of the subject might seem to demand.

Jugurtha was grandson to the famous Masinissa, who sided against Hannibal with Rome. He was educated with the two young princes, who were left to inherit the kingdom; and being superior in abilities to both, and greatly in favour with the people, he murdered Hiempsal, the eldest son, and attempted the same by Adherbal, the younger, who made his escape, and fled to the Romans for succour. Whereupon Jugurtha, being sensible how much avarice and injustice had crept into the senate, sent his ambassadors with large presents to Rome, who so successfully prevailed, that the senate decreed him half the kingdom, which he had thus acquired by murder and usurpation, and sent ten commissioners to divide it between him and Adherbal. The commissioners, of whom Opimius, the murderer of Gracchus, was one, willing to follow

the example which the senate had set them, were also bribed to bestow the most rich and populous part of the kingdom upon the usurper, who, however, resolved to possess himself of the whole. But, willing to give a colour to his ambition, he only made in the beginning incursions upon his colleague's territories, in order to provoke reprisals, which he knew how to convert into seeming aggression, in case it came before the senate. This, however, failing, he resolved to throw off the mask, and, besieging Adherbal in Cirta, his capital, he at length got him into his power, and murdered him. The people of Rome, who had still some generosity remaining, unanimously complained of this treachery; the senate only, who had been bribed to silence, continued for a while in suspense. However, a consul was sent at last with a powerful army to oppose him, but he, being also affected with the avarice of the times, suffered himself to be bribed; and, suspending his operations, made overtures for peace. The people, therefore, now more enraged than before, procured a decree, that Jugurtha should be summoned in person before them, upon the public faith of the state, in order to give an account of all such as had accepted bribes. Jugurtha made no great difficulty in throwing himself upon the clemency of Rome, and soon after appeared before the people in an imploring manner, and in a dress corresponding with his situation. However, instead of discovering those who were bribed, he only set about renewing the evil complained of; and, being sensible that all opinions were venal at Rome, without much endeavouring to influence any by the justice of his cause, he took the more certain method of interesting them by the distribution of his riches. Wherefore, when brought to be examined by the people concerning his unjust method of obtaining the protection of the magistrates who were sent to oppose him, Bebius, one of the tribunes, who had been himself corrupted, enjoined him silence, so that the long wished-for discovery was protracted. The people, thus seeing no hopes of exposing and punishing their corrupt magistrates, put no bounds to their resentment, and conceived an implacable enmity against the senate, which, as it was just, was the more lasting. In the mean time, Jugurtha, being ordered to quit Rome, obeyed. However, he could not repress a sarcasm against its venality as he took leave; for, looking back upon the city as he passed through

one of the gates, "O, Rome!" cried he, "how readily wouldst thou sell thyself, if there were any man rich enough to be thy purchaser." As he had come to Rome upon the faith of the state, so that protected him till he arrived at his own dominions; but, in the mean time, Albinus the consul was sent with an army to follow him. The first operations of the Roman general were attended with success; and Jugurtha, finding his own inability to oppose him in the field, set about circumventing him in the cabinet. New proposals for peace were made on his side; he was every day offering himself up as a prisoner, and yet every day securing his power in the state. Albinus thus saw himself perplexed by treaties, which he could not comprehend, and the time of his command almost insensibly elapsed without having struck any important blow. Being obliged to return to attend the election of magistrates at Rome, he left the direction of the army to Aulus, his brother, a person every way unqualified for the command. His avarice induced him to lay siege to Suthul, a place almost impregnable by nature, and only inviting the enemy because it contained the treasure of the king. Jugurtha, conscious of the strength of the place, suffered Aulus to amuse himself before it, and at one time pretending fear, at another offering terms of accommodation, but still lavishing his bribes to the meanest centurion, he led his antagonist into such straits, that he was compelled to hazard a battle upon disadvantageous terms, and his whole army, to avoid being cut to pieces, was obliged to pass under the yoke. In this condition Metellus, the succeeding consul, found affairs upon his arrival in Numidia; officers without confidence, an army without discipline, and an enemy ever watchful and ever intriguing. However, by his great attention to business, and by an integrity that shuddered at corruption, he soon began to retrieve the affairs of Rome and the credit of the army. In the space of two years Jugurtha was overthrown in several battles, forced out of his own dominions, and constrained to beg a peace. This Metellus offered to grant, upon condition that he should first deliver up his elephants and arms. With this the Numidian prince complied, and they were delivered up accordingly. He was then commanded to pay two hundred thousand pounds weight of silver to defray the war: this was immediately paid down. The deserters were next ordered to be given up; this

too was complied with. At length the Roman general insisted, that Jugurtha should come and surrender in person, and put himself upon his trial at Rome. With this he refused to comply, and thus, the treaty being broken, both sides resolved once more to tempt the hazards of the war. All things, however, promised Metellus an easy and a certain victory; the enemy was almost entirely subdued; few cities remained that could make resistance, and all the wiles of the Numidian were exhausted with his treasures. It only remained towards concluding the war in triumph, that Metellus should be chosen consul once more; but in this he was disappointed, and another general came in to reap that harvest of glory which his industry had sown. This was Caius Marius, who had been sent with him as his lieutenant in the war. This commander, who became afterwards the glory and the scourge of Rome, was born in a village near Arpinum, of poor parents, who gained their living by their labour. As he had been bred up in a participation of their toils, his manners were as rude as his countenance was frightful. He was a man of extraordinary stature, incomparable strength, and undaunted bravery. He entered early into the service of his country, and was, from the beginning, remarkable for his exact observance of discipline, and his implicit obedience to those in command. He sought, upon every occasion, dangers equal to his courage, the longest marches, and the most painful fatigues of war, were easy to one bred up in penury and labour. He was not more averse to the allurements of pleasure from habit than by nature. He took all occasions to inspire temperance by his example; eat the same bread which was distributed to the meanest sentinel; lay upon the ground; dressed in the coarsest garments, and seemed dead to every other passion but that of ambition and revenge. He had already passed through the meaner gradations of office, and each seemed conferred on him as the reward of some signal exploit. When he stood for the office of military tribune, though his person was unknown, his actions were in the mouths of the multitude. When elected to that charge, his general found his merit and assistance so great, that he seconded him with his interest in procuring him to be made a tribune of the people. It was in this station that his ambition began to appear, and his thorough detestation of the senate, whose vices indeed deserved his

reproaches, became conspicuous. Not to be intimidated by their threats, he boldly arraigned their corruption, even in the senate house; and when Metellus, who till then had patronised and raised him, disapproved his zeal, he even threatened to commit him to prison. However, being afterwards sent under him as his lieutenant into Numidia, Metellus preferred the interest of his country to private resentment, and trusted Marius with the most important concerns of the war. This confidence was not misplaced. Marius acquitted himself in every action with such prudence and resolution, that he was considered at Rome as second in command, but first in experience and resolution. It was in this situation of affairs that Metellus, as has been said, was obliged to solicit at Rome for a continuation of his command; but Marius, whose ambition knew no bounds, was resolved to obtain it for himself, and thus gain all the glory of putting an end to the war. To that end he privately inveighed against Metellus by his emissaries at Rome. He insinuated among the people, that the war was prolonged only to lengthen out the consul's command, and asserted, that he was able, with half the army, to make Jugurtha a prisoner; engaging, also, in a single campaign, to bring him dead or alive to Rome. By such professions as these, having excited a spirit of discontent against Metellus, he had leave granted him to go to Rome, to stand for the consulship himself, which he obtained, contrary to the expectation and interest of the nobles.

Marius, being thus invested with the supreme power of managing the war, showed himself every way fit for the commission. His vigilance was equal to his valour; and he quickly made himself master of the cities which Jugurtha had yet remaining in Numidia. This unfortunate prince, finding himself unable to make opposition singly, was obliged to have recourse for assistance to Bocchus, king of Mauritania, to whose daughter he was married. A battle soon after ensued, in which the Numidians surprised the Roman camp by night, and gained a temporary advantage. However, it was but of short continuance, for Marius soon after overthrew them in two signal engagements, in one of which not less than ninety thousand of the African army were slain. Bocchus, now finding the Romans too powerful to be resisted, did not think it expedient to hazard his own crown to protect that of his ally;

he therefore determined to make peace upon whatever conditions he might obtain it, and accordingly sent to Rome, imploring its protection and friendship. The senate received the ambassadors with their usual haughtiness; and, without complying with their request, granted the suppliants, not their friendship but their pardon. However, they were given to understand, that the delivering up of Jugurtha to the Romans would, in some measure, conciliate their favour, and soften their resentment. At first the pride of Bocchus struggled against such a proposal; but a few interviews with Sylla, who was quæstor to Marius, reconciled him to this treacherous measure. At length, therefore, Jugurtha was given up, being drawn into an ambuscade by the specious pretences of his ally, who deluded him by desiring a conference, and he was brought over by Marius to Rome. He did not long survive this overthrow, being condemned by the senate to be starved to death in prison, a short time after he had adorned the triumph of the conqueror. His own cruelty in some measure deserved this fate, but they must be doubly cruel who could thus oblige a prisoner, whom they resolved to put to death, to increase the splendour of a procession, and thus find delight in his distress.

This victory over Jugurtha had been scarce obtained, when news was brought to Rome, that immense numbers of barbarians from the north were pouring down into the Roman dominions, and were threatening Italy itself with slaughter and desolation. Marius was now looked upon as the only person who could oppose them; and he was accordingly made consul a second time, contrary to the constitutions of the state, which required an interval of ten years between each consulship. The people he was to oppose were the Cimbri and Teutones, who left their forests, to the number of three hundred thousand men, in order to seek new habitations in the fruitful vallies of Italy. They had, some time before, invaded Gaul, where they had committed great ravages, and defeated many Roman armies that were sent against them. Marius, however, was entirely successful. He at first declined fighting, till their force was weakened by delay; but afterwards engaging them as they were passing the Alps, in three separate bodies, a bloody battle ensued, which lasted two days. In this the Romans were victorious, and

U.C. 650.

Theutobocchus, the king of the Teutones, taken prisoner, with the loss of a hundred and fifty thousand men. But, though the Teutones were thus utterly destroyed, the army of the Cimbri still remained entire, and had actually passed the Alps, after having put Catulus, the Roman consul, to flight. Marius, however, being made consul a fifth time (for the people had continued him in office during the former part of the war), met, and gave them a dreadful overthrow. A U.C. 653. hundred and forty thousand of these barbarians were slain, and sixty thousand taken prisoners. Their wives, during the engagement, fought furiously in chariots; and at last, when they saw the fortune of the field decided, slew their children, and then with desperate intrepidity destroyed each other.

Marius, by these victories, having become very formidable to distant nations in war, became soon after much more dangerous to his fellow citizens in peace. Metellus, from being his first patron and promoter, was long grown hateful to him for his superior influence in the senate, so that he earnestly wished to have him banished from Rome. To effect this, he employed one Saturninus, who had unjustly possessed himself of the tribuneship, to prefer a law for the partition of such lands as had been recovered in the late war, and to oblige the senators to take a solemn oath for putting it into execution, in case it was passed. The law was soon enacted by the interest of Marius; but when the senate came to confirm the observance of it, Metellus, who considered it as a renewal of the ancient disturbances, that had been so fatal to the constitution, endeavoured to persuade them to reject the measure with disdain. At first they seemed inclined to come into his advice; but the influence of his rival being superior, they were content to swear: and Metellus refusing was obliged to go into voluntary exile. He was received with great respect by all the cities through which he passed; and, taking up his residence in the island of Rhodes, he there seemed to forget that he was great, and only studied to be happy.

This success only served to increase the arrogance of Saturninus. Being made tribune a third time, he filled the city with clamour and commotion. Memmius, who was of the opposite party, was killed in one of these frays, as he canvassed for the consulship; and Glaucius, the prætor, was tumult-

tnously chosen in his stead. This seemed as a signal for a general encounter. The senate seemed resolved to curb the insolence of the tribunes: the consuls were ordered, as in dangerous times, to provide for the safety of the commonwealth; and Marius, who was one of them, found himself in the disagreeable situation of heading a strong body of the senators and patricians against those very people, whom his own intrigues had put into commotion. Saturninus and his followers were forced into the capitol; where, for want of water, they were compelled to yield, after Marius had passed his word for their safety. But he was now unable to protect them: a large body of Roman knights broke into the forum and cut them to pieces, while the prevailing party, elate with their success, recalled Metellus from exile.

Marius, being thus doubly mortified by the demolition of his party and the revocation of his rival, left Rome, under pretence of performing a vow, but, in reality, with hopes of kindling up new wars in Asia, in which only his military talents could have room for display. With this view, he went to the court of Mithridates, at that time the most powerful monarch of the East; hoping either to be dismissed with scorn, or received with hospitality. In either case he expected to find his account: if dismissed, it would give a colour for declaring war against him; if received, he would be in a better condition to judge of the strength of his enemy. Mithridates received him with great kindness, and dismissed him laden with presents to Rome.

In the mean time, the strength, which Marius had given the popular party, was not to be destroyed by a single blow; Drusus, the tribune, whom we have seen opposing the popularity of Gracchus, seemed now determined to pursue his example. This well-meaning man, finding the senators displeased with the judicial power which had been consigned over to the knights, and perceiving the latter also making a very tyrannical use of their authority, conceived a design of conciliating both, by restoring the senate to its ancient privileges, and raising a large number of the equestrian order into that body. However, what he expected would please both was disliked by all: the senate was against having their number enlarged; the knights were averse to losing their privileges; and the people were displeased at having the law

of Gracchus brought into danger. In order, therefore, to gain that popularity, which he found he had lost by this measure, he once again threatened the great with the revival of the Licinian law; and that the allies and confederates of Italy, who were the present possessors, might share an equivalent to what this law was likely to deprive them of, he gave them hopes of being admitted to the freedom of Rome. These promises did not fail to produce their effect; the Latin towns now began to look upon him as their protector, and came in vast crowds to the city to support him. Great contentions arose in consequence of his endeavours. Deliberation had now been long banished from the assemblies of the people; the whole of their laws were enacted or rejected by clamour, violence, and sedition. On one of these occasions, Drusus, being warmly engaged in promoting the law for enlarging the freedom of the city, was stabbed by an unknown person, who left his poignard in the wound: Drusus had just strength enough to avow with his dying breath the integrity of his intentions, and that there was no man in the commonwealth more sincerely attached to its interests than he.

The Italians, being thus frustrated in their aims of gaining the freedom of Rome by the death of Drusus, resolved upon obtaining by force what the senate seemed to refuse them as a favour. This gave rise to the Social war, in which most of the states of Italy entered into a confederacy against Rome, in order to obtain a redress of this and all the rest of their grievances. Messengers and hostages were privately sent and interchanged amongst them; and, upon having their claims rejected by the senate, they soon broke out into open rebellion. The state now saw a hundred thousand of its own soldiers converted against itself, led on by excellent commanders, and disciplined in the Roman manner. To oppose these, an equal body was raised by the senate, and the conduct of the war committed to the consuls, together with Marius, Sylla, and the most experienced generals of the time. The war commenced with great animosity on either side; but the Romans seemed to have the worst of it in the beginning. Rutillius, the consul, fell into an ambuscade, and was slain. His body being carried into the city so discouraged the people, that the senate decreed, that thenceforward the bodies of the slain should be buried where they fell. Upon

this defeat, the army which he conducted was given to Marius; who rather might be said not to forfeit his ancient fame, than to acquire new reputation by his conduct during the present command.

After a lapse of two years, this war having continued to rage with doubtful success, the senate began to reflect, that whether conquered or conquerors, the power of Rome was in danger of being totally destroyed. In order, therefore, to soften their compliance by degrees, they began by giving the freedom of the city to such of the Italian states as had not revolted. They then offered it to such as would soonest lay down their arms. This unexpected bounty had the desired effect; the allies, with mutual distrust, offered each a separate treaty; the senate took them one by one into favour, but gave the freedom of the city in such a manner, that being empowered to vote, not until all the other tribes had given their suffrages, they had very little weight in the constitution. In this manner they were made free, all but the Samnites and Lucanians; who seemed excluded from the general compromise, as if to leave Sylla, who commanded against them, the glory of putting an end to the war: this he performed with great conduct, storming their camps, overthrowing them in several battles, and obliging them to submit to such terms as the senate were pleased to impose.

This destructive war being concluded, which, as Paterculus says, consumed above three hundred thousand of the flower of Italy, the senate now began to think of turning their arms against Mithridates, the most powerful and warlike monarch of the East. This prince, whose dominions were chiefly composed of the provinces he had conquered, was master of Capadocia, Bithynia, Thrace, Macedon, and all Greece. He was able to bring two hundred and fifty thousand infantry into the field, and fifty thousand horse. He had a vast number of armed chariots, and in his ports four hundred ships of war. Such power, joined to so great riches, served only the more to invite the ambition of Rome; they but desired a pretence for a war, which was not long wanting. The pretext was, his having invaded and overcome many states that were in alliance with and under the protection of Rome; his having procured Tigranes, king of Armenia, to declare war against the Romans; together with his continually upbraiding the Roman

state with avarice and corruption. Such were the motives that induced them to declare war against this king: it only remained to choose a general properly qualified to conduct the expedition.

Marius was the most experienced commander, and ardently wished to go; but Sylla was just chosen consul, and had obtained this dignity as a recompence for his services in the Social war: his fame now therefore began to equal that of Marius, and he was with general consent appointed to conduct the Asiatic war. This general, who now began to take the lead in the commonwealth, was born of a patrician family, one of the most illustrious in Rome: his person was elegant, his air noble, his manners easy, and apparently sincere: he loved pleasure, but glory still more: his duty still commanded him from sensual delights, which, however, he never declined, when he could enjoy them with safety: he desired to please all the world, for which purpose he talked of himself with modesty, and of every body else with the highest commendation: he was liberal to all, and even prevented those requests, which modesty hesitated to make; stooping even to an acquaintance with the meanest soldiers, whose manners he sometimes imitated, to gain their affections. In short, he was a Proteus, who could adapt himself to the inclinations, pursuits, follies, or the wisdom of those he conversed with; while he had no character of his own, except that of being a complete dissembler. His first rise was to be quæstor or treasurer of the army under Marius in Numidia, where, by his courage and dexterity, he contributed greatly to obtain those advantages which ensued; and it was he, particularly, who persuaded Bocchus to give up Jugurtha. He was afterwards chosen proconsul in the Social war, where his actions entirely eclipsed those of every other commander; and he was in consequence of them now appointed to the government of Asia Minor, a post, which, as it promised an immense harvest of glory and riches, was earnestly sought after by Marius.

There were two incentives to the jealousy of Marius, at finding Sylla thus preferred to conduct this war before him; the honours which were likely to be obtained there, and the former pains he had taken to prepare himself for that expedition. He therefore began to consider this preference as an unjust partiality in favour of his rival, and a tacit insult upon

all his former victories. He could not help thinking, that his reputation deserved the first offer in all the employments of the state, and he concluded upon depriving Sylla of his new command. To this end, he gained over to his interest one Sulpicius, a tribune of the people, but chiefly noted for his enmity to Sylla; a man equally eloquent and bold, of great riches but corrupt manners, and rather dreaded than esteemed by the people. The first effect of this conjunction of these ambitious men was to gain over the Italian towns to their party; and for this purpose they preferred a law, that these should vote, not in the rear of the other tribes, but that they should be indiscriminately possessed of all the same advantages. This law was as warmly opposed by the citizens of Rome as it was resolutely defended by Marius and Sulpicius and the states of Italy. A tumult ensued, as usual, in which many were slain on one side and the other. This had been scarcely appeased when another assembly of the people was proposed, for passing the law contrary to the command of the consuls. This produced a more violent commotion than even the former, in which Sylla's son-in-law, who attempted to oppose the law, was slain: nor was Sylla himself in less danger; for, being pursued by the multitude, he was at last obliged to take refuge in the house of his enemy Marius; who, though naturally vindictive, would not break the laws of hospitality, which were still revered in Rome. Having thus found means of escaping their fury, and finding the opposite faction prevail, he instantly quitted Rome, and went to the army, which he had commanded during the Social war, and which was appointed to go under him upon the expedition into Asia. In the mean time, Marius and Sulpicius drove their scheme forward without any opposition; the law for giving the Italians a full participation of the freedom of the city was passed without trouble; and by the same law it was enacted, that the command of the army, which was to oppose Mithridates, was to be transferred from Sylla to Marius.

In consequence of this, Marius immediately sent down officers from Rome, to take command in his name. But Sylla, as was mentioned above, had predisposed the army in his own favour. They were troops with whom he had gained signal victories, and they were entirely devoted to his command. Instead, therefore, of obeying the orders of Marius,

they fell upon and slew his officers, and then entreated their general, that he would lead them directly to take signal vengeance upon all his enemies at Rome. In the mean time, Marius, being informed of this, was not slow in making reprisals upon such of Sylla's friends as fell into his hands in the city. This produced new murmurs in Sylla's camp; the army insisted upon being led to the capital; and the general himself, who was naturally vindictive, at length determined to comply.

Sylla's army amounted to six legions, the soldiers of which seemed animated with the resentment of their leader, and breathed nothing but slaughter and revenge. However, there were a few yet remaining among them, that, even in this time of general corruption, could not think of turning their arms upon their native city, but quitted the camp and fled. Thus a strange migration of different parties was seen, some flying from Rome to avoid the resentment of Marius, and others deserting from the camp, not to be accomplices in the guilt of Sylla. Still, however, the army advanced towards Rome. It was to no purpose, that the prætors went out from the city in form to retard them; they broke the ensigns of their office, and tore their purple robes with derision. The senate next sent deputies to command the army not to advance within five miles of the city. The deputies were, for a while, amused by Sylla; however, they seemed scarcely returned to give an account of their commission, when he arrived with all his forces at the very gates of Rome. His soldiers entered the city sword in hand, as into a place taken by storm. Marius and Sulpicius, at the head of a tumultuary body of their partizans, attempted to oppose their entrance; and the citizens themselves, who feared the sackage of the place, threw down stones and tiles from the tops of the houses upon the soldiers. So unequal a conflict lasted longer than could have been expected; but at length Marius and his party were obliged to seek safety by flight, after having vainly offered liberty to all the slaves who should assist them in this emergency.

Sylla now finding himself master of the city, placed bodies of soldiers in different parts, to prevent pillage and disorder. He even punished some severely for offering to enter the houses by force, and spent the night in visiting their quarters, and restraining their impetuosity. The next morning he began by modelling the laws so as to favour his outrages. These

had long lost their force in the commonwealth, and were now moulded into whatever form the strongest party were pleased they should assume. He therefore reversed all the decrees which had been passed by Sulpicius. He enacted, that no law should be proposed for the future, but what should be previously approved by the senate; that the suffrages should be given by classes, in which the patricians were sure of a majority, and not by tribes, in which, every man having an equal voice, the influence of the great was totally annihilated. To these he added a decree, whereby Marius, Sulpicius, and ten other leading men, were declared enemies to their country, and by which it was lawful for any person to kill them. Having thus brought the laws to second his ambition, he caused the goods of the proscribed to be confiscated, and next sent troops into all parts to apprehend them. Marius escaped; but Sulpicius was found hidden in the marshes of Laurentium, and his head, being cut off, was carried and fixed upon the rostrum at Rome. Sylla having thus, as he supposed, entirely restored peace to the city, departed upon his expedition against Mithridates, hoping to give new vigour to his designs by the wealth and honours which he expected to reap in the East.

But while Sylla was thus establishing his party against Marius, he had been inattentive to a very formidable opponent, who was daily growing into popularity and power at Rome. This was Cornelius Cinna, who was born of a patrician family, but strongly attached to the people, from motives of ambition. He was a man eager after glory, but incapable of patiently expecting its regular approach: rash, hot, and obstinate, but, at the same time, bold and courageous, he was willing to become the leader of the people, as he could not lead in the senate. He therefore offered himself for the consulship, in opposition to the interests of Sylla; and, either from that general's inattention to one he despised, or from his own great favour with the lower part of the people, he obtained it. He was scarcely invested with his new dignity, but his enmity broke forth: he boasted, that he would annul all the laws which had been lately made in favour of the patricians, and accordingly began by endeavours to attach the Italians firmly to his interest. This was only to be effected by giving them an equal participation in the freedom of the city, of

which Sylla had lately deprived them. He therefore sent private emissaries among the country states, desiring their attendance at Rome upon a certain day, and enjoining them also to carry swords under their robes. Thus, when he had prepared a party to support his pretensions, he publicly proposed the law for suppressing the new Italian tribes, and for giving them equal privileges with the rest, by mixing them among those formerly established. To propose a law at this time was in some measure to declare a war. An engagement ensued, in which the Italians, being previously armed, came off victorious for a while; but Octavius, the other consul, coming with a powerful body of Sylla's friends to oppose them, soon turned the fortune of the day, and obliged the Italians to quit the city.

Cinna, being thus defeated in his purpose of passing the law, had, notwithstanding, the pleasure of finding all the states of Italy strongly united in his favour: whereupon, leaving Rome, he went from city to city, declaring against the tyranny of the great, and their injustice to their allies, by whose assistance they had become so powerful; he allured them with fresh hopes of equal privileges with the Romans, and excited their pity towards himself, whose sufferings had been incurred by his assiduity in their cause. Having thus induced them to a general insurrection, he began to make levies both of troops and money: thus a powerful army was soon raised, and Cinna, as being consul of Rome, without opposition, was placed at its head.

In the mean time, the senate, who were apprised of these violent proceedings, went through the forms of justice against him. Being summoned to take his trial, and not appearing, he was degraded from his rank as a citizen, turned out of his office of consul, and Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter, elected in his stead. But these indignities only served to increase his diligence and animosity. He appeared before a body of the Roman forces, that were encamped at Capua, in an humble, imploring manner, without any of the ensigns of his office. He entreated them, with tears and protestations, not to suffer the people of Rome to fall a sacrifice to the tyranny of the great; he invoked the gods who punished injustice to witness the rectitude of his intentions, and so far prevailed upon the soldiers, that they unanimously resolved to

support his cause. The whole army, with general consent, agreed to nominate him consul, and, contrary to the decree of the senate, invested him with the ensigns of his office; and then, taking the oaths of allegiance, they determined to follow him to Rome. Thus he saw his strength increasing every day; several of the senators, who were wavering before, now came over to his side; but what was equal to an army in itself, tidings were brought, that Marius, escaping from a thousand perils, was with his son upon the road to join him.

We have already seen this formidable general driven out of Rome, and declared a public enemy: we have seen him, at the age of seventy, after numberless victories, and six consulships, obliged to save himself, unattended and on foot, from the numerous pursuits of those who sought his life. After having wandered for some time in this deplorable condition, he found every day his dangers increase, and his pursuers making nearer advances. In this distress he was obliged to conceal himself in the marshes of Minturnum, where he spent the night up to his chin in a quagmire. At break of day he left this dismal place, and made towards the sea-side, in hopes of finding a ship to facilitate his escape; but, being known and discovered by some of the inhabitants, he was conducted to a neighbouring town, with a halter round his neck, and without clothes; and thus, covered over with mud, he was sent to prison. The governor of the place, willing to conform to the orders of the senate, soon after sent a Cimbrian slave to dispatch him; but the barbarian no sooner entered the dungeon for this purpose, but he stopped short, intimidated by the dreadful visage and awful voice of this fallen general, who sternly demanded, if he had the presumption to kill Caius Marius? The slave, unable to reply, threw down his sword, and rushing back from the prison, cried out, that he found it impossible to kill him. The governor, considering the fear of the slave as an omen in the unhappy exile's favour, gave him once more his freedom, and, commending him to his fortune, provided him with a ship to convey him from Italy. He from thence made the best of his way to the island of Ænaria, and sailing onward was forced by a tempest upon the coast of Sicily. Here a Roman questor, who happened to be at the same place, resolved to seize him, by which he lost sixteen of his crew, who were killed in their endeavours to cover his re-

treat to the ship. He afterwards landed in Africa, near Carthage, and went, in a melancholy manner, to place himself among the ruins of that desolated place. He soon, however, had orders, from the prætor who governed there, to retire. Marius, who remembered his having once served this very man when in necessity, could not suppress his sorrow at finding ingratitude in every quarter of the world; and preparing to obey, desired the messenger to tell his master, that he had seen Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage, intimating the greatness of his own fall, by the desolation that was round him. He then embarked once more; and not knowing where to land without encountering an enemy, he spent the winter at sea, expecting every hour the return of a messenger from his son, whom he had sent to solicit protection from an African prince, whose name was Mandrastal. After long expectation, instead of the messenger, his son himself arrived, having escaped from the inhospitable court of that monarch, where he had been kept, not as a friend, but a prisoner, and had returned just time enough to prevent his father from sharing the same fate. It was in this situation, that they were informed of the activity of Cinna in their favour, and accordingly made the best of their way to join him.

Cinna, upon being apprised of their approach, sent his lieutenants, with all other marks of distinction, to join them; but Marius would not accept of these instances of respect: he sent them back, as being ill suited to his abject situation, and affected to appear in the wretched habit which he had worn in his misfortunes. His beard was long and neglected, his pace slow and solemn, and all his actions shewed a mind stung with resentment, and meditating revenge: he now, therefore, went among the towns, exciting them to espouse his quarrel, which he taught them to think was their own. Five hundred of the principal citizens of Rome went down to congratulate his return; a large number of veterans, who had fought under his standard, came to offer him their service; and to increase his forces still more, he proclaimed freedom to all slaves who should join him, by which means great crowds flocked to him from every quarter. His first operation was to take the city of Ostia by storm; he then advanced with his whole army, and posted himself upon the Janiculum, a hill that overlooked Rome, where he was joined by Cinna, with an army as nu-

merous as his own, and both now resolved to lay siege to their native city.

The senate and consuls were now driven almost to despair; it was too late to send to Sylla, who was gaining victories in Asia, while his party was upon the brink of ruin at home. Cneius Pompeius commanded an army near Rome; but his actions were so equivocal, that neither side could rely upon him, while both equally feared him. They sent to Metellus, then lying with a body of troops among the Samnites; but his soldiers, instead of granting them any aid, soon after joined with Marius. Thus deserted by all, they daily saw the towers about the city taken and plundered, and vast numbers of slaves every hour deserting over to the enemy. In this exigence they had no other resource but submission; they accordingly resolved to send ambassadors to the two generals, assuring them of their ready attachment, and desiring them to enter the city peaceably, and to spare their own countrymen. Cinna, however, refused to grant any audience till he knew in what manner he was to be addressed, whether as a private man, or as consul and first officer of the state. This, for a while, created some embarrassment: but it was in vain to deliberate, when submission was the only alternative. Cinna, being restored to the consulship, now received the ambassadors of the senate in form, who invited him into the city, and requested him to undertake the duties of his office; they entreated him to regard his countrymen with tenderness, and endeavoured to obtain from him an oath, that he would put no man to death but after a legal manner, and conformable to the ancient usages of Rome. Cinna refused the oath; but promised, that willingly he would not be the cause of any man's death. During this conference Marius continued standing by the consul's tribunal, observing a profound silence; but his furious air, and eyes glancing with fire, were but too sure presages of the carnage he meditated within.

The conference being ended, Cinna and Marius presented themselves at the gates of the city, at the head of their troops: Cinna marched in first, accompanied by his guards; but Marius stopped, and refused to enter, alleging, that having been banished by a public decree, it was necessary to have another to authorize his return. It was thus that he desired to give his meditated cruelties the appearance of justice, and while

he was about to destroy thousands, to pretend an implicit veneration for the laws. In pursuance of his desire, an assembly of the people being called, they began to reverse his banishment; but they had scarce gone through three of the tribes, when, incapable of containing his desire of revenge, he entered the city at the head of his guards, and massacred all who had ever been obnoxious to him, without remorse or pity. Octavius the consul was killed in his chair of office; Merula, who had been his colleague in the room of Cinna, killed himself, to avoid falling by the enemy; Caius and Lucius Julius, Serranus, Lentulus, Numitorius, and Bebius, all senators of the first rank, were butchered in the streets, their heads placed upon the rostrum, and their bodies given to be devoured by dogs: many more shared the same fate; the satellites of Marius, breathing slaughter and vengeance, stabbed the fathers of families in their own houses, violated the chastity of matrons, and carried away their children by force. Several who sought to propitiate the tyrant's rage were murdered by his command in his presence; many even of those who had never offended him were put to death; and at last even his own officers never approached him but with terror. Having in this manner punished his enemies, he next abrogated all the laws which were made by his rival, and then made himself consul with Cinna. Thus gratified in his two favourite passions, vengeance and ambition; having once saved his country, and now deluged it with blood; at last, as if willing to crown the pile of slaughter which he had made with his own body, he died the month after, aged seventy, not without suspicion of having hastened his end.

In the mean time, these accounts were brought to Sylla, who was sent against Mithridates, and who was performing many signal services against him. That monarch having caused a hundred and fifty thousand Romans, who were in his dominions, to be slain in cold blood, next sent his general Archelans to oppose Sylla; however, he was defeated near Athens, with the loss of an immense number of his forces. Another battle ensued, by which the Roman general recovered all the countries that had been usurped by Mithridates. The loss of the king's fleet followed soon after; so that both parties were now inclined to an accommodation; Mithridates induced by his losses, and Sylla by a desire of returning home to take

vengeance on his enemies in Rome. A peace was accordingly soon after concluded; the principal articles of which were, that Mithridates should defray the charges of the war, and should be content with his own hereditary dominions.

U.C. 670. Thus having in less than three years brought the Asiatic war to an honourable period, Sylla prepared for his return, previously informing the senate by letter of all the great services he had done the state, and the ungrateful return he had received from such as envied his fortune; adding a dreadful menace, that he would soon be at the gates of Rome with a victorious and powerful army, to take signal revenge upon his own enemies and those of the state. The senate, who were now to be considered rather as a party formed by Marius, than as the independent protectors of Rome, greatly dreaded the effects of Sylla's return: they already anticipated the slaughters he was about to make, and therefore sent to treat with him, offering to comply with whatever terms he should propose, provided he would let them know the limits he intended to set to his resentment. They even ordered Cinna, who, as we have observed before, had been elected consul with Marius, to discontinue his levies, and join with them in deprecating Sylla's anger by timely submission. Cinna, however, knew too well how little mercy he had to expect from his opponent, and, instead of obeying the senate, returned them an evasive answer; but, in the mean time, proceeded to raise forces, and to oppose Sylla even in Asia, by sending an army thither, under pretence, that what was acted against Mithridates hitherto was against the consent, and without the authority of the senate. For this purpose he dispatched a body of forces under the command of Valerius Flaccus, his colleague in the consulship, into Asia. However, as this leader was inexperienced in the field, Fimbria, an old soldier of reputation, was sent as his lieutenant, with directions to correct, by his experience, the too great impetuosity of the general. They soon, however, began to differ, and, the breach widening every day, the consul thought proper to depose Fimbria from his command. But all confidence and order was now lost in the military as well as in the civil departments of the state. Fimbria, instead of submitting to his superior, brought his cause before the army; a general mutiny ensued; the consul attempted to

escape, but being discovered at the bottom of a well, was dragged out, and murdered by his own soldiers. In the mean time, Fimbria taking the command of the army, led it against Mithridates, over whom he gained a signal victory, and might have completed his triumph over that monarch; but the same disobedience, which he was guilty of to his own commander, his soldiers practised against him; for shortly after, at Sylla's approach, his troops all deserted, to join their fellow-citizens in the other army; so that Fimbria, being thus left alone, fled to the temple of *Æsculapina*, in Pergamus, where he fell upon his sword; but the wound not proving mortal, his slave dispatched him, killing himself upon the body of his master.

In the mean time, the ill success of this army did not intimidate Cinna from making preparations to repel his opponent. Being joined by Carbo, who was now elected in the room of Valerius, who had been slain, together with young Marius, who inherited all the abilities and the ambition of his father, he determined to send over part of the forces he had raised into Dalmatia, to oppose Sylla before he entered Italy. Some troops were accordingly embarked; but these being dispersed by a storm, the rest, that had not yet put to sea, absolutely refused to go. Upon this, Cinna, quite furious at their disobedience, rushed forward to persuade them to their duty. However, one of the most mutinous of the soldiers being struck by an officer, and returning the blow, he was apprehended for his crime. This ill-timed severity produced a tumult and a mutiny through the whole army; and while Cinna did all he could to prevent or appease it, he was run through the body by one of the crowd. The army being thus deprived of their principal leader, continued under Carbo, who kept himself consul, without a colleague, for some time. The next year's consuls being Urbanus and Scipio, new levies were made, and the affairs of the party seemed to wear a very favourable aspect. It was not doubted but Sylla would take signal vengeance for his late injuries, and do all in his power to suppress the late popular laws, enacted in his absence: all the lower part of the citizens therefore, and the majority of the senate, were against him; the one from principles of democracy, the other through fear. Thus a great concourse of people came from different parts of Italy to take part with the consuls, who soon saw themselves at the head of an army su-

perior to that of Sylla, whose approach was so much dreaded by all.

During these preparations, Sylla was not less expeditious, by long and forced marches, in returning to his native country, which he intended to deluge with blood. Being arrived at Dyrrhachium, where he had prepared a fleet to convey him into Italy, he harangued his army before they embarked, entreating that they would engage themselves by an oath to continue faithful to his cause. This they unanimously consented to do; and, as an earnest of their sincerity, offered him all the money which they had gained in their late expeditions, towards supporting the expenses of the war. Sylla, pleased at their alacrity, refused their intended favours, assuring them, that they should soon share much greater rewards from his bounty than he had as yet been able to bestow; and then embarking his troops, landed them, after a favourable passage, at Brundisium in Italy.

He had been scarce arrived there, but the remains of that shattered party, which had escaped the proscriptions of Marius, came to join him. Metellus was the first, with a large body of forces which he had collected in his way. Marcus Crassus came with a supply, as also Cethegus; but of all the succours which he received, none were more timely or pleasing, than those which were brought him by Cneius Pompey, afterwards surnamed the Great. This commander, though yet but twenty-three, began already to show the dawning of that ambition, which afterwards shone with such lustre in the commonwealth. Though at that time invested with no public character, he found means to raise an army of three legions in Picenum, and to overthrow Brutus, who commanded the troops of the opposite faction in that district. This victory was also signalized by his killing the general of the Gaulish cavalry, who opposed himself in single combat; for which he was saluted with the highest marks of respects by Sylla, who seemed to have a pre-science of his future greatness.

A civil war being thus determined upon, and both parties being now advanced very near each other, Sylla was willing to try, how far the immense riches he brought with him from Asia were capable of shaking the enemy's forces, without a battle. For this purpose, he at first pretended to be averse to engaging, and sent deputies to Scipio the consul, who com-

manded against him, with proposals for coming to a treaty. The consul, who sought for nothing so much as peace, very readily embraced his offer, but desired time, previously, to confer with Norbanus his colleague, upon a measure in which he was equally concerned. This was all that Sylla desired, for in the mean time, a suspension of arms being agreed upon, his soldiers went into the opposite camp, displaying those riches which they had acquired in their expeditions, and offering to participate with their fellow-citizens in case they changed their party. The same motives that had prevailed on the soldiers of Fimbria to desert him, now prevailed upon these to desert their general. The whole army declared unanimously for Sylla, and Scipio scarce knew that he was forsaken and deposed, till he was informed of it by a party of the enemy, who, entering his tent, made him and his son their prisoners. Sylla, however, acted with great moderation towards him; he would permit no injury to be done to the consul, but employed all his arts to bring him over to his party. After much entreaty, finding him inflexible, he generously gave him his freedom; having previously obtained his promise, not to command against him during the rest of his consulship.

Sylla, having succeeded so well in this instance, resolved to try the same arts upon the army commanded by Norbanus, the other consul. He sent deputies to him, desiring a conference; but the consul, instructed by the disgrace of his colleague, confined the deputies, and marched directly against him, hoping to come upon him by surprise. An engagement ensued, in which Sylla's men, though attacked in disorder, repaired by their courage what they wanted in regularity. Norbanus lost seven thousand men, and was obliged to take refuge in Capua, with the remainder of his army.

Italy now began to feel all the desolations and miseries of a declared civil war, nor were the secret intrigues of corruption carried on by both parties with less perseverance and assiduity: the emissaries of each were seen going diligently, during the whole winter, up and down among the states of Italy, labouring by all the arts of bribery and persuasion to gain over forces to their cause. Sylla was particularly versed in the business of seduction, and vast sums of that money, which had been plundered from the East, went all over the country, and even among the barbarous nations of Gaul, to

extend his interests. On the other hand, the Samnites, to the number of forty thousand men, declared in favour of Carbo, his chief opposer, who was now chosen consul a third time, with young Marius, of whom his party had formed great expectations. The operations in the field, which had been suspended during the winter, opened with still greater vigour in the beginning of the spring. Marius, at the head of twenty-five cohorts, offered Sylla battle, which this general, knowing how the troops against him were predisposed, readily accepted. At first the fortune of the day seemed doubtful; but just at that very period in which victory begins to waver, a part of the troops of Marius, which had been previously corrupted, fled in disorder, and thus decided the fate of the day. Marius, having vainly endeavoured to rally his troops, was the last that fled; and went to take refuge in Præneste, a strong city, that was still steadfast in his cause. Sylla closely pursued him there, and invested the city on every side: then, having disposed his army in such a manner as that none of the defendants could escape, and no forces could be thrown into the garrison from without, he marched at the head of a detachment to Rome.

The partizans of Marius, having been apprised of his defeat, abandoned the city with precipitation, so that Sylla approached without resistance. The inhabitants, thinned by famine, and all the terrors that attend a civil war, opened their gates upon his arrival; wherefore entering the forum, and assembling the people, he reprimanded them for their infidelity. However, he exhorted them not to be dejected, for he was still resolved to pardon and protect them. He observed, that he was obliged by the necessity of the times to take vigorous measures, and that none but their enemies and his own should suffer. He then put up the goods of those that fled to sale; and leaving a small garrison in the city, returned to besiege his rival.

Young Marius, on the other hand, made many attempts to raise the siege; but all his designs were known to Sylla before they were put into execution. Wherever his sallies were pointed, the peculiar attention of Sylla's lieutenant seemed to be directed there. Thus, frequently frustrated in his attempts to repress, or at least to escape his besiegers, he gave way to that resentment which was remarkable in his family;

and, ascribing his detention to the treachery of Sylla's friends, who pretended to remain neuter, he sent orders to Rome, to Brutus, who was prætor there, to put all those senators to death whom he suspected to be in the interest of his rival. With this cruel command, Brutus immediately complied; and many of the first rank, among whom were Domitius Antistius and Scævola, were slain as they were leaving the senate. Thus, whatever faction was victorious, Rome was still a miserable sufferer.

Both factions thus exasperated to the highest degree, and expecting no mercy on either part, gave vent to their fury in several engagements. The forces on the side of Marius were the most numerous, but those of Sylla better united and more under subordination. Carbo, who commanded an army for Marius in the field, sent eight legions to Præneste, to relieve his colleague; but they were met by Pompey in a defile, who slew many of them, and dispersed the rest. Carbo, joined by Norbanus, soon after engaged Metellus, but was overcome with the loss of ten thousand men slain and six thousand taken prisoners. In consequence of this defeat, Norbanus killed himself, and Carbo fled to Africa; where, after wandering a long time, he was at last delivered up to Pompey, who, to please Sylla, ordered him to be beheaded. Still, however, a numerous army of Samnites were in the field, headed by several Roman generals, and by Telesinus; who, though a Samnite, had shown himself equal to the greatest commanders of the age. These were joined by four legions, commanded by Carianus, who was still obstinately bent upon continuing the war. These, united, were resolved to make one desperate effort to raise the siege of Præneste, or to perish in the attempt. Accordingly, Telesinus made a show of advancing with great boldness, to force the enemy's lines of circumvallation. At the same time, Sylla, at the head of a victorious army, faced him in front, while orders were sent to Pompey to follow and attack him in the rear. The Samnite general, however, showed himself superior to both in these operations; for, judging of their designs by their motions, he led off his troops by night; and by forced marches appeared next morning upon the mountains that overlooked Rome. This wretched city had just time sufficient to shut its gates to prevent his entrance; but he hoped to seize the place by a bold assault,

and encouraging his soldiers, both by their ancient enmity to the Roman state, and their hopes of immense riches upon the capture, he brought on his men, and led them boldly to the very walls. Appius Claudius, who was at that time in Rome, and in the interests of Sylla, made a sally to oppose him, rather with hopes of delaying the assailants than of entirely repressing them. The Romans fought with that vigour, which the consciousness of defending every thing dear inspires. But Appius was killed in the combat; and the rest, disheartened by the loss of their general, seemed preparing for flight. Just at this interval, a party of Sylla's horse appeared at the opposite gates, who throwing themselves into the city, and hastening through it, met the assailants on the other side. The desperate fury of these in some measure suspended the fate of the battle, till Sylla with his whole army had time to arrive. It was then that a general and dreadful conflict ensued between the Samnite and Roman army. The citizens from their walls beheld thousands fall on both sides. At first, the forces commanded by Sylla, on the left, gave way; but his lieutenant Crassus was victorious on the right. The battle continued all day, till late at night, nor was it till the morning that Sylla found himself completely victorious. He then visited the field of battle, on which more than fifty thousand of the vanquished and victors lay promiscuously. Eight thousand of the Samnites were made prisoners, and killed in cold blood, after the engagement. Marcius and Carinus, attempting to escape, were taken; and, their heads being cut off, were sent, by Sylla's command, to be carried round the walls of Præneste. At this sorrowful sight, the inhabitants of the place, being now destitute of provisions, and despairing of all succour from without, resolved to surrender; but it was only to experience the unrelenting fury of the conqueror, who ordered all the males to be slain. Marius, the cause of these calamities, was at first missing, and it was thought had got off; but he was at last discovered lying dead, with a captain of the Samnites, at the issue of one of the subterranean passages that led from the city, where they had tried to escape, but finding it guarded by the enemy, killed themselves. The city of Norba was now all that remained unsubdued in Italy; but the inhabitants, after a long resistance, dreading the fate of Præneste, set their town on fire, and

desperately perished in the flames. The destruction of this place put an end to the civil war. Sylla now became undisputed master of his country, and entered Rome at the head of his army. Happy had he supported in peace the glory which he had acquired in war, or had he ceased to live when he ceased to conquer.

Being now no longer obliged to wear the mask of lenity, he began his reign by assembling the people, and desired an implicit obedience to his commands, if they expected favour. He then published, that those who expected pardon for their late offences should gain it by destroying the enemies of the state. This was a new mode of proscription, by which the arms of all were turned against all. Great numbers perished by this mutual power, which was given the people of destroying each other; and nothing was to be found in every place but menaces, distrust, and treachery. Eight thousand, who had escaped the general carnage, offered themselves to the conqueror at Rome; he ordered them to be put into the Villa Publica, a large house in the Campus Martius, and at the same time convoked the senate; there he spoke with great fluency, and in a manner no way discomposed, of his own exploits; and, in the mean time, ordered all those wretches, whom he had confined, to be slain. The senate, amazed at the horrid outcries of the sufferers, at first thought that the city was given up to plunder; but Sylla, with an unembarrassed air, informed them, that it was only some criminals, who were punished by his order, and that they need not to make themselves uneasy about their fate. The day after, he proscribed forty senators, and sixteen hundred knights; and, after an intermission of two days, forty senators more, with an infinite number of the richest citizens of Rome. He declared the children and grandchildren of the opposite party infamous, and divested of the rights of freedom. He ordained, by a public edict, that those, who saved or harboured any of the proscribed, should suffer in their place. He set a price upon the heads of such as were thus to be destroyed, two talents being the reward affixed for every murder. Slaves, invited by such offers, were seen to kill their masters; and (still more shocking to humanity) children, whose hands still reeked with the blood of their parents, came confidently to demand the wages of parricide. Nor were the enemies of the state the only sufferers: Sylla permitted his soldiers to revenge their

private injuries ; so that husbands were slain by such as desired to enjoy their widows ; and children were slain in the embraces of their parents, who were soon to share the same fate. Riches now became dangerous to the possessor, and even the reputation of fortune was equivalent to guilt. Aurelius, a peaceful citizen, without any other crime, found his name among the number of the proscribed, and could not help crying out, just before his assassination, that he owed his death to the magnificence of his palace at Alba. But the brother of Marius felt the conqueror's most refined cruelty. First, he had his eyes plucked out deliberately, then his hands and legs cut off at several times, to lengthen his torments, and in this agonizing situation he was left to expire. But these barbarities were not confined only to Rome ; the proscription was extended to many of the inhabitants of all the cities of Italy, and even whole towns and districts were ordered to be laid desolate. These were given to his soldiers as rewards for their fidelity, who, still wanting more, excited him to new cruelty. In this general slaughter, Julius Cæsar, who had married Cinna's daughter, very hardly escaped the miseries of the times : Sylla was prevailed upon to let him live, though he was heard to say, that there were many Mariuses in Cæsar.

However, these arbitrary confiscations, and numerous largesses which were given to his followers, were not to be retained without some share of continuing power. He therefore resolved to invest himself with the dictatorship, which, by uniting all civil as well as military power in his own person, he might thus give an air of justice to every oppression. He therefore withdrew awhile from the city, and gave orders, that, since affairs remained unsettled, the people should be applied to, to create a dictator, and that not for any limited time, but till the public grievances should be redressed. To these directions he added his request, which, as he was possessed of all power, was equivalent to a command, that he himself should be chosen. To this the people being constrained to yield, he was chosen perpetual dictator, and thus the Romans received a master, invested with an authority far more absolute than any of their kings had been possessed of before.

The government of Rome, having now passed through all the forms of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, at length began to settle into despotism, from which, though it made

some faint struggles to be free, yet it never completely extricated itself till its total dissolution. Sylla, to amuse the people with a show of their former government, permitted them to have consuls, but at the same time took care that none but his own creatures should be elected, and that all their power should be entirely derived from him. He made several new laws for regulating the different offices of the state. He totally destroyed the power of the tribunes, by enacting, that those who bore it should be incapable of obtaining any other office. He added three hundred of the knights to the senate, and ten thousand of the slaves of those who were proscribed to the body of the people. To establish these regulations more firmly, he appropriated to himself the treasures of the public, and lavished them in widening his dependencies, and strengthening his interest; he seemed to think he never could sufficiently reward his creatures, if they were but implicit in their obedience. Crassus, who was already the richest man in the state, was ever soliciting an accumulation of his favours, and buying up the effects of such as were proscribed at an under rate. Pompey put away his wife Antistia to oblige him, and married Emilia, the dictator's step-child. He attempted to exercise the same power over Julius Cæsar, by obliging him to repudiate his wife Cornelia, but that young Roman chose to banish himself from the city rather than comply, and never returned till Sylla was no more.

In this manner he continued to govern with capricious tyranny, none daring to resist his power. Lucretius Offella showed how dangerous it was to control a tyrant in the full exercise of his authority: this man ventured to offer himself for the consulship, in opposition to one of Sylla's decrees, which had forbidden any man's aspiring to that dignity without having gone through the regular gradations of office. However, as he had formerly rendered some very signal services to his party, he thought that would excuse him. He was, therefore, at first desired to desist from his attempt, but, persevering, Sylla ordered one of his satellites to stab him, and then threatened to serve any other person in the same manner, who should attempt to invalidate his authority. By such means as these he was submitted to with the most blind obedience. Whenever he proposed laws, the people assembled, not to deliberate upon their fitness, but to give them the

sanction of their consent. They found themselves quite ejected from any concern in the state, and saw nothing before them but a prospect of hopeless and confirmed slavery. It was at this juncture, that, contrary to the expectations of all mankind, Sylla laid down the dictatorship, having held it not quite three years.

It was not without the greatest surprise that the people saw this conqueror, who had made himself so many enemies in every part of the state, quitting a power he had earned by such various dangers, and reducing himself to the rank of a private citizen. But their wonder increased when they heard him, after so many acts of cruelty, and such numberless massacres, offering to take his trial before the people, whom he constituted judges of his conduct. Having divested himself in their presence of his office, and dismissed the lictors who guarded him, he continued to walk for some time in the forum, unattended and alone. At the approach of evening he retired homewards, the people following him all the way in a kind of silent astonishment, mixed with the profoundest respect. Of all that great multitude, which he had so often insulted and terrified, none was found hardy enough to reproach or accuse him, except one young man, who pursued him with insulting language to his own door. Sylla disdained replying to so mean an adversary; but, turning to those who attended him, observed, that this fellow's insolence would for the future prevent any man's laying down an office of such supreme authority. It is not easy to divine the motives of Sylla's abdication, whether they were from vanity, or a deep-laid scheme of policy; whether, being satiated with the usual adulation which he received for his conquests, he was now desirous, also, of receiving some for his patriotism; or whether, dreading an assassination from some secret enemy, he was willing to disarm him, by retiring from the splendours of an envied situation. However this may be, he soon retired into the country, in order to enjoy the pleasures of tranquillity and social happiness; but he did not long survive his abdication; he died of that disease which is called the *morbis pedicularis*, a loathsome object, and mortifying to human ambition. He was the first of his family whose body was burnt; for, having ordered the remains of Marius to be taken out of his grave and thrown into the river Anio, he was apprehensive of the same insult upon

his own, if left to the usual way of burial. A little before his death he made his own epitaph, the tenour of which was, that no man had ever exceeded him in doing good to his friends, or injury to his enemies.

As soon as Sylla was dead, the old dissensions, that had been smothered awhile by the terror of his power, burst out again into a flame between the two factions, supported severally by the two consuls, Catulus and Lepidus, who were wholly opposite to each other in party and politics. Lepidus, resolved, at all adventures, to rescind the acts of Sylla, and recal the exiled Marians, beginning openly to solicit the people to support him in that resolution. This attempt, though plausible, was at this time particularly unseasonable, when the state was just recovering from the wounds it had lately received in the civil war. On the other hand, Catulus, whose father had been condemned to die by Marius, inheriting the principles of his family, vigorously opposed and effectually counteracted the designs of his colleague. Lepidus, thus finding himself unable to attain his ends without recurring to arms, retired to his government of Gaul, with intent to raise a force sufficient to subdue all opposition, where the report of his levies and military preparations gave such umbrage to the senate, that they soon abrogated his command. Upon this, he advanced into Italy at the head of a large army, and marched in a hostile manner towards Rome to demand a second consulship. He had with him several of the chief magistrates, and the good wishes of all the tribunes, so that he hoped, by the popularity of his cause, to advance himself into Sylla's place, and usurp the sovereign authority of the state. Catulus, in the mean time, upon the expiration of his office, was invested with the charge of defending the government, and Pompey also was, by a decree of the senate, joined with him in the same commission. These, therefore, having united their forces before Lepidus could reach the city, came to an engagement with him near the Milvian Bridge, within two miles of Rome, where they totally routed and dispersed his whole army. But Cisalpine Gaul still remaining in the possession of Brutus, his lieutenant, and the father of him who afterwards killed Cæsar, Pompey went to reduce that province, where Brutus, having sustained a siege in Modena, was taken, and put to death by Pompey's order. As for Le-

pidus, he escaped into Sardinia, where he died soon after of grief, to see his hopes destroyed, and his country fallen under the aristocratical faction.

But the hopes of the Marian party did not entirely expire here. A more dangerous enemy still remained in Spain, who for a while made it doubtful whether that province or Rome should possess the empire of the world. This was Sertorius, a veteran soldier, who had been bred under Marius, and had learned all his virtues, without sharing one of his vices. He was temperate, just, merciful, and brave; but his military skill seemed to exceed that of any other general of his time. Upon the extinction of the Marian party, this brave commander fell into the hands of Sylla, who dismissed him with life, upon account of his known moderation. Yet soon after, capriciously repenting of his clemency, he proscribed and drove him to the necessity of seeking safety in a distant province. Sertorius, being thus banished from Rome, after several attempts on Africa, and the coasts of the Mediterranean, found at last a refuge in Spain, whither all who fled from Sylla's cruelty resorted to him, of whom he formed a senate, that gave laws to the whole province. There, by his great abilities and clemency, he so gained the hearts of the warlike inhabitants, that for eight years he continued to sustain a war against the whole power of the Roman state. Metellus, an old experienced commander, was sent against him at first, but he was so often out-generalled by his opponent, that the senate were forced to send their favourite Pompey to his assistance, with the best troops of the empire. Sertorius maintained his ground against them both; and after many engagements, in which he generally came off equal, and often superior, he began to meditate nothing less than the invasion of Italy. But all his schemes were baffled by the treachery of one of his own lieutenants, who was next him in command, and envied his rising reputation. This wretch's name was Perpenna, who had some time before come over to him with the shattered remains of Lepidus's army, and was at first an useful assistant. However, a jealousy arising between them, Perpenna invited him to a sumptuous entertainment, where, having intoxicated all his attendants, he fell upon Sertorius, and treacherously murdered him. But this stroke of barbarity only served to ruin his party, which had been entirely supported by the reputation of

the general: for, soon after, Perpenna, being easily overthrown by Pompey, was taken prisoner, and all the revolted provinces readily submitted. The conqueror is celebrated on this occasion for an action of great prudence and generosity. Perpenna, in hopes to save his life, offered to make some important discoveries, and to put into his hands all the papers of Sertorius, in which were several letters to and from the principal senators of Rome. Pompey, however, rejecting his offer, ordered the traitor to be slain, and his papers to be burnt without reading them. By these means he eased the people of their fears, and prevented those acts of desperation, which the consciousness of being discovered might have given rise to.

The present prosperity of Pompey was highly pleasing at Rome; he had hitherto been successful in all his affairs, and in this instance, as if fortune had delighted in giving him new opportunities of serving his country, he seemed peculiarly fortunate. Upon his return, he fell in with a large body of slaves, that had escaped after their overthrow by Crassus in Italy, and cut them to pieces. This insurrection, which Pompey had the good fortune of thus terminating, was called the Servile war, and took its rise from a few gladiators, who broke from the fencing-school at Capua, and having drawn a number of slaves after them, overthrew Glaber the prætor, who was sent to suppress them: and from this success their number presently increased to an army of forty thousand men. With this strength, and headed by Spartacus their general, they sustained a vigorous war for three years, in the very heart of Italy; they defeated several commanders of consular and prætorian rank, and even began to talk of attacking Rome. But Crassus, having gathered about him all the forces which were near home, drove them before him to the extremity of Rhegium, where, for want of vessels to make their escape, the greatest part of them were destroyed, and among them Spartacus, fighting bravely to the last, at the head of his desperate forces. It was the remainder of this wretched band that Pompey happened to fall in with in his passage across the Alps homeward, and, as he expressed it to the senate, by destroying them, plucked up the war by the very roots. Thus ended all the civil wars which were excited by the ambition of Marius and Sylla, a long and dismal period,

in which the reader can side with neither party, as both were equally cruel, base, self-interested, and venal. The republic had been long fated to destruction, its former justice and moderation were gone, and it was immaterial who was to have the overwhelming of a corrupted empire.

Yet still, during this interval, which we have been describing, all the arts of peace had been cultivated, and had risen almost to the summit of perfection. Plautus and Terence, it is true, had flourished some time before; but Lucretius, the boast of his age, who exceeds as much in poetry as he falls short in philosophy, adorned those ill-fated times, and charmed with the harmony of his versification. Learning, however, was chiefly cultivated among the great; for luxury had not as yet sufficiently descended to the meaner ranks, to make them relish the elegant gratifications of life; for mankind must in some measure be satiated with the pleasures of sense, before they can think of making new inlets into the pleasures of imagination.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM THE PERPETUAL DICTATORSHIP OF SYLLA TO
THE TRIUMVIRATE OF CÆSAR, POMPEY, AND
CRASSUS.

ALL factions being now apparently quelled in the empire, it was hoped that peace would be restored, U.C. 680. and that the commonwealth would have time to respire from the calamities it had sustained during the civil war. But the spirit of ambition had entered into the state, and the leading men now saw the possibility of obtaining sovereign power by Sylla's example. Of those chiefly now in favour with the senate and the people, Pompey and Crassus were foremost, both conquerors, both desirous of power, and both aiming at it by extending their popularity. We have already seen Pompey, while very young, performing one of the most active parts in the conduct of the empire: we have seen him joining with, and conquering in the cause of Sylla, soon after sent into Africa, and the first of the equestrian order who had a

triumph; after that, siding against Lepidus, and then conquering the army which had been in Spain commanded by Sertorius: to crown all, honoured with the consulship in his absence, and that before the consular age. These successes had greatly inflamed his pride, and extended his desire of glory. Crassus, on the other hand, was equally desirous of obtaining popularity, but being wholly unequal to his rival in military fame, took another road to come at it: this was by amassing riches, which he gathered from the calamities of his country, only to involve it in new distresses. He was used to say, that no man should be reckoned wealthy, who was not able to maintain an army; and in fact the number of his slaves was equal to a large one. He had, besides, the character of a good speaker in the senate; and by his easy and familiar address, and a readiness to assist all who wanted either his protection or his money, he acquired great authority in public affairs. Besides the rivalry of power between these two great men, Crassus had another cause of resentment, which was Pompey's assuming to himself the glory of terminating the Servile war, for which the other had actually received the honour of a triumph by the senate's command. Both, therefore, secretly wished to undermine each other, neither with views of ridding his country of the overgrown views of an aspiring citizen, but each with a desire of establishing his own.

The first opportunity, that was afforded of discovering their mutual jealousy, was upon the disbanding their troops, with which they had conquered. Neither chose to begin, so that the most fatal consequences threatened from their dissension; but at length Crassus, stifling his resentment, laid down his command, and the other followed his example immediately after. The next trial between them was, who should be foremost in obtaining the favour of the people; Crassus entertained the populace at a thousand different tables, distributed corn to the families of the poor, and fed the greatest part of the citizens for near three months. Pompey, on the other hand, laboured to abrogate the laws made against the people's authority by Sylla; he restored the power of judging to the knights, which had been formerly granted them by Gracchus, and gave back to the tribunes of the people all their former privileges. It was thus that each gave his private

sins a public appearance ; so that what was in reality ambition in both, took with one the name of liberality, with the other that of freedom.

However, the arts of Pompey seemed upon this occasion to give him the superiority. The tribunes, who were restored to all their former dignities, thought they could never sufficiently recompence their benefactor : they only waited for an opportunity of gratifying his highest ambition ; and this soon offered. A number of pirates, formerly employed by Mithridates, had by the long continuance of their success in plundering all they met, amassed great wealth, and got together many thousand men of several nations. They made choice of Cilicia for their principal place of resort ; and not content with robbing by sea, ventured even upon conquests by land. Italy itself was not free from their invasions, where they often landed, and carried away whatever they met with in their hasty incursions. It was now, therefore, resolved at Rome to punish their insolence, by sending out a fleet that was capable of utterly destroying their power. For this Gabinus the tribune preferred a law, that Pompey should be created admiral, with absolute authority against the pirates for three years : that his power should extend over the whole Mediterranean sea and its coasts, to a certain distance on land : that he should raise as many soldiers and mariners as he should think expedient : and that he should have from the public treasury whatever sums of money he should think necessary for carrying on the war. This law, which the senate vainly attempted to oppose, gave Pompey a degree of power which he might easily have converted to the detriment of his country ; but nothing dangerous was to be feared from a man, whose actions always testified more of vanity than ambition.

Pompey, being thus furnished with absolute power over the fleet, distributed his lieutenants through the several bays and harbours of the Mediterranean with so much judgment, that he soon forced the enemy from their ports. In the mean time, he himself, at the head of the largest squadron of his shipping, sailed up and down, visiting and instructing such as he sent upon duty. By these means, in less than forty days, he obliged the enemy to take refuge in Cilicia, the only retreat that was left them. He soon followed them thither, with sixty of his best ships ; and though they had prepared to

give him battle, yet they, upon sight of his fleet, and struck with the terror of his name, submitted to his mercy. As their number amounted to above twenty thousand men, he was unwilling to destroy them; and yet, to permit their returning to their ancient habitations was not safe. He therefore removed them to places farther distant from the sea, where he gave them lands, and thus added new subjects and dominions to the empire of Rome.

This expedition having added greatly to Pompey's reputation, the tribunes now hoped it would be easier to advance their favourite still higher; wherefore, Manlius, one of the number, preferred a law, that all the armies of the empire, with the government of all Asia, together with the management of the war against Mithridates and Tigranes should be committed to him alone. A power so great and unlimited awakened all the jealousy of the senate; this they considered as nothing less than proclaiming him sovereign of the whole empire. This was giving one, already master of the whole fleet, an unlimited power by land, and even seemed to tempt him to enslave his country. The weight of these reasons, and still more the authority of the senate, were about to preponderate, and the tribunes seemed hesitating, whether they should not withdraw their motion; when Marcus Tullius Cicero rose up to second the law, and to pay his tribute of eloquence to the virtues of Pompey. It was the first time that this orator had ever addressed the assembly of the people: but it was impossible but that eloquence must have been irresistible then, which to this day continues to charm and improve posterity. The law passed with little opposition, the decree was confirmed by all the tribes of the people, and Pompey was thus peaceably invested with as great power as Sylla had forced himself into through infinite difficulties.

Pompey, being thus appointed to the command of the war against Mithridates, immediately departed for Asia, having made the proper preparations towards forwarding the campaign. The war against this monarch was one of the most important that had been hitherto undertaken by the Romans. We do not, on this occasion, read of princes already overcome by luxury and pride, or trembling at the splendour of the Roman name: but of a mighty king, undaunted in every stage of his fortune, and, like a lion, gaining new courage

from every wound. His dominions were in fact well situated for supporting a war against an invading enemy. They bordered on the inaccessible mountains of Mount Caucasus, whose savage inhabitants he could bring into the field; they extended thence along the sea of Pontus, which he covered with his ships; besides, he was rich, and ever purchasing new armies among the Scythians, a people of invincible bravery. I have already mentioned the resistance he made against Sylla, and the peace which that general forced him to accept: this, however, being the effect of compulsion, lasted no longer than while there were forces strong enough to compel him to its observance. Murena, whom Sylla had left behind, attempting to reduce him to obedience, only met with disgrace, and at last a total overthrow. Some time after, Mithridates, having procured the alliance of Tigranes, king of Armenia, invaded the kingdom of Bithynia, which he had been formerly obliged to resign, and which had been lately bequeathed to the Romans by Nicomedes, the king of the country.

To stop the progress of these conquests, Lucullus, an experienced general, had been sent from Rome; and upon his arrival an engagement ensued, in which Mithridates lost his whole army, and, being obliged to escape by sea, was very near falling into the hands of the enemy, had he not been taken up by a pirate, who landed him safe in his own dominions. No way intimidated by these disasters, he soon raised another army, and in the beginning gained some advantages over the enemy. But Lucullus soon after cut off all his internal resources, and forced him to take shelter in the court of Tigranes, king of Armenia. The Roman general followed him thither also, and demanded him to be given up; but Tigranes, though with no particular attachment to the deposed king, refused to deliver him, because Lucullus had omitted giving him all his titles. Pride, it seems, was the reigning passion of this weak monarch; he was more desirous of receiving homage than of procuring power: it was usual with him to oblige the kings he had conquered to attend him as slaves when he appeared in public, having assumed, from his successes over the weaker states around him, the title of monarch of all monarchies. This, it seems, was the title the Roman general disdained granting him: the war now, there-

fore, changing its object, the generals of Tigranes were at first easily overcome; and though he soon after engaged, at the head of two hundred and fifty thousand men, yet he met with no better success. These victories promised a speedy end to the war, which had now been protracted for seven years; and though the conduct of it was once more devolved upon Mithridates, yet he, being pressed as much as ever, was obliged to take refuge in Lesser Armenia. Thither Lucullus was preparing to follow him, when accounts came, that Glabrio, who had been consul for the last year, was appointed to displace Lucullus in his command, and was actually arrived in Asia for that purpose. This disgrace, it seems, was owing to the intrigues of some of Lucullus's own soldiers, who, harassed by perpetual fatigues, and debauched by factious officers, had privately sent their complaints to the senate; wherefore, upon Glabrio's arrival, the whole army abandoned Lucullus, who could not see, without indignation, their common enemy, Mithridates, resume all his power, and recover the whole kingdom of Pontus, while Glabrio, testifying no inclination to enter upon a troublesome command, continued an idle spectator of his successes, and chose to stop short in Bithynia. This mutinous spirit in the troops of Lucullus, and the little inclination Glabrio seemed to have of engaging, gave rise to that general desire which prevailed of appointing Pompey to terminate the war, who shortly after went over into Asia for that purpose.

The first duty which he thought incumbent upon him on his arrival was to propose terms of accommodation to Mithridates; but this monarch, having a little respired from his great and numerous losses, determined to tempt his fortune while it seemed propitious. He had found means to collect a very considerable army from the wrecks of his former power, and was resolved to follow the Romans into Armenia, where he expected to cut off their supplies; but being disappointed in this he was obliged to fly, having first killed all such as were not able to accompany him in his retreat: however, he was pursued with great diligence by Pompey, and overtaken before he could have time to pass the river Euphrates; though it was then night, being compelled to engage, it is said, that the moon, shining from behind the Roman army, lengthened their shadows so much, that the archers of Mithridates shot their

arrows at these, mistaking the shade for the substance. However that be, his Asiatic soldiers were unable to withstand the force of the European infantry. He did all that lay in the power of a great and experienced general to lead them on to the charge, and to prevent their terrors; but they could not be brought to endure the shock, cowardice and effeminacy having been then, as well as now, the characteristics of an Eastern army.

Being thus again overthrown, with the loss of almost all his forces, and finding himself hemmed in on every side by the Romans, he made a desperate effort, at the head of eight hundred horse, to break through them, and thus effected his escape, though with the loss of five hundred of his followers in the attempt. He had long been acquainted with distress, but his present situation seemed more deplorable than ever: he continued for several days sorrowfully wandering through the forests that covered the country, leading his horse in his hand, and subsisting on whatever fruits he accidentally found in his way. In this forlorn situation he met with about three thousand of his soldiers, who had escaped from the general carnage, and by their assistance he was conducted to one of the magazines, where he had deposited those treasures that were intended to support the war. He sent from thence to Tigranes for aid; but that monarch was too much engaged in suppressing the rebellion of one of his own sons at home, to be able to send any succours abroad. Disappointed on that side, still, however, he would not despair, but fled to Colchis, a state which had formerly acknowledged his power. Being pursued thither also by Pompey, he took another dreadful journey, crossed the Araxes, marched from danger to danger through the country of the Lazi, and, assembling all the barbarians he met with in his way, induced the Scythian princes to declare against Rome. Steadfast in his enmity, he continued his opposition, even though he found his own family confederating against him. Although betrayed by his son Macharis, and though his life was attempted by Pharnaces, yet he still aimed at great designs, and even in the heart of Asia projected the invasion of the Roman empire: this he intended to effect by marching into Europe, and there, being joined by the fierce nations, that inhabited Germany and Gaul, to cross the Alps into Italy, as Hannibal had done before

him; but his timid Asiatic soldiers were ill disposed to second the great views of their leader. Upon being apprised of his intentions a mutiny ensued, which was promoted by his son Pharnaces, who had been long desirous of gaining the favour of Pompey by parricide. Mithridates being thus obliged to take refuge in his palace, to escape the fury of the army, sent to his son for leave to depart, offering him the free possession of all that remained of his wretched fortunes, and his title to those dominions of which he had been deprived by the Romans. To this the unnatural son made no direct reply, conscious that he was offered only what could not be taken away; but, turning to the slave that brought him the message, he bade him, with a stern countenance, tell his father, that death was all that now remained for him. Such a horrid instance of filial impiety added new poignance to the wretched monarch's affliction: he could not refrain from venting his imprecations, and from wishing, that such an unnatural child might one day meet with similar ingratitude from his own children. Upon this, coming down from his own apartment, where he had been for some time alone, he entered that particularly assigned to his wives, children, and domestics, where he bade all those prepare for death, who did not choose to undergo the horrors of a Roman captivity. They all readily consented to die with their monarch; and, cheerfully taking the poison which he had in readiness, expired before him. As for himself, having used his body much to antidotes, the poison had but little effect; whereupon he attempted to dispatch himself with his sword; but that also failing, a Gaulish soldier, whose name was Bitæus, performed this friendly office. Thus died Mithridates, betrayed by his son, and forsaken by an army that seemed terrified at the greatness of his enterprises. His fortune was various; his courage always the same. He had for twenty-five years opposed Rome; and though he was often betrayed by his captains, his children, and his wives, yet he continually found resources against his enemies, and was formidable to the very last.

In the mean time, Pompey was diligently employed in pursuing his advantages over Tigranes, who had not only to resist the Romans, but his own three sons, that had united in rebellion against him. Two of these he had the fortune to overthrow, and put to death; but he was soon after compelled by

Pompey to surrender. His remaining son, who had taken refuge in the Roman camp, did all that lay in his power to prevent a reconciliation; but Pompey, reprimanding his disobedience, treated the old king with great humanity, and restored him the greatest part of his former dominions, only depriving him of his conquests, and fining him six thousand talents towards defraying the expenses of the war. His son continuing still averse to the treaty, and threatening his father's life, was confined by the general's command, in order to be reserved for his triumph into Rome. Nothing now therefore being able to check the progress of Pompey's arms, he marched onward, over the vast mountains of Taurus, setting up and deposing kings at pleasure. Darius, the king of Media, and Antiochus, king of Syria, were compelled to submit to his clemency. Phraates, king of Parthia, was obliged to retire, and send to entreat a peace. From thence, extending his conquests over the Thureans and Arabians, he reduced all Syria and Pontus into Roman provinces. Then turning towards Judea, he summoned Aristobulus, who had usurped the priesthood from his elder brother Hyrcanus, to appear before him; but Aristobulus had fortified the temple of Jerusalem against him, and refused to answer. This venerable place, which was thus converted into a garrison, being very strong from its situation, held out for three months, but was at last taken, and twelve thousand of its defenders slain. Pompey entered this great sanctuary with a mixture of resolution and fear: he showed an eager curiosity to enter into the Holy of Holies: there he gazed for some time upon those things which it was unlawful for any but the priests themselves to behold. Notwithstanding, he showed so much veneration for the place, that he forbore touching any of the vast treasures deposited there. After restoring Hyrcanus to the priesthood and government, he took Aristobulus with him, to grace his triumph upon his return. This triumph, which lasted two days, was the most splendid that had ever entered the gates of Rome: therein were exposed the names of fifteen conquered kingdoms, eight hundred cities taken, twenty-nine repeopled, and a thousand castles brought to acknowledge the empire of Rome. Among the prisoners led in triumph appeared the son of Tigranes, Aristobulus king of Judea, the sister of Mithridates, together with the hostages of the Albanians,

Iberians, and the king of Comagena. The treasures, that were brought home, amounted to near four millions of our money; and the trophies and other splendours of the procession were such, that the spectators seemed lost in the magnificent profusion. All these victories, however, rather served to heighten the glory than to increase the power of Rome; they only made it a more glaring object of ambition, and exposed its liberties to greater danger. Those liberties, indeed, seemed devoted to ruin on every side; for even while Pompey was pursuing his conquests abroad, Rome was at the verge of ruin from a conspiracy at home.

This conspiracy was projected and carried on by Sergius Catiline, a patrician by birth, who resolved to build his own power on the downfall of his country. He was singularly formed both by art and nature to conduct a conspiracy; he was possessed of courage equal to the most desperate attempts, and eloquence to give a colour to his ambition: ruined in his fortunes, profligate in his manners, and vigilant in pursuing his aims; he was insatiable after wealth, only with a view to lavish it in his guilty pleasures: in short, as Cicero describes him, he was a compound of opposite passions; intemperate to excess, yet patient of labour to a wonder; severe with the virtuous, debauched with the gay, so that he had all the vicious for his friends by inclination, and he attached even some of the good, by the specious show of pretended virtue. However, his real character was at length very well known at Rome. He had been accused of debauching a vestal virgin: he was suspected of murdering his son to gratify a criminal passion; and it was notorious, that in the proscription of Sylla he had killed his own brother, to make his court to the tyrant.

Catiline, having contracted many debts by the looseness of such an ill-spent life, was resolved to extricate himself from them by any means, however unlawful: his first aim, therefore, was at the consulship, in which he hoped to repair his shattered fortune by the plunder of the provinces; but in this he was frustrated. This disgrace so operated upon a mind naturally warm, that he instantly entered into an association with Piso and some others, of desperate fortunes like himself, in which it was resolved to kill the consuls that had been just chosen, with several other senators, and to share the govern-

ment among themselves. These designs, however, were discovered before they were ripe for action, and the senate took care to obviate their effects. Some time after, he again sued for the consulship, and was again disappointed; the great Cicero, whose character will be given hereafter, being preferred before him. Enraged at these repeated mortifications, he now breathed nothing but revenge: his design was, had he then obtained the consulship, and with it the command of the armies of the empire, to have seized upon the liberties of his country, and governed alone. At length, impatience under his disappointments would not permit him to wait for the ripening of his schemes; wherefore he formed the mad resolution of usurping the empire, though yet without means adequate to the execution.

Many of those who were in the former conspiracy of Piso still remained attached to his interests; these he assembled, to about the number of thirty, where he informed them of his aims and his hopes, settled a plan of operations, and fixed a day for the execution. It was resolved among them, that a general insurrection should be raised throughout Italy, the different parts of which were assigned to the different leaders. Rome was to be fired in several places at once: and Catiline, at the head of an army raised in Etruria, was, in the general confusion, to possess himself of the city, and massacre all the senators. Lentulus, one of his profligate assistants, who had been prætor or judge in the city, was to preside in their general councils; Cethegus, a man who sacrificed the possession of great present power to the hope of gratifying his revenge against Cicero, was to direct the massacre through the city; and Cassius was to conduct those who fired it. But the vigilance of Cicero being a chief obstacle to their designs, Catiline was very desirous to see him taken off before he left Rome; upon which, two knights of the company undertook to kill him the next morning in his bed, in an early visit on pretence of business. The meeting, however, was no sooner over, than Cicero had information of all that had passed in it; for, by the intrigues of a woman named Fulvia, he gained over Curius, her lover, and one of the conspirators, to send him a punctual account of all their deliberations. Having taken proper precaution to guard himself against the designs of his morning visitors, who were punctual to the appointment, he

next took care to provide for the defence of the city; and assembling the senate, consulted what was best to be done in this time of danger. The first step taken was to offer considerable rewards for farther discoveries, and then to prepare for the defence of the state. Catiline, to show how well he could dissemble or justify any crime, went boldly to the senate, declaring his innocence, and offering to give any security for his behaviour. These professions, urged with an apparent humility, gained over many of the Roman senators; but Cicero, incensed at his effrontery, instead of pursuing the business of the day, rose up, and addressing himself to Catiline, broke out into a most severe invective against him. The speech is still remaining, in which, with all the fire of incensed eloquence, he lays open the whole course of his crimes, and the particulars of his present impeachment. When Cicero was seated, Catiline rose in his turn, and with well prepared dissimulation, and a dejected countenance, besought the senate not over rashly to credit vain reports concerning him, nor believe that a person of his rank, whose ancestors and whose services demanded rather fame than censure, could be guilty of such vile imputations. While he was continuing his defence, and beginning to introduce some reflections against the consul, the chief of which was the obscurity of his original, the senate refused to hear him; whereupon he declared aloud, that, since he was denied a vindication of himself, and driven headlong by his enemies, he would extinguish the flame which was raised about him in universal ruin: thus saying, he rushed out of the assembly, threatening destruction to all his opposers. As soon as he was returned to his house, and began to reflect on what had passed, he perceived it vain to dissemble any longer; wherefore, resolving to enter at once into action, before the commonwealth was prepared to oppose him, after a short conference with Lentulus and Cethegus, he left Rome by night with a small retinue, to make the best of his way towards Etruria, where Manlius, one of the conspirators, was raising an army to support him.

In the mean time, Cicero took proper precautions to secure all those of the conspiracy who remained in Rome, and induced the people, by the power of his eloquence, to second his designs. Lentulus, Cethegus, Cassius, and several others were put in confinement; and it was propounded to the

senate, what course should be taken with the prisoners. The principal evidences against them were the ambassadors of the Allobroges, a fierce people inhabiting the countries now called Dauphiny and Savoy; who deposed, that they had been applied to, to furnish a body of horse whenever the war should begin, but that, being apprehensive of the danger, they had declined the proposal; at the same time producing the letters of Lentulus to them for that purpose, marked with his own seal. Upon this, a great debate arose in the house concerning the punishment of the prisoners, a deliberation of great delicacy and importance. Capital punishments were rare and even odious in Rome; while, on the other hand, the crimes of which they were convicted required a quick and exemplary punishment. Silanus, the ensuing year's consul, was of opinion, that they should all be put to death; to this, all who spoke after him readily assented, till it came to Julius Cæsar's turn to deliver his opinion. This extraordinary man, who was chosen prætor for the ensuing year, had, from the very beginning of his life, marked out a way to universal empire, and now thought that a show of clemency upon this occasion would conciliate the favour of the people. It is supposed also by some, that he secretly favoured the conspiracy, and only waited for its first fortunes to put himself at its head. He therefore observed, in an elegant and elaborate speech (for of all the orators in the commonwealth Cicero alone excelled him), that those who opined for death were on the merciful side; since death was but the relief of the miserable, and left no sense of good or ill beyond it. The heinousness of the present crime, he said, might justify any severity; but the example was dangerous in a free state, where power sometimes happened to fall into bad hands. Though no danger could be apprehended from such a consul as Cicero, yet, in other times, and under other consuls, none could tell how far justice might stop short of cruelty: his opinion therefore was, that the conspirators should be sentenced to perpetual confinement. His speech, delivered with all the arts of a complete orator, seemed to make great impression on the whole assembly: Silanus himself began to excuse and mitigate the severity of his former sentence, and even the friends of the consul were almost convinced; when Porcius Cato at last stood up to oppose it. No two characters could be more op-

posite than his to that of the former speaker. Caesar was merciful, gentle, and insinuating; Cato, severe, forceful, and overbearing: Caesar loved his country, in hopes one day to govern it; Cato loved it more than other countries, only because he thought it more free: the one scrupled no means, however illicit, to attain his ends; the other laboured but to one end by one way: the most exalted justice conducting him to the most inflexible virtue. In fact, the opinions of the Greek philosophers began to give a bent to the dispositions of the great men of the time: so that Caesar was a follower of Epicurus, and Cato was a rigid Stoic. He began, therefore, by describing Cicero as he really was, a man dignified with almost every virtue conducive to his own happiness, together with all the talents that could improve happiness in others. He proceeded by wondering how any debate could arise about punishing men who had begun an actual war upon their country: that he had never pardoned in himself the very wanderings of his heart, and could not easily forgive the most flagitious actions in others: that they were not deliberating on the fate of the prisoners only, but on that of Catiline's whole army, which would be animated or dejected in proportion to the vigour of their decrees: wherefore his opinion was, since the criminals had been convicted both by testimony and their own confession, that they should suffer death, according to the custom of their ancestors in circumstances of the like nature. His speech was seconded by another still more forceful from Cicero; and these carried such conviction, that they put an end to the debate. The vote for the death of the conspirators was no sooner passed, than Cicero resolved to put it in execution, lest the night, which was coming on, should produce any new disturbance. Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest, were therefore taken from their respective sureties, and conducted by the chief magistrates, who delivered them over to the executioners, who presently strangled them in prison.

In the mean time, Catiline had raised an army of twelve thousand men, of which a fourth part only was completely armed; the rest being furnished with what chance afforded, darts, lances, and clubs. He refused, at first, to enlist slaves, who flocked to him in great numbers, trusting to the proper strength of the conspiracy; but upon the approach of the consul who was sent against him, and the arrival of the news

that his confederates were put to death in Rome, the face of his affairs was entirely altered. His first attempt, therefore, was by long marches to make his escape over the Apennines into Gaul; but in this his hopes were disappointed, all the passes being strictly guarded by an army under Metellus, superior to his own. Being thus hemmed in on every side, and seeing all things desperate, with nothing left him but either to die or conquer, he resolved to make one vigorous effort against that army which pursued him. Antonius the consul being himself sick, the command devolved upon his lieutenant, Petreius; who, after a fierce and bloody action, in which he had lost a considerable part of the best troops, destroyed Catiline and his whole army, which fought desperately to the last man: they all fell in the very ranks in which they stood when alive; and, as if inspired with the spirit of their leader, fought not so much to conquer as to sell a bloody victory, and to mingle public calamity with their private ruin. The commonwealth being thus freed from their apprehensions of danger, unanimously concurred in their applauses of Cicero, whose councils had been the chief means of removing them. Public thanks were decreed him by the senate; and, at the instance of Cato, he was styled the Father of his country, the people, with loud acclamations, confirming the justice of the decree.

The extinction of this conspiracy seemed only to leave an open theatre for the ambition of the great men of the state to display itself in. Pompey was now returned in triumph from conquering the East, as he had before been victorious in Europe and Africa. Every eye was fixed upon him, as being the most powerful man in the state, and capable of governing it at his pleasure. His success in war had procured him the surname of Great; and he was still more pleased with the title than the consciousness of deserving it. This was the post his ambition aimed at; he seemed more desirous of being the leader than the ruler of his country, of being applauded than obeyed. He had it in his power often to make himself master of the state by force; but he either declined the fatigue of it, or lived in perpetual expectation of receiving as a gift what he did not choose to extort by violence. His parts were specious rather than penetrating; and his chief instrument in governing was dissimulation: but

being a better soldier than statesman, he was adored abroad, and gained in the camp that homage which was denied him at home.

The first thing he did upon his return was to direct the election of both the consuls, by whose help he hoped he should readily obtain the ratification of all that he had disposed of in Asia, together with a distribution of lands to his soldiers of part of the countries they had conquered. However, he was disappointed in both these expectations; the senate, who began to see and dread his power, were desirous of besieging it by every opposition. The two consuls turned against him as well as the rest, and were seconded by all those who were not the professed instruments of his party. The tribune Flavius, who was the promoter of the law, impatient of the delay, and animated by Pompey's power, had the hardness to commit Metellus the consul to prison; and when all the senate followed, and resolved to go to prison with him, the tribune put his chair against the door to keep them out. This violence, however, gave such offence to the people, that Pompey found it advisable to draw off the tribune and release the consul. From this opposition in the senate he began to find, that his own interest alone would not be sufficient to rule the commonwealth, without taking in some of the most powerful men of the state, not as partners to divide his power, but as instruments to assist it.

Crassus, as we have already observed, was the richest man in Rome, and next him possessed of the greatest authority: his party in the senate was even stronger than that of Pompey his rival, and the envy raised against him was less. He and Pompey had been long disunited by an opposition of interests and of characters: however, it was from a continuance of their mutual jealousies, that the state was in some measure to expect its future safety. It was in this situation of things that Julius Cæsar, who had lately gone prætor into Spain, and had returned with great riches and glory, resolved to convert their mutual jealousy to his own advantage. This celebrated man was nephew to Marius by the female line, and descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome; he had already mounted by the regular gradations of office, having been quæstor, sædile, and grand pontiff, and prætor in Spain. Being descended from popular ancestors, he warmly espoused

the side of the people; and shortly after the death of Sylla procured those whom he had banished to be recalled. He had all along declared for the populace against the senate, and by this became their most favourite magistrate. He had received proper intelligence, during his administration in Spain, of what was going forward, and resolved to return, to improve occurrences in his favour. His services in Spain had deserved a triumph, and his ambition aspired at the consulship. However, it was contrary to law for him to have both; for to obtain the consulship he must come into the city, and by entering the city he was disqualified for a triumph. In this dilemma he preferred solid power to empty parade, and determined to stand for the consulship; at the same time resolving to attach the most powerful men in the state to him, by effecting their reconciliation. He accordingly began first by offering his services to Pompey, promising him his aid in having all his acts passed, notwithstanding the senate's opposition. Pompey, pleased at the acquisition of a person of so much merit, readily granted him his confidence and protection. He next applied to Crassus, who, from former connection, was disposed to become still more nearly his friend: at length, finding neither averse to an union of interests, he took an opportunity of bringing them together; and, remonstrating to them on the advantage as well as the necessity of a reconciliation, had art enough to persuade them to forget former animosities. A combination was thus formed, by which they agreed, that nothing should be done in the commonwealth but what received their mutual concurrence and approbation. This was called the first triumvirate, by which we find the constitution weakened by a new interest, that had not hitherto taken place in the government, very different from that either of the senate or the people, and yet dependent on both. A power like this, however, as it depended upon the nice conduct of different interests, could not be of long continuance; and, in fact, it was soon after swallowed up in the military power, which took away even the shadow of liberty.

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE: TO THE DEATH OF POMPEY.

THE commonwealth might at this time be considered as made up of three different bodies, each U.C. 694. pursuing separate interests. The triumvirate, aiming at sovereign authority, were desirous, by depressing the senate and alluring the people, to extend their own influence. The senate, equally apprehensive of the three great men who controlled them, and of the people who opposed them, formed a middle interest between both, and, desirous of re-establishing the aristocracy which had been set up by Sylla, gave their struggles the name of freedom. The people, on the other hand, were desirous of freedom in the most extensive sense, and, with a fatal blindness, only apprehensive of the invasion of it from the side of the senate, gave all their influence to the triumvirate, whose promises were great, and pretensions specious.

The first thing Cæsar did, upon being taken into the triumvirate, was to avail himself of the interest of his confederates to obtain the consulship. The senate had still some small influence left; and though they were obliged to choose him, yet they gave for a colleague one Bibulus, who they supposed would be a check upon his power: but the opposition was too strong for even superior abilities to resist it; so that Bibulus, after a slight attempt in favour of the senate, remained inactive the succeeding part of the year. Cæsar, however, was by no means so, but began his schemes for empire by ingratiating himself with the people. He preferred a law for dividing certain lands in Campania among such of the poor citizens as had at least three children. This proposal was just enough in itself, and only criminal from the views of the proposer. The senate, being resolved to oppose him in all his schemes, endeavoured to thwart him in this; which only served to exasperate the people still more against them. The multitude drove them from the place of assembling with stones:

Cato and Bibulus, who were most active against the law, were compelled to retire; and the rest of the senate were obliged to take an oath to confirm the observance of it. During this struggle Pompey and Crassus became the dupes of their associate, driving the law forward with all their activity and interest: the former publicly declared, that if any would come (as he was informed they would) with swords to oppose it, he would be the first to lift up his shield in its defence. By this conduct he lost all his former influence in the senate; while Cæsar only gained all the popularity of a law which was of his own proposing. From that time he acted entirely without the assistance of his colleague; so that it was jeeringly called the consulship of Julius and Cæsar, intimating that all things were done only by him.

Having thus ingratiated himself with the people, his next step was to procure the favour of the knights, who made a very powerful body in the state. They had for many years been the financiers or farmers of the public revenue, and by that means had acquired vast riches; however, they now began to complain of their inability to pay the stipulated sums into the treasury. Cæsar therefore procured a law to abate a third part of their disbursements, notwithstanding the opposition of the senate. In this manner, having advanced his influence among the lower orders of the state, he determined to attach Pompey still more closely to him, by giving him his daughter Julia in marriage, a woman with every accomplishment that could tend to cement their confederacy.

Having thus strengthened himself at home, he next deliberated with his confederates about sharing the foreign provinces of the empire between them. The partition was soon made; Pompey chose Spain for his own part; for being fatigued with conquest, and satiated with military fame, he was willing to take his pleasures at Rome; and there being no appearance of revolt in that province, he knew it could easily be governed by his lieutenant. Crassus chose Syria for his part of the empire, which province, as it had hitherto enriched the generals who had subdued it, would, he hoped, gratify him in this his most favourite pursuit. To Cæsar was left the provinces of Gaul, composed of many fierce and powerful nations, most of them unsubdued, and the rest only professing a nominal subjection. Wherefore, as it was rather

appointing him to conquer than command, this government was granted him for five years, as if, by its continuance, to compensate for its danger. Having thus divided the empire between them, they each of them prepared for their respective destinations; but previous to Cæsar's setting out, there was still an obstacle that seemed to blast his aims, and which he wished to have removed. This was Tullius Cicero, whom we have already seen, by his penetration and eloquence, defeating the conspiracy of Catiline, and who still continued a watchful guardian over the liberties of Rome. This great orator and statesman, or, to give him a higher appellation still, this excellent philosopher, had, from a very humble original, raised himself into the foremost rank of the state; he was endowed with all the wisdom and all the virtues that could adorn a man. However, his wisdom, by directing his views over too wide a sphere, often overlooked those advantages which are clearly discerned by short-sighted cunning; and his virtues, by being applauded by others, and receiving his own conscious approbation, inclined him to vanity. He seemed, in his general conduct, guilty of a fault too common with men of great abilities, a desire of uniting in himself incompatible qualities, which gave an air of ridicule to his greatest actions. Thus, while he aimed at being the first orator in the state, he was eager also to be thought the best jester; while he taught men to condemn vanity, he was seen earnestly intriguing for the honour of a triumph, which, however, he had done nothing to merit. While no man saw the corruptions of the times more clearly than he, yet he had hopes of governing so corrupt a commonwealth without fraud. Thus, though he saw through every person he conversed with, yet he suffered himself to be the dupe of many, rather than recede from the rectitude of his aims. It was no wonder, therefore, that Cæsar was desirous of expelling such a character from the republic, which was so unlike his own. To effect this, he resolved to take into his party Publius Clodius, a man of patrician birth, dissolute manners, great popularity, and an inveterate enemy of Cicero. Besides an opposition of character, a principal cause of their enmity was Cicero's having formerly appeared against him upon his trial before the people, for an offence against the matrons of Rome, whose mysteries he had intruded upon, dressed in women's clothes. He was at this time a tribune

of the people, although he had been obliged to get himself adopted by a plebeian, before he could obtain that office. The hopes of revenging himself upon Cicero in some measure incited him to stand for it; and the concurrence of Cæsar and Pompey with his pretensions soon assured him of success. He therefore publicly began to accuse Cicero, for having put the late conspirators to death, who, being citizens, ought to have been adjudged by the people. Cicero, terrified at this accusation, did all that lay in his power to oppose it. He applied to Cæsar to take him as his lieutenant into Gaul; but Clodius had art enough to allure him from that design, by pretending that his resentment was rather a matter of form than of revenge. Pompey too contributed to put him off his guard by a promise of protection; so that the cunning of these men of moderate abilities was more than a match for the wisdom of the philosopher. Clodius having first caused a law to be enacted, importing that any who had condemned a Roman citizen unheard should himself be banished, soon after impeached Cicero upon it. It was in vain that this great man went up and down the city, soliciting his cause in the habit of a suppliant, and attended by many of the first young noblemen, whom he had taught the rules of eloquence; those powers of speaking, which had been so often successful in defending the cause of others, totally seemed to forsake him in his own; he was banished, by the votes of the people, four hundred miles from Italy; his houses were ordered to be demolished, and his goods set up to sale. None now remained that could defend the part of the senate but Cato, and he was shortly after sent into Cyprus, under pretence of doing him a favour, but in reality in order to leave an open theatre for the triumvirate to act in. Cæsar, during these intrigues, pretended to be an unconcerned spectator, and to be wholly occupied in his preparations for going into Gaul. He, in fact, left nothing undone that might advance the speed or increase the strength of this expedition: wherefore, leaving Pompey to guard their mutual interests at home, he marched into his province at the head of four legions, that were granted him by the senate, and two more that were lent him by his new associate in the empire.

It would be impossible, in the narrow compass which I have assigned myself, to enumerate all the battles Cæsar fought,

and the states he subdued, in his expedition into Gaul and Britain, which continued eight years. He has himself given a detail of them in his Commentaries, a work which does as much honour to his abilities as a writer, as his conduct did to his talents as a general. To abridge such a work is but to destroy it; to turn it into a dry catalogue of names, that cease to interest, and of battles that would appear to be all the same: it will be sufficient just to mention those victories which a great and experienced general, at the head of a disciplined army, gained over the barbarous and tumultuary, though numerous forces that were led to oppose him. The Helvetians were the first that were brought into subjection, with the loss of near two hundred thousand men; those who remained after the carnage were sent by Cæsar in safety to their forests from whence they had issued. The Germans, with Ariovistus at their head, were next cut off, to the number of eighty thousand, their monarch himself narrowly escaping in a little boat across the Rhine. The Belgæ were cut off with such great slaughter, that marshes and deep rivers were rendered passable from the heaps of slain. The Nervians, who were the most warlike of those barbarous nations, made head for a short time, and fell upon the Romans with such fury, that their army was in danger of being utterly routed; but Cæsar himself hastily caught up a buckler, rushed through his army into the midst of the enemy, by which means he so turned the fate of the day, that the barbarians were all cut off to a man. The Celtic Gauls, who were powerful at sea, were next brought under subjection. After them, the Suevi, the Menapii, and all the nations from the Mediterranean to the British sea.

From thence, stimulated by the desire of conquest, he crossed over into Britain, upon pretence that the natives had furnished his enemies with continual supplies. Upon approaching the shores, he found them covered with men to oppose his landing, and his forces were in danger of being driven back, till the standard bearer of the tenth legion boldly leaped ashore, and being well assisted by Cæsar, the natives were put to flight. The Britons, being terrified at Cæsar's power, sent to desire a peace, which was granted them, and some hostages delivered. A storm, however, soon after destroying great part of his fleet, they resolved to take advantage of the disaster, and marched against him with a powerful army. But what

could a naked, undisciplined army do against forces that had been exercised under the greatest generals, and hardened by the conquest of the greatest part of the world? Being overthrown, they were obliged once more to sue for peace, which Cæsar granted them, and then returned to the continent. But his absence once more inspired this people, naturally fond of liberty, with a resolution to disclaim the Roman power; wherefore he resolved upon a second expedition, where, by repeated victories, he so intimidated their general, Cassibelanus, that he no longer attempted to resist him in the plains, but, keeping in the forests, attempted to protract the war. However, Cæsar pursuing him closely, and crossing the Thames with his army, so straitened him, that he was obliged to submit to the conqueror's conditions, who imposed an annual tribute, and took hostages for the payment of it. Thus, in less than nine years, he conquered, together with Britain, all that country which extends from the Mediterranean to the German sea. It is said, that in these expeditions he took eight hundred cities, subdued three hundred different states, overcame three millions of men, one of which fell on the field of battle, and one was made prisoners of war. These conquests, and his destruction of mankind, may, in the present advancement of morals, be regarded with detestation; but they were regarded as the height of human virtue at the time they were achieved. In fact, if we examine Cæsar's great assiduity in providing for his army, his great skill in disposing them for battle, and his amazing intrepidity during the engagement, we shall not find a greater general in all antiquity. But in one thing he excelled all, with incontestible superiority, namely, in his humanity to the vanquished. This seemed a virtue but little known to the times he lived in; so that mankind were then more obliged to heroes than they at present choose to confess, almost each of whom has introduced and given sanction to some new virtues, which philosophers might have speculatively applauded before, but could never have influence to make popular without such an example.

While Cæsar was thus increasing his reputation and riches abroad, Pompey, who remained all the time in Rome, steadily co-operated with his ambition, and advanced his interests, while he vainly supposed he was forwarding his own. Upon the first news of his great exploits, he procured a decree of the

senate for a solemn festival of fifteen days, which was doing Cæsar greater honour than any general had received before him. When Cæsar, after remaining in Gaul three years, passed over into Italy to refresh himself for a while from his fatigues, in order to renew the next campaign with great vigour, Pompey, together with Crassus, took a journey from Rome to meet him, and there, when Cæsar pleaded the necessity of being continued in his command, his associates resolved to endeavour at the consulship for the next year, in order to keep him in his province for five years longer. This design was so displeasing to the senate, and the dissensions so violent concerning it, that they went into mourning, as in a case of public calamity. Cato did all that lay in his power to oppose their aims, declaring, upon every occasion, that the liberty of Rome was in danger: he even procured one Domitius to offer himself a candidate, against the interest of the whole triumvirate. Pompey, however, knew how little the indignation of the senate could avail against the power he was already possessed of, wherefore he sent a body of armed men against Domitius, as he was going to offer himself at the election. These killed the slave that preceded him, and then dispersed the company, Cato being wounded, and Domitius hardly escaping with life. By this violence Pompey becoming master of the suffrages, he and Crassus were declared consuls; and, in consequence of this promotion, Cæsar was continued five years longer in Gaul; Crassus was appointed to Syria, where, as we have said, he expected to reap a harvest, rather of wealth than of glory; and Pompey was fixed in his government of Spain, which he governed wholly by his lieutenants, pretending that he could not leave Rome, because of the general charge of provisions which was committed to his care, an office procured him by Cicero, who was lately recalled from banishment by his influence, the popularity of Clodius having given him some umbrage.

In this manner Pompey continued to dictate to the senate, and to exercise his authority rather than increase it. But he began at last to be roused from his lethargy by the rising reputation of Cæsar. The fame of that great commander's valour, riches, and humanity, began secretly to give him pain, and to make him suppose they began to eclipse his own; for, as being more recent, they were more talked of. He feared

nothing so much as an equal in point of glory, and yet by his own arts he had raised Cæsar's so high, that he was threatened with a superior. He now therefore began, by a change of the same arts, to do all that was in his power to diminish Cæsar's reputation, obliging the magistrates not to publish any letters they received from him till he had diminished the credit of them, by spreading disadvantageous reports. While every thing thus portended a rupture between these principal men, accident contributed not a little to widen the separation, by the death of Julia, Pompey's wife, who had not a little contributed to improve the harmony that subsisted between them. From this moment Pompey resolved to pursue his own particular advancement, and to depress that of one whom he found, though too late, to share an equal degree of reputation with himself.

However, his efforts were now too late. Cæsar was in possession of a great share of popularity, which it had been the study of his life to promote; he was loved almost to adoration by his army, whose attachment he had gained by his humanity and great rewards; he seemed to acquire immense riches only to bestow them upon the bravest and most deserving of his soldiers, particularly those who were worn out in his service; he paid the debts of many of his officers, and gave them every motive to wean their love from the public, and to place it on their commander. Nor were his attentions fixed upon his soldiers alone, but extended to his partizans in the city; he assisted these by promoting them to offices, lavishing large sums of money to bribe their elections: he pillaged the wealth of his provinces to spread it among the citizens of Rome, and gave even his rapine an air of generosity.

All this was frequently told Pompey, but he at first wished it true, then pretended to disbelieve it, and at last found that he had committed a fatal oversight; but suffered that consideration to prevail as late as possible. However, he at length wished to resume that power which he had formerly suffered others to share; and an opportunity soon offered of obtaining his desire. As all elections had for many years been U.C. 701. carried on by sedition and bribery, there had been about that time to be a total cessation of authority, no magistrates having been elected for the space of eight months. This state of anarchy was heightened still more by the death of

Clodius, who was killed by Milo in the country, as he was upon his return to town. As Clodius had been always a favourite of the people, his body was immediately brought to Rome, and exposed publicly to view. Nothing more was requisite to kindle a tumult: the multitude ran furiously to Milo's house to set it on fire, but, being defended by his partisans, Milo repulsed them with great slaughter. Upon this, returning to the dead body, they drew it to the senate house, and there, making a pile of the seats of the magistrates, consumed both the body and that stately building together. After this, the mutineers dispersed themselves all over the city, where, under pretence of searching for Milo's friends, they committed the greatest outrages that unlicensed fury could suggest. Thus every street was filled with murders and quarrels, while none could walk from their own houses in safety. In this universal tumult and distraction, all eyes were turned upon Pompey to restore tranquillity, and give the sufferers redress. Many were for creating him dictator; but Cato, unwilling to endanger the state by entrusting the greatest power to the most notorious ambition, prevailed, that, instead of being created dictator, he should be made sole consul, which differed from the former office but in this, that he was accountable for mal-administration upon the resignation of his employment. In consequence of this accession of power, a body of troops were allotted to him, a thousand talents were granted to subsist them, the government of Spain was continued to him for four years longer, and Milo was accused of having killed Clodius, and condemned to banishment, even though Cicero himself undertook to defend him. It seems the tribunal, from whence he harangued the populace, was surrounded by the consul's soldiers, so that he was quite intimidated, and unable to proceed with his usual impetuosity. Pompey, who had hitherto acted alone, then took in Metellus for his colleague, whose daughter Cornelia he had lately married, a woman of great merit and beauty, and by this new alliance he supposed he had confirmed his former authority.

~~Cato~~ ^{Cato}, who now began to be sensible of the jealousies of Pompey, took occasion, from the many honours which the latter had just received, to solicit for the consulship in his turn, with a prolongation of his government in Gaul, desirous of trying whether Pompey would thwart or promote his preten-

sions. In this Pompey seemed to be quite inactive; but at the same time privately employed two of his creatures, who alleged in the senate, that the laws did not permit a person that was absent to offer himself as a candidate for that high office. Pompey's view in this was to allure Cæsar from his government, in order to stand for the consulship in person. Cæsar, however, perceiving his artifice, chose to remain in his province, convinced, that while he headed such an army as was now devoted to his interests, he could at any time give laws as well as magistrates to the state.

The senate, which were now devoted to Pompey, because he had for some time attempted to defend them from the encroachments of the people, ordered the two legions, which were in Cæsar's army, belonging to Pompey, home, as it was pretended, to oppose the Parthians, but in reality to diminish Cæsar's power. Cæsar easily saw their motive; but, as his plans were not yet ready for execution, he sent them home, in pursuance of the orders of the senate, having previously attached the officers to him with benefits, and the soldiers with a bounty. The next step the senate took was to recal Cæsar from his government, as his time was now very near expiring. Every person perceived the danger the state was in, from the continuance of his command over an army entirely devoted to his interests, and become almost invincible by long experience. It was the general sense, therefore, of the house, that Cæsar should return; and some went so far as to talk of bringing him to an account for the large sums of money he had extorted from the provinces of Gaul. But Cæsar was not without his friends in the senate; among the rest, Curio, who had lately been elected a tribune of the people, and had been bribed to his interests, secretly favoured his cause. Curio was a man of strong eloquence, great resolution, loaded with debts, and deeply engaged to Cæsar, for extricating him from a part of them; he therefore pretended highly to approve the resolutions of the house, and asserted, that he could never think liberty secure, while such armies were in readiness to destroy it, whenever their leaders should give the word of command: but then he thought the chief security of the state depended upon the fear which these armies, whether in Spain, Gaul, or Italy, stood in of each other. It was, therefore, his opinion, that Cæsar should not leave his army

till Pompey had set him the example. This was a proposal, which Pompey had by no means been prepared for: his friends alleged, that his time was not yet expired; but this not satisfying the tribune, Pompey himself observed, that he had taken up his offices at the command of the senate, and that he was ready to resign them whenever his employers thought fit: that he knew Cæsar, with whose friendship and alliance he had been made happy, would not hesitate to do the same when he knew the senate had appointed him a successor.

Curio, who saw the art of Pompey, whose only aim was to have a successor actually nominated, replied, that in order to show the sincerity of his professions, it was not enough to promise to give up his government, but at that very instant to perform a thing he had it so easily in his power to do: he added, that both were too powerful, and that it was for the interest of the commonwealth that they should return to their former privacy: he concluded with saying, that there was no other method left for public security, but to order both to lay down their commands, and to declare him an enemy to his country who should disobey. Curio had made this proposal with a certainty of its being rejected by Pompey, whom he knew to be too well acquainted with the advantages of command, and too confident of his own superiority over Cæsar, to begin the submission: in fact, he judged very justly. Pompey was rendered arrogant, not only by his long good fortune and his present honour, but also by accounts brought him continually from Cæsar's army, importing, that his soldiers had no esteem for him, and that they would certainly forsake him as soon as they had crossed the Alps; all which falsehoods, though merely invented to gain Pompey's favour, by suiting the account to his inclinations, he readily gave credit to. Nay, to such a pitch of self-security did he at last make pretensions, that when Cicero asked him what forces he had to repel Cæsar, Pompey replied, that if he only stamped with his foot, an army would start up from the ground to oppose him. Thus confidence at first, and shame soon after to have been in the wrong, operated so powerfully upon him, that he did not prepare for his defence, lest he should be obliged to acknowledge himself in danger.

Curio, having attained his aims in this particular, dismissed the senate, as he was empowered to do by his office; but

Marcellus, who was consul, and a creature of Pompey's, convoked it immediately after, and then put it to the vote, whether Cæsar should be continued in his government. The whole assembly were immediately of opinion, that he should be discontinued. He then demanded their pleasure as to Pompey's continuance in the government he enjoyed. The majority declared, that it was proper to continue him. Curius then put a third question, whether it would not be most expedient to discontinue them both; to which three hundred and sixty of the senate assented, and twenty-two only declared against it. Marcellus, being thus frustrated in his views of obtaining the sanction of the senate to continue Pompey in his government, could not contain his resentment, but, rising in a rage, cried out, "If you will have Cæsar for your master, why have him." Upon which, one of his own party asserting, in order to intimidate the senate still more, that Cæsar was past the Alps, and marching with his whole army directly towards Rome, the consul, immediately quitting the senate, went with his colleague forth from the city, to a house where Pompey at that time resided. He there presented him with a sword, commanding him to march against Cæsar, and fight in defence of the commonwealth. Pompey declared he was ready to obey; but with an air of pretended moderation added, that it was only in case more gentle expedients could not be employed.

Cæsar, who was instructed in all that passed by his partisans at Rome, though he was still in Gaul, was willing to give his aims all the appearance of justice. He therefore wrote to the senate several times, desiring to be continued in his government of Gaul, as Pompey had been in that of Spain, or else that he should be permitted to stand for the consulship, and his absence dispensed with. He agreed to lay down his employment when Pompey should do the same. But the senate, who were devoted to his rival, rejected all his propositions, blindly confident of their own power, and relying on the assurances of Pompey. Cæsar, still unwilling to come to an open rupture with the state, at last was content to ask the government of Illyria, with two legions; but this also was refused him: a fatal obstinacy had seized the senate, who were willing to sacrifice all his power to increase that of their present favourite: so that they attempted to repress his

injustice by still greater of their own. Wherefore Cæsar, now finding all hopes of an accommodation fruitless, and conscious, if not of the goodness of his cause, at least of the goodness of his troops, began to draw them down towards the confines of Italy, and passing the Alps with his third legion, stopped at Ravenna, a city of Cisalpine Gaul, from whence he once more wrote a letter to the consuls, declaring that he was ready to resign all command, in case Pompey did so too. But he added, that if all power was to be given to one only, he would endeavour to prevent so unjust a distribution; and declared, that if they persisted, he would shortly arrive in Rome to punish their injustice, and the wrongs of his country. The menaces contained in the last part of this letter exasperated the whole body of the senate against him. Marcellus the consul, who, as we have said, was the creature of Pompey, gave way to his rage; while Lentulus, his colleague, who, being of wrecked fortune, could expect to lose nothing by a civil war, openly declared, that after such an insult further deliberation was needless, and that there was now more occasion for arms than for suffrages. It was then, after some opposition, decreed, that Cæsar should lay down his government, and disband his forces within a limited time; and if he refused obedience, that he should be declared an enemy to the commonwealth. They next gave orders to the consuls, that the commonwealth should receive no damage, which was the form of investing them with absolute authority in cases of immediate danger. After this, they appointed Domitius, a man of great courage and abilities, as Cæsar's successor in the government of Gaul. Pompey was ordered to put himself at the head of what troops were in readiness, and all those, who were under the influence either of him or the senate, prepared to take up arms at Rome.

In the mean time, they who had declared themselves most strongly in Cæsar's interest began to fear for themselves, from the absolute power granted the consuls of disposing all things at their pleasure, and of treating whom they would as enemies to the state. But particularly Curio, with the two tribunes, Marcus Antonius and Longinius, supposed they had reason to be apprehensive. They accordingly fled, disguised as slaves, to Cæsar's camp, deploring the injustice and tyranny of the senate, and making a merit of their sufferings in his

cause. Caesar showed them in the habits which they had thus assumed to his army, and seeming touched with the strongest compassion at their treatment, burst out into severe invectives against the senate, alleging their tyranny over the state, their cruelty to his friends, and their flagrant ingratitude to himself for all his past services. "These," cried he, pointing to the tribunes, who were in slaves' habits, "these are the rewards obtained by the faithful servants of their country: men whose persons are sacred by their office, and whose characters have been esteemed for their virtues, are driven from their country, obliged for safety to appear as the meanest of mankind, to find protection only in a distant province of the empire, and all for maintaining the rights of freedom, those rights which even Sylla in all the rage of slaughter durst not violate." All this he enforced with the most passionate gestures, and accompanied his words with his tears. The soldiers, as if inspired with one mind, cried out, that they were prepared to follow him wherever he should lead, and were ready to die or revenge his injuries. An universal acclamation rung through the whole camp, every man prepared for a new service of danger, and, forgetting the toils of ten former campaigns, went to his tent to meditate on future victory.

When the army was thus fit for his purpose, Cæsar, at night-fall, sat down to table, cheerfully conversing with his friends on subjects of literature and philosophy, and apparently disengaged from every ambitious concern: however, after some time, rising up, he desired the company to make themselves cheerful in his absence, and that he would be with them in a moment: in the mean time, having ordered his chariot to be prepared, he immediately set out, attended by a few friends, for Arminium, a city upon the confines of Italy, whither he had dispatched a part of his army the morning before. This journey by night, which was very fatiguing, he performed with great diligence, sometimes walking and sometimes on horseback, till at the break of day he came up with his army, which consisted of about five thousand men, near the Rubicon, a little river which separates Italy from Gaul, and which terminated the limits of his command. The Romans had ever been taught to consider this river as the sacred boundary of their domestic empire; the senate had long before made an edict, which is still to be seen engraven in the

road near Rimini, by which they solemnly devoted to the infernal gods, and branded with sacrilege and parricide, any person who should presume to pass the Rubicon with an army, a legion, or even a single cohort. Cæsar, therefore, when he advanced at the head of his army to the side of the river, stopped short upon the bank, as if impressed with terror at the greatness of his enterprise. The dangers he was to encounter, the slaughters that were to ensue, the calamities of his native city, all presented themselves to his imagination in gloomy perspective, and struck him with remorse. He pondered for some time in fixed melancholy, looking upon the river, and debating with himself whether he should venture in; "If I pass this river," says he to one of his generals that stood by him, "what miseries shall I bring upon my country! and if I now stop short, I am undone." Thus saying, and resuming all his former alacrity, he plunged in, crying out, that the die was cast and all was now over; his soldiers followed him with equal promptitude, and quickly arriving at Arminium, made themselves masters of the place without any resistance.

This unexpected enterprise excited the utmost terrors in Rome, every one imagining that Cæsar was leading his army to lay the city in ruins. At one time were to be seen the citizens flying into the country for safety, and the inhabitants of the country coming up to seek for shelter in Rome. In this universal confusion, Pompey felt all that repentance and self-condemnation, which must necessarily arise from the remembrance of having advanced his rival to his present pitch of power: wherever he appeared, many of his former friends were ready to tax him with his supineness, and sarcastically to reproach his ill-grounded presumption. "Where is now," cried Favonius, a ridiculous senator of his party, "the army that is to rise at your command? Let us see if it will appear by stamping." Cato reminded him of the many warnings he had given him; which, however, as he was continually boding nothing but calamities, Pompey might very justly be excused from attending to. But being at length wearied with these reproaches, which were offered under colour of advice, he did all that lay in his power to encourage and confirm his followers: he told them, that they should not want an army, for that he would be their leader; he confessed, indeed, that he had all along mistaken Cæsar's aims, judging of them only from

what they ought to be; however, if his friends were still inspired with the love of freedom, they might yet enjoy it in whatever place their necessities should happen to conduct them. He let them know, that their affairs were in a very promising situation; that his two lieutenants were at the head of a considerable army in Spain, composed of veteran troops that had made the conquest of the East; besides these, there were infinite resources both in Asia and Africa, together with the succours they were sure to expect from all the kingdoms that were in alliance with Rome. This speech served in some measure to revive the hopes of the confederacy. The greatest part of the senate, his own private friends and dependents, together with all those who expected to make their fortunes in his cause, agreed to follow him. Thus, being in no capacity of resisting Cæsar at Rome, he resolved to lead his forces to Capua, where he had the two legions that served under Cæsar in Gaul. His parting from Rome was not a little distressful to the spectators. Ancient senators, respectable magistrates, and many of the flower of the young nobility, obliged thus to leave their native city defenceless to the invader, raised an universal concern in all ranks of people, who followed them some way with outcries, tears, and wishes for their success.

Cæsar, in the mean time, after having vainly attempted to bring Pompey to an accommodation, was resolved to pursue him into Capua before he could have time to collect his forces. However, at the very onset, he was in some measure discouraged by the defection of Labienus, associate of all his former victories: this general, either disgusted at his command, or unwilling to desolate his native country, went over to the other side; but Cæsar, who was not to be intimidated by the loss of one man, whose abilities he himself was able to replace, did not seem much to regard it; wherefore, sending all his money after him, he marched on to take possession of the cities that lay between him and his rival, not regarding Rome, which he knew would fall of course to the conqueror. Corfinium was the first city that attempted to stop the rapidity of his march. It was defended by Domitius, who had been appointed by the senate to succeed him in Gaul, and was garrisoned by twenty cohorts, which were levied in the countries adjacent: Cæsar, however, quickly invested it; and though

Domitius sent frequently to Pompey, exhorting him to come and raise the siege, he was at last obliged to endeavour to escape privately. His intentions happening to be divulged, the garrison were resolved to consult their own safety by delivering him up to the besiegers. Cæsar readily accepted their offers, but kept his men from immediately entering into the town. After some time, Lentulus the consul, who was one of the besieged, came out to implore forgiveness for himself and the rest of his confederates, putting Cæsar in mind of their ancient friendship, and acknowledging the many favours he had received at his hands: to this Cæsar, who would not wait the conclusion of his speech, generously replied, that he came into Italy not to injure the liberties of Rome and its citizens, but to restore them. This humane reply being quickly carried into the city, the senators and the knights, with their children and some officers of the garrison, came out to claim the conqueror's protection, who, just glancing at their ingratitude, gave them their liberty, with permission to go wheresoever they should think proper. But while he dismissed the leaders, he, upon this, as upon all other occasions, took care to attach the common soldiers to his own interest; sensible that he might stand in need of an army, but that, while he lived, his army could never stand in need of a commander.

Pompey having intelligence of what passed upon this occasion, immediately retreated to Brundisium, where he resolved to stand a siege, to delay the enemy until the forces of the empire should be united to oppose him. Cæsar, as he expected, soon arrived before the place; and having accidentally taken one of Pompey's engineers a prisoner, he gave him liberty, with orders to persuade his general, that it might be for the interests of both, as well as to the advantage of the empire, to have an interview; but to this overture he received no return. He next attempted to block up the harbour; but in this being frustrated by the diligence of Pompey, he sent another proposal for having an interview; to which it was answered, that no propositions of that kind could be received in the absence of the consuls. Thus, seeing no hopes of concluding their disagreements by treaty, he turned all his thoughts towards carrying on the war, which Pompey on his side resolved to prosecute with all imaginable vigour.

His first aim in keeping Cæsar some time employed before Brundisium succeeded to his wish; he at length therefore prepared, with all imaginable caution, to abandon the town, and transport his garrison over to Dyrrachium, where the consuls, who had been sent with a part of the troops before him, were levying men for the service of the empire. For this purpose, having fortified the harbour in such a manner that the enemy could not easily pursue him, he embarked his troops with the utmost silence and dispatch, leaving only a few archers and slingers on the walls, who were ordered to retreat in small boats provided for that purpose, as soon as all the heavy infantry were got on board. Cæsar, being apprised of their retreat by the inhabitants of the town, who were provoked at the ruin of their houses, immediately attempted to prevent the embarkation, and was actually going to lead his men over a pitfall, which Pompey had secretly placed in his way, had he not been interrupted by the townsmen, who apprised him of his danger. Thus did Pompey, with great skill and diligence, make his escape, leaving the whole kingdom of Italy at the mercy of his rival, without either a town or an army that had strength to oppose his progress.

Cæsar, finding he could not follow Pompey for want of shipping, resolved to go back to Rome, and take possession of the public treasures, which his opponent, by a most unaccountable oversight, had neglected taking with him. It might have been alleged, indeed, that as these treasures were considered as a sacred deposit, and only to be used in the last extremity, or in case of a Gallic invasion, it would have been wrong in Pompey to begin his operations with an act of impiety. Thus it often happens, that the weaker side, through a fear of discrediting their cause by any thing irregular, ruin it by unseasonable moderation. Cæsar was received at Rome with the repeated acclamations of the lower part of the citizens, and by all his own party; those of the senate also, who were attached to his interests, assembled to congratulate his arrival, to whom he made a plausible speech, justifying his conduct, and professing his aversion to the violent measures to which he had been compelled. Then, under a pretence that his cause was that of justice and of the commonwealth, he prepared to possess himself of those treasures, which had been laid up for the uses of the public; but, upon his coming

up to the door of the treasury, Metellus, the tribune, who guarded it, refused to let him pass, alleging that the money was sacred, and that horrible imprecations had been denounced against such as touched it upon any occasion but that of a Gallic war. Cæsar, however, was not to be intimidated by his superstitious remonstrances, observing, that there was no occasion for money to carry on a Gallic war, as he had entirely subdued all Gaul already. The tribune then pretending, that the keys were missing, Cæsar ordered his attendants to break open the doors: but Metellus had still the boldness to dispute even this command: whereupon Cæsar, with more than usual emotion, laying his hand upon his sword, threatened to strike him dead: "And know, young man," cried he, "that it is easier to do this than to say it." This menace had its effect; Metellus retired, and Cæsar took out to the amount of three thousand pounds weight of gold, besides an immense quantity of silver; which money was a principal means of promoting his succeeding conquests. Having thus provided for continuing the war he departed from Rome, resolved to subdue Pompey's lieutenants, Afranius and Petreius, who had been long in Spain at the head of a veteran army.

Much had been expected by the opposite party from the army in Spain: it was composed of the choicest legions of the empire, and had been ever victorious under all its commanders. Cæsar, however, who knew the abilities of its two present generals, jocosely said, as he was preparing to go thither, that he went to fight an army without a general, and upon conquering it would return to fight a general without an army. However, it may be inquired why Cæsar did not rather pursue Pompey directly, than thus step out of the way, as it were, into Spain to engage his generals. He had good reasons: he was sensible, that if he had overcome Pompey, and driven him out of Greece, where he was then making preparations, he must probably have forced him into Spain, where of all places he dreaded most to meet him: it was therefore prudent first to destroy the army there, and then there was little to be dreaded from the protection it might afterwards afford. Accordingly, having refreshed his men, previous to their setting out, he led them once more a long and fatiguing march across the Alps, through the extensive provinces of Gaul, to meet the enemy in Spain. Indeed, when I consider

the amazing length of the way, and the various countries his soldiers were to pass, the mountains they had to ascend, and the forests to cut through, the various climates they were to endure, and the military duties they were to undergo, while every sentinel wore seventy pounds weight of armour, which would be considered as a modern man's load, while besides this each man was obliged to carry with him ten days' provision upon the point of his spear, and was allowed nothing to drink but vinegar and water on the way—when I consider, I say, the fatigues these must have undergone, and the length of their continuance, I am struck with astonishment at their invincible patience and resolution. Cæsar having left one of his generals, with a part of the army, to besiege Marseilles, which refused to admit him, he proceeded with extreme diligence on his march to Spain; and, to attach his men more firmly to his interests, borrowed money from all his officers, which he distributed among the soldiers; thus engaging the one to him by his liberality, and the other by the expectation of being repaid.

The first conflict which he had with Afranius and Petreius was rather unfavourable. It was fought near the city of Herda, and both sides claimed the honour of the victory. Nevertheless, it appeared soon after, that Cæsar was reduced to great straits for want of provisions, which the overflowing of the river and the position of the enemy entirely cut off. However, nothing was able to subdue his diligence and activity; for, causing slight boats covered with leather to be made, and causing a diversion of the enemy to another part, he carried his boats in waggons twenty miles distant from the camp, launched them upon the broadest part of the river, and with great dexterity caused his legions to pass over. Having thus gained new supplies of provisions and men, he made a feint as if he intended to distress the enemy in turn, by cutting off their supplies, and for this purpose he began to throw up intrenchments and cut ditches, as if to turn the course of the river into a different channel. These preparations so intimidated the enemy, that they resolved to decamp by night: but Cæsar, who had intimation of their design by his spies, pursued them with a small part of his army, and forcing them to ford the river, before they had time to rally on the other side, appeared with the main body of his forces to receive

them. Thus hemmed in on both sides, they could neither get forward nor return to their former camp. By these means he reduced them to such extremity of hunger and drought, that they were obliged to yield at discretion. But clemency was his favourite virtue; he dismissed them all with the kindest professions, and sent them home to Rome laden with shame and obligations to publish his virtues, and confirm the affections of his adherents. Thus, in the space of about forty days, he became master of all Spain; and then, departing to his army at Marseilles, obliged that city to surrender at discretion. He pardoned the inhabitants, as he said, chiefly upon account of their name and antiquity; and, leaving two legions in that garrison, returned again victorious to Rome. The citizens upon this occasion received him with fresh demonstrations of joy; they created him dictator and consul; but the first of these offices he laid down after he had held it but eleven days. His design in accepting it was probably to show the people with what readiness he could resign it.

While Cæsar was thus employed, Pompey was equally active in making preparations in Epirus and Greece to oppose him. All the monarchs of the East had declared in his favour, and sent very large supplies. He was master of nine effective Italian legions, and had a fleet of five hundred large ships under the conduct of Bibulus, an active and experienced commander. Added to these, he was supplied with large sums of money, and all the necessaries for an army, from the tributary provinces round him. He had attacked Dolabella and Antony, who commanded for Cæsar in that part of the empire, with such success, that the former was obliged to fly, and the latter was taken prisoner. Crowds of the most distinguished citizens and nobles from Rome came every day to join him. He had at one time above two hundred senators in his camp, among whom were Cicero and Cato, whose approbation of his cause was equivalent to an army. These assisted him with their countenance and advice; and by their influence it was determined, that no Roman citizen should be put to death out of battle, and that no town subject to the Roman empire should be plundered by the conquerors. All these advantages both of strength and counsel drew the wishes of mankind to his cause, and raised an opposition that threatened Cæsar with speedy destruction.

Notwithstanding such preparations against him, Cæsar proceeded with his usual vigour, and with a courage that to ordinary capacities might seem to be rashness. He now resolved to face his rival in the East, and led his forces to Brundisium, a sea-port town of Italy, in order to transport them into Greece: but he wanted a fleet numerous enough to carry the whole at once, and it appeared dangerous to weaken his army by dividing it: besides, it was now in the midst of winter, and very difficult for any vessels, much more for so slight a fleet as his was, to keep the sea; added to this, all the ports and the shores were filled with the numerous navy of his rival, conducted by a very vigilant commander. However, these considerations could not over-rule his desire to pursue the war with his usual unremitting assiduity: wherefore he shipped off five of his twelve legions, which amounted to no more than twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse, and, weighing anchor, fortunately steered through the midst of his enemies, timing it so well that he made his passage in one day. He landed at a place called Pharsalus, not daring to venture into any known port, which he was apprehensive might be possessed by the enemy. When he saw his troops safely debarked, he sent back the fleet to bring over the rest of his forces; but thirty of his ships, in their return, fell into the hands of Pompey's admiral, who set them all on fire, destroying mariners and all, in order to intimidate the rest by this cruel example. In the mean time he was employed in taking possession of such towns as had declared for his enemy, and in cutting off provisions from the fleet, which coasted along that part of the country. But still, convinced that the proper time for making proposals for a peace was after gaining an advantage, he sent one Rufus, whom he had taken prisoner, to effect an accommodation with Pompey, offering to refer all to the senate and people of Rome; but Pompey once more rejected the overture, holding the people of Rome too much in Cæsar's interests to be relied on.

He was raising supplies in Macedonia when first informed of Cæsar's landing upon the coasts of Epirus: he now, therefore, resolved immediately to march to Dyrrhachium, in order to cover that place from Cæsar's attempts, as all his ammunition and provisions were deposited there. Upon his arrival at that city he began to perceive, that many of his new-raised

troops were very little to be depended upon; their slowness in obeying commands, and their numerous desertions, giving him very disagreeable apprehensions. In consequence of this he obliged them to take an oath, that they would never abandon their general, but follow him through all his fortunes; and, being thus secure of their attachment, he resolved to harass out his rival by protracting the war, as his resources were more numerous than those of Cæsar. The first place that both armies came in sight of each other was on the opposite banks of the river Apsas; and as both were commanded by the two greatest generals then in the world, the one renowned for his conquest of the East, the other celebrated for his victories over the Western parts of the empire, a battle was eagerly desired by the soldiers on either side. But neither general was willing to hazard it upon this occasion: Pompey could not rely upon his new levies, and Cæsar would not venture an engagement till he was joined by the rest of his forces. Accordingly both armies remained in this disposition for some days, looking upon each other with all the anxiety of suspense, yet each with equal confidence of success and mutual resolution.

Cæsar had now waited some time with extreme impatience for the coming up of the remainder of his army; the whole of his hopes depended upon that reinforcement, and he had written and sent several times to his generals to use dispatch. At last, despairing of their punctuality, and desirous of being freed from the anxiety of expectation, he resolved upon an attempt, that nothing but the extraordinary confidence he had in his good fortune could excuse. He disguised himself in the habit of a slave, and with all imaginable secrecy went on board a fisherman's bark at the mouth of the river Apsas, with a design to pass over to Brundisium, where the rest of his forces lay, and to conduct them over in person. He accordingly rowed off in the beginning of the night, and was got a considerable way to sea, when the wind all of a sudden changed against him: the sea now rose in billows of formidable height, and the storm began to increase with much violence. The fisherman, who had rowed all night with great labour, was often for returning, but was dissuaded by his passenger; but at length, when far advanced on the intended voyage, he found himself unable to proceed, and yet too dis-

tant from land to hope for making good his return: in this interval of despondence he was going to give up the oar, and commit himself to the mercy of the waves, when Cæsar, at last discovering himself, commanded him to row boldly: "Fear nothing," cried he, "you carry Cæsar and his fortune." Encouraged by the presence of so great a man, the fisherman made fresh endeavours, and got out to sea, but the storm increasing still against them, he was obliged to make for land, which was effected, not without great difficulty. As soon as he was on shore, Cæsar's soldiers, who had for some time missed their general, and knew not what was become of him, came joyfully round him, congratulating his escape, and kindly upbraiding his attempt, in so far distrusting their courage and affection as to seek out new forces, when they were sure without any aid to conquer. His excuses were not less tender than their remonstrances; but the joy of both was soon after still heightened, by an information of the landing of the troops he had long expected at Apollonia, from whence they were approaching, under the conduct of Antony and Calenus, to join him; he therefore decamped in order to meet them, and prevent, if possible, Pompey with his army from engaging them on their march, as he lay on that side of the river where the succours had been obliged to come on shore. This diligence was not less successful than necessary; for Pompey had actually made some motions to anticipate their junction, and had laid an ambuscade for Antony, which failing, he was obliged to retreat, under an apprehension of being hemmed in between the two armies; so that the junction was effected the same day.

Pompey, being compelled to retreat, led his forces to Asparagus nigh Dyrrhachium, where he was sure of being supplied with every thing necessary for his army, by the numerous fleets which he employed along the coasts of Epirus; there he pitched his camp upon a tongue of land (as mariners express it) that jutted into the sea, where also was a small shelter for ships, where few winds could annoy them: in this place being most advantageously situated, he immediately began to intrench his camp; which Cæsar perceiving, and finding that he was not likely soon to quit so advantageous a post, began to intrench also behind him, causing magazines of corn to be made in all parts not already wasted by the enemy's forces.

Yet, notwithstanding all his care, provisions began to be very scarce in Cæsar's army: his men were obliged to make use of beans and barley, and a root called chara, which they mingled with milk; but they had been long used to greater hardships than these, so that they bore all with their accustomed patience, remembering what great honours they had often gained after a course of such miseries as these. The inconveniences that were likely to follow, however, put Cæsar upon a new design. All beyond Pompey's camp, towards the land side, was hilly and steep; wherefore Cæsar built redoubts upon the hills, stretching round from shore to shore, and then caused lines of communication to be drawn from hill to hill, by which he blocked up the camp of the enemy. He hoped by this blockade to force the enemy to a battle, which he ardently desired, and which the other declined with equal industry. Not, indeed, but Pompey was continually and earnestly solicited, by his officers and the senators attending his camp, to hazard a battle; but he knew too well the danger of such an attempt, and accordingly thought only of harassing out the enemy by perseverance. Thus both sides continued for some time employed in designs and stratagems, the one to annoy and the other to defend. Cæsar's men daily carried on their works to straiten the enemy: those of Pompey did the same to enlarge themselves, having the advantage of numbers; and though they declined coming to a battle, yet they severely galled the enemy by their slingers and archers. Cæsar, however, was indefatigable; he caused blinds or mantlets to be made of skins of beasts to cover his men while at work, he cut off all the water that supplied the enemy's camp, and forage from the horses, so that there remained no more subsistence for them. In this situation, Pompey at last resolved to break through his lines, and gain some other part of the country more convenient for encampment. Accordingly, having informed himself of the condition of Cæsar's fortifications from some deserters, who came over to him, he ordered his light infantry and archers on board his ships, with directions to attack Cæsar's intrenchments by sea, where they were least defended. This was done with such effect, that all the centurions of Cæsar's first cohort were cut off, except one; and though Cæsar and his officers used their utmost endeavours to hinder Pompey's designs, yet by means

of reiterated attempts he at last effected his purpose of extricating his army from his former camp, and of encamping in another place by the sea, where he had the conveniency of forage and shipping also. Cæsar being thus frustrated in his views of blocking up the enemy, and perceiving the loss he had sustained, resolved at last to force Pompey to a battle, though upon disadvantageous terms. The engagement began by attempting to cut off a legion of the enemy, which was posted in a wood, and this brought on a general battle. The conflict was for some time carried on with great ardour, and with equal fortune; but Cæsar's army being entangled in the intrenchments of the old camps lately abandoned, began to fall into disorder, upon which Pompey, pressing his advantage, they at last fled with great precipitation. Great numbers perished in the trenches and on the banks of the river, pressed to death by their fellows. Pompey pursued his successes to the very camp of Cæsar; and now was the crisis of Cæsar's fate; it only depended upon the resolution and perseverance of Pompey's men to attack his intrenchments, and utterly destroy his whole army: but his usual good fortune prevailed; Pompey, either surprised with the suddenness of his victory, or fearful of an ambuscade, withdrew his troops into his own camp, and thus lost the empire of the world. However, his generals and attendants looked upon his present success as a decisive termination of the war. Not thinking of future engagements and dangers, they carried themselves as undoubted conquerors, and, adding cruelty to their confidence, put all their prisoners to the sword. Cæsar, however, was not to be intimidated by a single blow; he found, that hitherto his attempts to force Pompey to engage him upon equal terms were ineffectual, he therefore resolved to appear as if willing to change the whole course of the war, and to protract it in his turn: wherefore, calling the army together, he addressed them, with his usual calmness and intrepidity, in the following manner: "We have no reason, my fellow-soldiers, to be dejected at our late miscarriage; the loss of one battle, after such numbers that have been gained, should rather awaken our caution than depress our resolution: let us remember the long course of victories which have been gained by us in Gaul, Britain, Italy, and Spain; and then let us consider how many greater dangers we have escaped, which have only

served to increase the pleasure of succeeding victory. If, after all these renowned exploits and glorious successes, one little disorder, one error of inadvertency, or indeed of destiny itself, has deprived us of our just reward, yet we have still sufficient force to ensure it for the future; and though we should be deprived of every resource, yet the brave have one still left, to overcome every danger, namely, to despise it." After encouraging his men, and degrading some of his subaltern-officers who were remiss in their duty, he prepared to leave his forces from their camp, and to make his retreat to Apollonia, where he intended to refresh and recruit his army. Having therefore caused his baggage to go on before, he marched after at the head of his soldiers, and though pursued by Pompey, yet having the advantage of setting off eight hours before him, he effected his intent.

In the mean time, Domitius, one of his lieutenants, was in Macedonia with three legions, and in danger of being surprised by the superior forces of the enemy; he resolved therefore to join them with all expedition, and, after having refreshed his army, set forward with the utmost dispatch. Pompey was in pretty much the same circumstances of apprehension for Scipio, one of his lieutenants, who was in Thessaly, at the head of the Syrian legion; and he was fearful, lest Cæsar's march was intended to cut off this body of troops before their junction. Thus each general marched with all the diligence possible, both to secure their friends and surprise their enemies. Cæsar's dispatch was most successful; he was joined by Domitius upon the frontiers of Thessaly; and thus, with all his forces united into one body, he marched directly to Gomphi, a town that lies farther within that province. But the news of his defeat at Dyrrhachium had reached this place before him; the inhabitants, therefore, who had before promised him obedience, now changed their minds, and, with a degree of baseness equal to their imprudence, shut their gates against him. Cæsar was not to be injured with impunity; wherefore, having represented to his soldiers the great advantage of forcing a place so very rich, he ordered the machines for scaling to be got ready; and, causing an assault to be made, proceeded with such vigour, that, notwithstanding the great height of the walls, the town was taken in a few hours' time. Cæsar left it to be plundered, and, without de-

aying his march, went forward to Metropolis, another town of the same province, which yielded at his approach; by this means he soon became possessed of all Thessaly, except Larissa, which was garrisoned by Scipio with his legion, who were intended for Pompey.

During this interval, Pompey's officers, being grown insupportably vain upon their late victory, were continually soliciting their commander to come to a battle: every delay became importable to them; they presumed to assert, that he was unwilling to make the most of his command, and to keep the numerous body of senators and nobles that followed his fortunes still in subjection: confident of victory, they divided all the places in the government among each other, and portioned out the lands of those, whom in imagination they had already vanquished, amongst each other. Nor did revenge less employ their thoughts than ambition or avarice: this was not confined to such only as had taken up arms against them, but to all those who continued neuter, and had yet sided with neither party. The proscription was actually drawn up, not for the condemnation of individuals, but of whole ranks of the enemy: it was even proposed, that all the senators in Pompey's army should be appointed judges over such as had either actually opposed, or by their neutrality had failed to assist their party. Pompey being thus surrounded by men of weak heads and eager expectations, and incessantly teased with importunities to engage, found himself too weak to oppose: he resolved therefore at last to renounce his own judgment, in compliance with those about him, and to give up all schemes of prudence for those dictated by avarice and passion. Wherefore, advancing into Thessaly, within a few days after the taking of Gomphi, he drew down upon the plains of Pharsalia, where he was joined by Scipio his lieutenant, with the troops under his command. Here he awaited the coming up of Cæsar, resolved upon engaging, and upon deciding the fate of kingdoms at a single battle.

Cæsar had employed all his art for some time in sounding the inclinations of his men, and providing for their safety in case of miscarriage; but at length, finding them resolute and vigorous, he caused them to advance towards the plains of Pharsalia, where Pompey was now encamped. The approach of these two great armies, composed of the best and bravest

troops in the world, together with the greatness of the prize for which they contended, filled all minds with anxiety, though with different expectations. Pompey's army, being most numerous, turned all their thoughts to the enjoyment of the victory; Cæsar's, with better aims, considered only the means of obtaining it: Pompey's army depended upon their numbers, and their many generals; Cæsar's upon their own discipline, and the conduct of their single commander: Pompey's partizans hoped much from the justice of their cause; Cæsar's alleged the frequent proposals which they had made for peace without effect: thus the views, hopes, and motives of both seemed different, but their hatred and ambition were the same. Cæsar, who was ever foremost in offering battle, led out his army in array to meet the enemy; but Pompey, either suspecting his troops, or dreading the event, kept his advantageous situation for some time: he drew indeed sometimes out of his camp, but always kept himself under his trenches, at the foot of the hill near which he was posted. Cæsar, being unwilling to attack him at a disadvantage, resolved to decamp the next day, hoping to harass out his antagonist, who was not a match for him in sustaining the fatigues of duty; and in expectation, that, as the enemy would not fail following him, he might find some happier opportunity of coming to an engagement. Accordingly, the order for marching was given, and the tents struck, when word was brought him, that Pompey's army had quitted their intrenchments, and had advanced further into the plain than usual, so that he might engage them at less disadvantage. This was the juncture that Cæsar had so long wished for in vain; ever since he had landed in Greece, he had been employed in endeavours to draw on a general engagement, and feared nothing so much as to protract the war: whereupon he now caused his troops that were upon their march to halt, and with a countenance of joy informed them, that the happy time was at last come, which they had so long wished for, and which was to crown their glory and terminate their fatigues. After which he drew up his troops in order, and advanced towards the place of battle. His forces did not amount to above half those of Pompey; the army of the one amounting to above forty-five thousand foot, and seven thousand horse; that of the other not exceeding twenty-two thousand foot, and about a thousand horse. This disproportion,

particularly in the cavalry, had filled Cæsar with apprehensions; wherefore he had some days before picked out the strongest and nimblest of his foot soldiers, and accustomed them to fight between the ranks of his cavalry. By their assistance his thousand horse was a match for Pompey's seven thousand, and had actually got the better in a skirmish that happened between them some days before.

Pompey, on the other hand, had strong expectations of success; he boasted in council, that he could put Cæsar's legions to flight without striking a single blow, presuming, that as soon as the armies formed, his cavalry, on which he placed his greatest expectations, would outflank and surround the enemy. Labienus commended this scheme of Pompey; alleging also, that the present troops of which Cæsar's army was composed were but the shadow of those old legions that had fought in Britain and Gaul; that all the veterans were worn out, and had been replaced by new levies made in a hurry in Cisalpine Gaul. To increase the confidence of the army still more, he took an oath, which the rest followed him in, never to return to the camp but with victory. In this disposition, and under these advantageous circumstances, Pompey led his troops to battle.

Pompey's order of battle was good and well judged. In the centre and on the two flanks he placed all his veterans, and distributed his new-raised troops between the wings and the main body. The Syrian legions were placed in the centre, under the command of Scipio; the Spaniards, on whom he greatly relied; were put on the right, under Domitius Ænobarbus; and on the left were stationed the two legions which Cæsar had restored in the beginning of the war, led on by Pompey himself; because from thence he intended to make the attack which was to gain the day; and for the same reason he had there assembled all his horse, slingers, and archers, of which his right wing had no need, being covered by the river Rhipæus. Cæsar likewise divided his army into three bodies, under three commanders: Domitius Calvinus being placed in the centre, and Mark Antony on the left; while he himself led on the right wing, which was to oppose the left, commanded by Pompey. It is remarkable enough, that Pompey chose to put himself at the head of those troops which were disciplined and instructed by Cæsar; an inco-

testable proof how much he valued them above any of the rest of his army. Caesar, on the contrary, placed himself at the head of his tenth legion, that had owed all its merit and fame to his own training. As he observed the enemy's numerous cavalry to be all drawn to one spot, he guessed at Pompey's intention; to obviate which, he made a draught of six cohorts from his rear line, and, forming them into a separate body, concealed them behind his right wing, with instructions not to throw their javelins on the approach of Pompey's horse, as was customary, but to keep them in their hands, and push them directly in the faces and the eyes of the horsemen, who, being composed of the younger part of the Roman nobility, valued themselves much upon their beauty, and dreaded a scar in the face more than a wound in the body. He lastly placed the little cavalry he had so as to cover the right of the tenth legion, ordering his third line not to march till they had received the signal from him. And now the fate of the vast empire of Rome was to be decided by the greatest generals, the bravest officers, and the most expert troops, that mankind had ever seen till that hour. Each private man in both armies was almost capable of performing the duty of a commander, and seemed inspired with a desire to conquer or die. As the armies approached, the two generals went from rank to rank encouraging their men, warming their hopes and lessening their apprehensions. Pompey represented to his men, that the glorious occasion which they had long besought him to grant was now before them. "And indeed," cried he, "what advantages could you wish over an enemy that you are not now possessed of? Your numbers, your vigour, a late victory, all assure a speedy and easy conquest of those harassed and broken troops, composed of men worn out with age, and impressed with the terrors of a recent defeat. But there is still a stronger bulwark for our protection than the superiority of our strength—the justice of our cause. You are engaged in the defence of liberty and of your country; you are supported by its laws, and followed by its magistrates; you have the world spectators of your conduct, and wishing you success: on the contrary, he whom you oppose is a robber and oppressor of his country, and almost already sunk with the consciousness of his crimes, as well as the bad success of his arms. Show them, on this occasion, all that ardour and detestation

of tyranny that should animate Romans, and do justice to mankind." Cæsar, on his side, went among his men with that steady serenity for which he was so much admired in the midst of danger. He insisted on nothing so strongly to his soldiers as his frequent and unsuccessful endeavours for peace. He talked with terror of the blood he was going to shed, and pleaded only the necessity that urged him to it. He deplored the many brave men that were to fall on both sides, and the wounds of his country, whoever should be victorious. His soldiers answered his speech with looks of ardour and impatience, which observing, he gave the signal to begin. The word on Pompey's side was, Hercules the invincible; that on Cæsar's, Venus the victorious. There was only so much space between both armies as to give room for fighting; wherefore Pompey ordered his men to receive the first shock without moving out of their places, expecting the enemy's ranks to be put into disorder by their motion. Cæsar's soldiers were now rushing on with their usual impetuosity, when, perceiving the enemy motionless, they all stopped short, as if by general consent, and halted in the midst of their career. A terrible pause ensued, in which both armies continued to gaze upon each other with mutual terror and dreadful serenity: at length Cæsar's men, having taken breath, ran furiously upon the enemy, first discharging their javelins and then drawing their swords. The same method was observed by Pompey's troops, who as vigorously sustained the attack. His cavalry also were ordered to charge at the very onset, which, with the multitude of archers and slingers, soon obliged Cæsar's men to give ground, and get themselves, as he had foreseen, upon the flank of his army; whereupon Cæsar immediately ordered the six cohorts that were placed as a reinforcement to advance, and repeated his orders to strike at the enemy's faces. This had its desired effect; the cavalry that were but just now sure of victory received an immediate check: the unusual method of fighting pursued by the cohorts, their aiming entirely at the visages of the assailants, and the horrible disfiguring wounds they made, all contributed to intimidate them so much, that, instead of defending their persons, their only endeavour was to save their faces. A total rout ensued of their whole body, which fled in great disorder to the neighbouring mountains, while the archers and slingers,

who were thus abandoned, were cut to pieces. Cæsar now commanded the cohorts to pursue their success, and advancing, charged Pompey's troops upon the flank; this charge the enemy withstood for some time with great bravery, till he brought up his third line, which had not yet engaged. Pompey's infantry being thus doubly attacked, in front by fresh troops, and in rear by the victorious cohorts, could no longer resist, but fled to their camp. The flight began among the strangers, though Pompey's right wing still valiantly maintained their ground. Cæsar, however, being convinced that the victory was certain, with his usual clemency, cried out to pursue the strangers, but to spare the Romans; upon which they all laid down their arms, and received quarter. The greatest slaughter was among the auxiliaries, who fled on all quarters, but principally went for safety to the camp. The battle had now lasted from the break of day till noon, the weather being extremely hot; notwithstanding, the conquerors did not remit their ardour, being encouraged by the example of their general, who thought his victory not complete till he was master of the enemy's camp. Accordingly, marching on foot at their head, he called upon them to follow and strike the decisive blow. The cohorts, which were left to defend the camp, for some time made a formidable resistance; particularly a great number of Thracians and other barbarians, who were appointed for its defence: but nothing could resist the ardour of Cæsar's victorious army; they were at last driven from their trenches, and all fled to the mountains not far off.

Cæsar, seeing the field and camp strewn with his fallen countrymen, was strongly affected at so melancholy a prospect, and could not help crying out to one that stood near him, "They would have it so." Upon entering the enemy's camp, every object presented fresh instances of the blind presumption and madness of his adversaries: on all sides were to be seen tents adorned with ivy and branches of myrtle, couches covered with purple, and side boards loaded with plate. Every thing gave proofs of the highest luxury, and seemed rather the preparative for a banquet, the rejoicings for a victory, than the dispositions for a battle. A camp so richly furnished might have been able to engage the attention of any troops but Cæsar's: there was still something to be done, and he would not permit them to pursue any other object than

their enemies, till they were entirely subdued. A considerable body of these having retired to the adjacent mountains, he prevailed on his soldiers to join him in pursuit, in order to oblige these to surrender: he began by enclosing them with a line drawn at the foot of the mountain; but they quickly abandoned a post, which was not tenable for want of water, and endeavoured to reach the city of Larissa. Caesar led a part of his army by a shorter way, and intercepted their retreat, drawing up in order of battle between them and the city. However, these unhappy fugitives once more found protection from a mountain, at the foot of which a rivulet ran, which supplied them with water. Now night approaching, Caesar's men were almost spent, and ready to faint with their incessant toil since morning: yet still he prevailed upon them once more to renew their labours, and to cut off the rivulet that supplied them. The fugitives, thus deprived of all hopes of succour or subsistence, sent deputies to the conqueror, offering to surrender at discretion. During this interval of negotiation, a few senators that were among them took the advantage of the night to escape; and the rest next morning gave up their arms, and experienced the conqueror's clemency. In fact, he addressed them with great gentleness, and forbade his soldiers to offer them any violence, or to take any thing from them. Thus Caesar by his conduct gained the most complete victory that had ever been obtained, and by his great clemency after the battle seemed to have deserved it. His loss amounted only to two hundred men, that of Pompey to fifteen thousand, as well Romans as auxiliaries: twenty-four thousand men surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and the greatest part of these entered into Caesar's army, and were incorporated with the rest of his forces. As to the senators and Roman knights, who fell into his hands, he generously gave them liberty to retire wherever they thought proper: and as for the letters which Pompey had received from several persons, who wished to be thought neutral, he burnt them all without reading them, as Pompey had done upon a former occasion. Thus having performed all the duties of a general and a statesman, he sent for the legions which had passed the night in the camp, to relieve those which had accompanied him in the pursuit; and being determined to follow Pompey, began his march, and arrived at Larissa.

As for Pompey, who had formerly shown such instances of courage and conduct, when he saw his navalry routed, on which he had placed his sole dependence, he absolutely lost his reason. Instead of thinking how to remedy this disorder, by rallying such troops as fled, or by opposing fresh troops to stop the progress of the conquerors, being totally amazed by this first blow, he returned to the camp, and in his tent waited the issue of an event which it was his duty to direct, not to follow: there he remained for some moments without speaking, till being told that the camp was attacked, "What!" says he, "are we pursued to our very intrenchments?" and immediately, quitting his armour for a habit more suited to his circumstances, he fled away on horseback to Larissa; from whence, perceiving he was not pursued, he slackened his pace, giving away to all the agonizing reflections which his deplorable situation must naturally suggest. In this melancholy manner he passed along the vale of Tempe, and, pursuing the course of the river Peneus, at last arrived at a fisherman's hut, in which he passed the night. From thence he went on board a little bark, and keeping along the sea-shore, he descried a ship of some burthen, which seemed preparing to sail, in which he embarked, the master of the vessel still paying him the homage which was due to his former station. From the mouth of the river Peneus he sailed to Amphipolis, where finding his affairs desperate he steered to Lesbos, to take in his wife Cornelia, whom he had left there, at a distance from the dangers and hurry of the war. She, who had long flattered herself with the hopes of victory, felt the reverse of her fortune in an agony of distress: she was desired by the messenger, whose tears, more than words, proclaimed the greatness of her misfortunes, to dispatch, if she expected to see Pompey, with but one ship, and even that not his own: her grief, which before was violent, became then insupportable: she fainted away, and lay a considerable time without any signs of life. At length, recovering herself, and reflecting it was now no time for vain lamentations, she ran quite through the city, to the sea-side. Pompey received her in his arms, without speaking a word, and for some time supported her in his arms in silent despair. After a pause of long continuance, they found words for their distress: Cornelia imputed to herself a part of the miseries that were come upon

them, and instanced many former misfortunes of her life. Pompey endeavoured to comfort her, by instancing the uncertainty of human affairs, and from this present unexpected wretchedness, teaching her to hope for as unexpected turns of good fortune. In the mean time, the people of the island, who had great obligations to Pompey, gathered round them, joining in their grief, and inviting them into their city. Pompey, however, declined their invitation, and even advised them to submit to the conqueror. "Be under no apprehensions," cried he; "Cæsar may be my enemy, but still let me acknowledge his moderation and humanity." Cratippus, the Greek philosopher, also came to pay his respects. Pompey, as is but too frequent with persons under misfortunes, complained to him of Providence. Cratippus, who was a man of genius, and understood the world, declined entering deeply into the argument; rather satisfied with supplying new motives to hope, than combating the present impiety of his despair.

Having taken in Cornelia, he now continued his course, steering to the south-east, and stopping no longer than was necessary to take in provisions at the ports that occurred in his passage. He came before Rhodes, but the people of this city were changed with his fortunes against him. From thence he went to Attilia, where he was joined by some soldiers and ships of war. However, these were nothing against the power of his rival, from the activity of whose pursuit he was in continual apprehensions. His forces were too much ruined and dispersed to be ever collected once more; his only hopes therefore lay in the assistance of the kings who were in his alliance; and from these only he could expect security and protection. He was himself inclined to retire to the Parthians; others proposed Juba, king of Numidia; but he was at last prevailed upon to apply to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, to whose father Pompey had been a considerable benefactor. Accordingly, he left Cilicia, where he then was, and steering for the kingdom of Egypt, came in view of the coasts of that country, and sent to the young king, to implore protection and safety. Ptolemy, who was as yet a minor, had not the government in his own hands, but he and his kingdom were under the protection of Photinus, an eunuch, and Theodotus, a master of the art of speaking. Before these, therefore, Pompey's request was argued: before such mean and

mercenary persons was to be determined the fate of one, who, but a few days before, had given laws to kingdoms. The opinions of the council were divided; gratitude and pity inclined some to receive him; whilst others, more obdurate or more timorous, were for denying him entrance into the kingdom. At length, Theodotus the rhetorician, as if willing to display his eloquence, maintained, that both proposals were equally dangerous: that to admit him was making Pompey their master, and drawing on them Cæsar's resentment; and by not receiving him, they offended the one without obliging the other: that, therefore, the only expedient left, was to give him leave to land, and then to kill him: this would at once oblige Cæsar, and rid them of all apprehensions from Pompey's resentment; "for," concluded he, with a vulgar and malicious joke, "dead dogs can never bite." This advice prevailing in a council composed of the slaves of an effeminate and luxurious court, Achilles, commander of the forces, and Septimius, by birth a Roman, and who had formerly been a centurion in Pompey's army, were appointed to carry it into execution. Accordingly, attended by three or four more, they went into a little bark, and rowed off from land towards Pompey's ship, that lay off about a mile from the shore. When Pompey and his friends saw the boat moving off from the shore, they began to wonder at the meanness of the preparations to receive him, and some even ventured to suspect the intentions of the Egyptian court. But before any thing could be determined, Achilles was come up to the ship's side, and, in the Greek language, welcomed him to Egypt, and invited him into the boat, alleging, that the shallows prevented larger vessels from coming off to receive him. Pompey, after having taken leave of Cornelia, who wept at his departure, and having repeated two verses of Sophocles, signifying, that he who trusts his freedom to a tyrant from that moment becomes a slave, gave his hand to Achilles, and stepped into the bark with only two attendants of his own. They had now rowed from the ship a good way; and as during that time they all kept a profound silence, Pompey, willing to begin the discourse, accosted Septimius, whose face he recollected. "Methinks, friend," cried he, "that you and I were once fellow-soldiers together." Septimius gave only a nod with his head, without uttering a word, or instancing the least civility.

Pompey, therefore, took out a paper, on which he had minuted a speech he intended to make the king, and began to read it. In this manner they approached the shore; and Cornelia, whose concern had never suffered her to lose sight of her husband, began to conceive hopes when she perceived the people on the strand crowding down along the coast, as if willing to receive him: but her hopes were soon destroyed; for that instant, as Pompey rose, supporting himself upon his freedman's arm, Septimius stabbed him in the back, and was instantly seconded by Achilles. Pompey perceiving his death inevitable, only disposed himself to meet it with decency; and, covering his face with his robe, without speaking a word, with a sigh resigned himself to his fate. At this horrid sight Cornelia shrieked so loud as to be heard to the shore; but the danger she herself was in did not allow the mariners time to look on; they immediately set sail, and, the wind proving favourable, fortunately they escaped the pursuit of the Egyptian galleys.

In the mean time, Pompey's murderers, having cut off his head, caused it to be embalmed, the better to preserve its features, designing it for a present to Cæsar. The body was thrown naked upon the strand, and exposed to the view of all whose curiosity led them that way. However, his faithful freedman, Philip, still kept near it, and when the crowd was dispersed he washed it in the sea; and looking round for materials to burn it, he perceived the wreck of a fishing boat, of which he composed a pile. While he was thus piously employed, he was accosted by an old Roman soldier, who had served under Pompey in his youth. "Who art thou," said he, "that art making these humble preparations for Pompey's funeral?" Philip having answered, that he was one of his freedmen, "Alas!" replied the soldier, "permit me to share in this honour also: among the miseries of my exile it will be my last sad comfort, that I have been able to assist at the funeral of my old commander, and touch the body of the bravest general that ever Rome produced." After this they both joined in giving the corse the last rites, and, collecting his ashes, buried them under a little rising earth, scraped together with their hands, over which was afterwards placed the following inscription: "He, whose merits deserved a temple, can now scarce find a tomb."

Such was the end, and such the funeral, of Pompey the Great; a man, who had many opportunities of enslaving his country, but yet rejected them all. He was fonder of glory than of power, of praise rather than command, and was more vain than ambitious. His talents in war were every way superior to all the rest of his contemporaries, except Cæsar; it was therefore his peculiar misfortune to contend with a man, in whose presence all other military merit lost all its lustre. Whether his aims during the last war were more just than Cæsar's, must for ever remain doubtful; certain it is, that he frequently rejected all offers of accommodation, and began to talk of punishment before he had any pretensions to power. But whatever might have been his intentions in case of victory, they could not have been executed with more moderation than those of Cæsar. The corruptions of the state were too great to admit of any other cure but that of an absolute government; and it was not possible that power could have fallen into better hands than those of the conqueror. From Pompey's death, therefore, we may date the total extinction of the republic. From this period the senate was dispossessed of all its power, and Rome, from henceforward, was never without a master.

CHAPTER XXII.

JULIUS CÆSAR, FIRST EMPEROR.

CÆSAR has been much celebrated for his fortune, and yet his abilities seem equal to his highest success. He possessed many shining qualities, without the intermixture of any defect but that of ambition. His talents were such as would have rendered him victorious at the head of any army he commanded, and he would have governed in any republic that had given him birth. Having now gained a most complete victory, his success only seemed to increase his activity, and inspire him with fresh resolution to face new dangers. He resolved, therefore, to pursue his last advantage, and follow Pompey to whatever country he should retire; convinced, that during his life he might gain new triumphs, but could never enjoy security. Hearing, therefore, of his

being at Amphipolis, he sent off his troops before him, and then embarked on board a little frigate, in order to cross the Hellespont; but, in the middle of the strait, he fell in with one of Pompey's commanders, at the head of ten ships of war. Cæsar, no way terrified at the superiority of his force, bore up to him, and commanded him to submit. The other instantly obeyed, awed by the terror of Cæsar's name, and surrendered himself and his fleet at discretion.

From thence he continued his voyage to Ephesus, and then to Rhodes; and, being informed that Pompey had been there before him, he made no doubt but that he was fled to Egypt; wherefore, losing no time, he set sail for that kingdom, and arrived at Alexandria with about four thousand men, a very inconsiderable force to keep such a powerful kingdom under subjection. But he was now grown so secure in his good fortune, that he expected to find obedience wherever he found men. Upon his landing, the first accounts he received were of Pompey's miserable end; and soon after one of the murderers came with his head and ring, as a most grateful present to the conqueror. But Cæsar had too much humanity to be pleased with such a horrid spectacle: he turned away from it with disgust; and, after a short pause, gave vent to his pity in a flood of tears. He shortly after ordered a magnificent tomb to be built to his memory, on the spot where he was murdered; and a temple near the place to Nemesis, who was the goddess that punished those, that were cruel to men in adversity.

It should seem, that the Egyptians by this time had some hopes of breaking off all alliance with the Romans, which they considered, as in fact it was, but a specious subjection. They first began to take offence at Cæsar's carrying the ensigns of Roman power before him as he entered the city. Photinus, the eunuch, also treated him with great disrespect, and even attempted his life. Cæsar, however, who knew how to dissemble, concealed his resentment till he had a force sufficient to punish his treachery; and sending privately for the legions which had been formerly enrolled for Pompey's service, as being the nearest to Egypt, he in the mean time pretended to repose an entire confidence in the king's minister, making great entertainments, and assisting at the conferences of the philosophers, who were in great numbers at Alexandria.

However, he soon changed his manner when he found himself in no danger from the minister's attempts, and declared, that, as being Roman consul, it was his duty to settle the succession of the Egyptian crown.

There were at that time two pretenders to the crown of Egypt; Ptolemy, the acknowledged king, and the celebrated Cleopatra, his sister, to whom, by the custom of the country, he also was married, and who by his father's will shared jointly in the succession. However, not being contented with a bare participation of power, Cleopatra aimed at governing alone; but being opposed in her views by the Roman senate, who confirmed her brother's title to the crown, she was banished into Syria, with Arsinoë her youngest sister. Cæsar gave her new hopes of aspiring to the kingdom, and sent to both her and her brother to plead their cause before him. Photinus, the young king's guardian, who had long borne the most inveterate hatred, as well to Cæsar as to Cleopatra, disdained accepting this proposal, and backed his refusal by sending an army of twenty thousand men to besiege him in Alexandria. Cæsar bravely repulsed the enemy for some time; but finding the city of too great extent to be defended by so small an army as he then commanded, he retired to the palace, which commanded the harbour, where he proposed to make his stand. Achilles, who commanded the Egyptians, attacked him there with great vigour, and still aimed at making himself master of the fleet, that lay before the palace. Cæsar, however, too well knew the importance of those ships in the hands of an enemy, and therefore burnt them all, in spite of every effort to prevent him. He next possessed himself of the isle of Pharos, which was the key to the Alexandrian port; by which he was enabled to receive the supplies sent him from all sides; and in this situation he determined to withstand the united force of all the Egyptians.

In the mean time, Cleopatra, having heard of the present turn in her favour, resolved to depend rather on Cæsar's favour for gaining the government than her own forces. She had in fact assembled an army in Syria to support her claims; but now judged it the wisest way to rely entirely on the decision of her self-elected judge. But no arts, as she justly conceived, were so likely to influence Cæsar as the charms of her person, which, though not faultless, were yet extremely

seducing. She was now in the bloom of youth, and every feature borrowed grace from the lively turn of her temper. To the most enchanting address she joined the most harmonious voice, which the historians of her time compare to the best tuned instrument. With all these accomplishments, she possessed a great share of the learning of the times, and could give audience to the ambassadors of seven different nations without an interpreter. The difficulty was how to get at Cæsar, as her enemies were in possession of all the avenues that led to the palace. For this purpose she went on board a small vessel, and in the evening landed near the palace, where, being wrapped up in a coverlet, she was carried by one Apollodorus into the very chamber of Cæsar. Her address, at first, pleased him; her wit and understanding still fanned the flame; but her caresses, which were carried beyond the bounds of innocence, entirely brought him over to second her claims.

While Cleopatra was thus employed in forwarding her own views, her sister Arsinoë was also strenuously engaged in the camp, in pursuing a separate interest. She had found means, by the assistance of one Ganymede, her confidant, to make a large division in the Egyptian army in her favour; and soon after, by one of those sudden revolutions, which are common in barbarian camps to this day, she caused Achilles to be murdered, and Ganymede to take the command in his stead, and to carry on the siege with greater vigour than before. Ganymede's principal effort was by letting in the sea upon those canals, which supplied the palace with fresh water; but this inconvenience Cæsar remedied by digging a great number of wells. His next endeavour was to prevent the junction of Cæsar's twenty-fourth legion, which he twice attempted in vain. He soon after made himself master of a bridge, which joined the isle of Pharos to the continent, from which post Cæsar was resolved to dislodge him. In the heat of the action some mariners, partly through curiosity and partly ambition, came and joined the combatants; but, being seized with a panic, instantly fled, and spread a general terror through the army. All Cæsar's endeavours to rally his forces were in vain; the confusion was past remedy, and numbers were drowned or put to the sword in attempting to escape. Now, therefore, seeing the irremediable disorder of his

troops, he retired to a ship, in order to get to the palace, that was just opposite; however, he was no sooner on board, than great crowds entered at the same time with him; upon which, apprehensive of the ship's sinking, he jumped into the sea, and swam two hundred paces to the fleet that lay before the palace; all the time holding his own *Commentaries* in his left hand above water, and his coat of mail in his teeth.

The Alexandrians, finding their efforts to take the palace ineffectual, endeavoured, at least, to get their king out of Cæsar's power, as he had seized upon his person in the beginning of their disputes. For this purpose they made use of their customary arts of dissimulation, professing the utmost desire of peace, and only wanting the presence of their lawful prince to give a sanction to the treaty. Cæsar, who was sensible of their perfidy, nevertheless concealed his suspicions, and gave them their king, as he was under no apprehensions from the abilities of a boy. Ptolemy, however, the instant he was set at liberty, instead of promoting peace, made every effort to give vigour to his hostilities.

In this manner Cæsar was hemmed in for some time by this artful and insidious enemy, with all manner of difficulties against him; but he was at last relieved from this mortifying situation by Mithridates Pergamenus, one of his most faithful partisans, who came with an army to his assistance. This general, collecting a numerous army in Syria, marched into Egypt, took the city of Pelusium, repulsed the Egyptian army with loss, and at last, joining with Cæsar, attacked their camp with a great slaughter of the Egyptians: Ptolemy himself, attempting to escape on board a vessel that was sailing down the river, was drowned by the ship's sinking, and Cæsar thus became master of all Egypt without any farther opposition. He therefore appointed Cleopatra, with her younger brother, who was then but an infant, as joint governors, according to the intent of their father's will, and drove out Arsinoë with Ganymede into banishment.

Having thus given away kingdoms, he now for a while seemed to relax from the usual activity of his conduct, captivated with the charms of Cleopatra. Instead of quitting Egypt to go and quell the remains of Pompey's party, he abandoned himself to his pleasures, passing whole nights in

feasts, and all the excesses of high-wrought luxury, with the young queen. He even resolved to attend her up the Nile into Æthiopia; but the brave veterans, who had long followed his fortune, boldly reprehended his conduct, and refused to be partners in so infamous an expedition. Thus, at length, roused from his lethargy, he resolved to prefer the call of ambition to that of love; and to leave Cleopatra, by whom he had a son, who was afterwards named Cæsario, in order to oppose Pharnaces, the king of Bosphorus, who had now made some inroads upon the dominions of Rome.

This prince, who was the son of the great Mithridates, being ambitious of recovering his father's dominions, seized upon Armenia and Colchis, and overcame Domitius, who had been sent against him. Upon Cæsar's march to oppose him, Pharnaces, who was as much terrified at the name of the general as at the strength of his army, laboured, by all the arts of negotiation, to avert the impending danger. Cæsar, exasperated at his crimes and his ingratitude, at first dissembled with the ambassadors, and, using all expedition, fell upon the enemy unexpectedly, and in a few hours obtained a speedy and complete victory. Pharnaces, attempting to take refuge in his capital, was slain by one of his own commanders—a just punishment for his former parricide. This victory was gained with so much ease, that Cæsar could not avoid observing, that Pompey was very happy in gaining so much glory against this enemy at so easy a rate. In writing to a friend at Rome, he expressed the rapidity of his victory in three words, *veni, vidi, vici*: a man so accustomed to conquest, thought a slight battle scarce worth a longer letter.

Cæsar having settled affairs in this part of the empire as well as time would permit; having bestowed the government of Armenia upon Ariobarzanes, that of Judea upon Hyrcanus and Antipater, and that of Bosphorus upon Mithridates, embarked for Italy, where he arrived sooner than his enemies could expect, but not before his affairs there absolutely required his presence. He had been, during his absence, created consul for five years, dictator for one year, and tribune of the people for life. But Antony, who in the mean time governed in Rome for him, had filled the city with riot and debauchery, and many commotions ensued, which nothing but the arrival of Cæsar so opportunely could appease. How-

ever, by his moderation and humanity, he soon restored tranquillity to the city, scarce making any distinction between those of his own and the opposite party. Thus having by gentle means restored his authority at home, he prepared to march into Africa, where Pompey's party had found time to rally under Scipio and Cato, assisted by Juba, king of Mauritania. But the vigour of his proceedings had like to have been retarded by a mutiny in his own army. Those veteran legions, who had hitherto conquered all that came before them, began to murmur for not having received the rewards which they had expected for their past services, and now insisted upon their discharge. The sedition first broke out in the tenth legion, which till then had signalized themselves for their valour and attachment to their general. Cæsar at first strove to appease them by promises of future rewards; but these, instead of appeasing the sedition, only served to increase it. The whole army marched forward from Campania towards Rome, pillaging and plundering all the way. Cæsar immediately caused the gates of the city to be shut, and ordered such troops as were in readiness to defend the walls: he then boldly went out alone to meet the mutineers, notwithstanding the representation of his friends, who were concerned for his safety. Upon coming into the Campus Martius, where the most tumultuous were assembled, he boldly mounted his tribunal; and, with a stern air, demanded of the soldiers what they wanted, or who had conducted them there? A conduct so resolute seemed to disconcert the whole band; they began by complaining, that, being worn out with fatigue, and exhausted by their numberless wounds, they were in hopes to obtain a discharge. "Then take your discharge," cried Cæsar, "and when I shall have gained new conquests with other troops, I promise that you shall be partakers in the spoil." So much generosity quite confounded the seditious, who were agitated between the contending passions of gratitude and jealousy; they were grateful for his intended bounty, and jealous lest any other army should share the honours of completing the conquest of the world. They unanimously entreated his pardon, and even offered to be decimated to obtain it. Cæsar for a while seemed to continue inflexible, and at last granted as a favour what it was his interest earnestly

to desire; but the tenth legion continued ever after under his severe displeasure.

Cæsar, according to his usual diligence, landed with a small party in Africa, to face Scipio, while the rest of his army followed soon after. After many movements, and several skirmishes between both armies, which only served to destroy mankind without determining the cause of quarrel, he resolved at last to come to a decisive battle. For this purpose he invested the city of Tapsus, supposing that Scipio would attempt its relief, which turned out according to his expectations. Scipio, joining with the young king of Mauritania, advanced his army, and encamping near Cæsar, they soon came to a general battle. Cæsar's success was as usual; the enemy received a complete and final overthrow, with little or no loss on his side. Juba and Petreius his general killed each other in despair; Scipio, attempting to escape by sea into Spain, fell in among the enemy and was slain: so that, of all the generals of that undone party, Cato was now the only one that remained.

This extraordinary man, whom no prosperity could elate nor no misfortunes depress, having retired into Africa after the battle of Pharsalia, had led the wretched remains of that defeat through burning deserts and tracts infested with serpents of various malignity, and was now in the city of Utica, which he had been left to defend. Still, however, in love with even the show of Roman government, he had formed the principal citizens into a senate, and conceived a resolution of holding out the town. He accordingly assembled his senators upon this occasion, and demanded their advice upon what measures were best to be taken, and whether they should defend this last city that owned the cause of freedom. "If," said he, "you are willing to submit to Cæsar, I must acquiesce; but if you are willing to hazard the dangers of defending the last remains of liberty, let me be your guide and companion in so great an enterprise. Rome has often recovered from greater calamities than these; and there are many motives to encourage our attempt. Spain has declared in our cause, and Rome itself bears the yoke with indignation. With respect to the hazards we must encounter, why should they terrify us? Observe our enemy: he braves every danger,

and encounters every fatigue to undo mankind and make his country wretched; and shall we scruple to suffer a short interval of pain in a cause so glorious?" This speech had at first a surprising effect; but the enthusiasm for liberty soon subsiding, he was resolved no longer to force men to be free, who seemed naturally prone to slavery. He now therefore desired some of his friends to save themselves by sea, and bade others to rely upon Cæsar's clemency; observing, that, as to himself, he was at last victorious. After this, supping cheerfully among his friends, he retired to his apartment, where he behaved with unusual tenderness to his son and to all his friends. When he came into his bed-chamber, he laid himself down, and took up Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the soul; and, having read for some time, happening to cast his eyes to the head of his bed, he was much surprised not to find his sword there, which had been taken away by his son's order while they were at supper. Upon this, calling one of his domestics to know what was become of his sword, and receiving no answer, he resumed his studies; but some time after called for his sword again. When he had done reading, perceiving nobody obeyed him in bringing his sword, he called all his domestics one after the other, and with a peremptory air demanded his sword once more. His son came in soon after, and with tears besought him in the most humble manner to change his resolution; but receiving a stern reprimand, he desisted from his persuasions. His sword being at length brought him, he seemed satisfied, and cried out, "Now again I am master of myself." He then took up the book again, which he read twice over, and fell into a sound sleep. Upon awaking, he called to one of his freedmen to know if his friends were embarked, or if any thing yet remained that could be done to serve them. The freedman assuring him that all was quiet, he was then ordered again to leave the room; and Cato was no sooner alone than he stabbed himself with his sword through the breast, but not with that force he intended, for the wound not dispatching him, he fell upon his bed, and at the same time overturned a table on which he had been drawing some geometrical figures. At the noise he made in his fall, his servants gave a shriek, and his son and friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels pushed out through the

wound. The physician, who attended his family, perceiving that his intestines were yet untouched, was for replacing them; but when Cato had recovered his senses, and understood their intention to preserve his life, he pushed the physician from him, and with a fierce resolution tore out his bowels, and expired.

In this manner Cato died, who was one of the most faultless characters we find in the Roman history. He was severe, but not cruel; he was ready to pardon much greater faults in others than he could forgive in himself. His haughtiness and austerity seemed rather the effect of principle than natural constitution; for no man was more humane to his dependents, or better loved by those about him. The constancy of his opposition to Cæsar proceeded from a thorough conviction of the injustice of his aims: and the last act of his life was but conformable to the tenets of his sect; as the Stoics maintained, that life was a gift, which all men might return to the donor when the present was no longer pleasing.

Cæsar, upon hearing of Cato's end, could not help observing, that as Cato had envied him the glory of saving his life, so he had reason to envy him the glory of so bravely dying. Upon his death, the war in Africa being completed, Cæsar returned in triumph to Rome; and as if he had abridged all his former triumphs only to increase the splendour of this, the citizens were astonished at the magnificence of the procession, and the number of the countries he had subdued. It lasted four days: the first was for Gaul, the second for Egypt, the third for his victories in Asia, and the fourth for that over Juba in Africa. His veteran soldiers, all scarred with wounds, and now laid up for life, followed their triumphant general crowned with laurels, and conducted him to the capitol. To every one of these he gave a sum equivalent to about a hundred and fifty pounds of our money, double that sum to the centurions, and four times as much to the superior officers. The citizens also shared his bounty; to every one of whom he distributed ten bushels of corn, ten pounds of oil, and a sum of money equal to about two pounds sterling of ours. He after this entertained the people at above twenty thousand tables, treated them with the combat of gladiators, and filled Rome with a concourse of spectators from every part of Italy.

The people, intoxicated with the allurements of pleasure, thought their freedom too small a return for such benefits: they seemed eager only to find out new modes of homage, and unusual epithets of adulation for their great enslaver. He was created by a new title "Magister Morum," or master of the morals of the people; he received the title of Emperor, father of his country; his person was declared sacred; and, in short, upon him alone were devolved for life all the great dignities of the state. It must be owned, however, that so much power could never have been entrusted to better keeping. He immediately began his empire by repressing vice and encouraging virtue. He committed the power of judicature to the senators and the knights alone, and by many sumptuary laws restrained the scandalous luxuries of the rich. He proposed rewards to all such as had many children, and took the most prudent methods of re-peopling the city, that had been exhausted in the late commotions.

Having thus restored prosperity once more to Rome, he again found himself under a necessity of going into Spain to oppose an army, which had been raised there under the two sons of Pompey, and also Labienus his former general. He proceeded in this expedition with his usual celerity, and arrived in Spain before the enemy thought him yet departed from Rome. Cneius and Sextus, Pompey's sons, profiting by their unhappy father's example, resolved as much as possible to protract the war; so that the first operations of the two armies were spent in sieges and fruitless attempts to surprise each other. At length Cæsar, after taking many cities from the enemy, and pursuing Pompey with unwearied perseverance, at last compelled him to come to a battle upon the plains of Munda. Pompey drew up his men by break of day, upon the declivity of a hill, with great exactness and order. Cæsar drew up his men likewise in the plain below; and, after advancing a little way from his trenches, he ordered his men to make a halt, expecting the enemy to come down from the hill. This delay made Cæsar's soldiers begin to murmur, while Pompey's, with full vigour, poured down upon them, and a dreadful conflict ensued. Hitherto Cæsar had fought for glory, but here he fought for life. His soldiers behaved with intrepidity, incited by the hopes of making this a final period to their labour. Pompey's men were not less strenuous,

expecting no pardon, as having their lives formerly given them when overthrown in Africa. The first shock was so dreadful, that Cæsar's men, who had hitherto been used to conquer, now began to waver. Cæsar was never in so much danger as now; he threw himself several times into the very throng of battle. "What!" cried he, "are you going to give up your general, who is grown grey in fighting at your head, to a parcel of boys?" Upon this his tenth legion, willing to recover their general's lost esteem, exerted themselves with more than former bravery; and a party of horse being detached by Labienus from the camp in pursuit of a body of Numidian cavalry, Cæsar cried aloud, that they were flying. This cry instantly spread itself through both armies, exciting the one as much as it depressed the other. Now, therefore, the tenth legion pressed forward, and a total rout soon ensued. Thirty thousand men were killed on Pompey's side, amongst whom was Labienus, whom Cæsar ordered to be buried with the funeral honours of a general officer. Cneius Pompey escaped with a few horsemen to the sea-side; but finding his passage intercepted by Cæsar's lieutenant, he was obliged to seek for a retreat in an obscure cavern. There, wounded and destitute of all kinds of succour, he patiently awaited the approach of the enemy. He was quickly discovered by some of Cæsar's troops, who presently cut off his head, and brought it to the conqueror. His brother Sextus, however, concealed himself so well that he escaped all pursuit; so that Cæsar was obliged to return without him, after having severely fined the cities of Spain for their late imputed rebellion.

Cæsar by this last blow subdued all his avowed enemies, and had now conquered the best part of the world in almost as short a time as others could travel through the same extent of country. He therefore returned to Rome for the last time, to receive new dignities and honours, and to enjoy in his own person an accumulation of all the great offices of the state. Still, however, he pretended to a moderation in the enjoyment of his power; he left the consuls to be named by the people; but, as he possessed all the authority of the office, it from that time began to sink into contempt. He enlarged the number of senators also; but as he had previously destroyed their power, their new honours were but empty titles. He took care to pardon all who had been in arms against him, but not

till he had deprived them of the power of resistance. He even set up once more the statues of Pompey, which, however, as Cicero observed, he only did to secure his own. In short, if his clemency, his justice, and moderation, did not proceed from virtue, yet they had all the effect of virtues in the state, which answered the purpose of the public as well.

The rest of this extraordinary man's life was employed for the advantage of the state. He adorned the city with magnificent buildings; he rebuilt Carthage and Corinth, sending colonies to both cities; he undertook to level several mountains in Italy, to drain the Pontine marshes near Rome, and designed to cut through the isthmus of Peloponnesus. Thus, with a mind that could never remain inactive, he pondered mighty projects and designs, beyond the limits of the longest life; but the greatest of all was his intended expedition against the Parthians, by which he designed to revenge the death of Crassus, who, having penetrated too far into their country, was overthrown, himself taken prisoner, and put to a cruel death, by having molten gold poured down his throat, as a punishment for his former avarice. From thence Cæsar intended to pass through Hyrcania, and enter Scythia along the banks of the Caspian sea; then to open himself a way through the immeasurable forests of Germany into Gaul, and so to return to Rome. These were the aims of ambition: the jealousy of a few individuals put an end to them all.

The senate, with an adulation which marked the degeneracy of the times, continued to load him with fresh honours, and he continued with equal vanity to receive them. They called one of the months of the year after his name; they stamped money with his image; they ordered his statue to be set up in all the cities of the empire; they instituted public sacrifices on his birth-day; and talked, even in his life-time, of enrolling him among the number of their gods. Antony, at one of the public festivals, foolishly ventured to offer him a diadem; but he put it back again, refusing it several times, and receiving at every refusal loud acclamations from the people. One day, when the senate ordered him some particular honours, he neglected to rise from his seat; and from that moment envy began to mark him for destruction. Mankind are ever most offended at any trespass on ceremony, since a violation

of decorum is usually an instance of contempt. It began, therefore, to be rumoured, that he intended to make himself king; and though in fact he was possessed of the power, the people, who had an utter aversion to the name, could not bear his assuming the title. Whether he really designed to assume that empty honour, must now for ever remain a secret; but certain it is, that the unsuspecting openness of his conduct marked something like a confidence in the innocence of his intentions. When informed by those about him of the jealousies of many persons who envied his power, he was heard to say, that he had rather die once by treason, than to live continually in apprehension of it. When advised by some to beware of Brutus, in whom he had for some time reposed the greatest confidence, he opened his breast, all scarred with wounds, saying, "Can you think Brutus cares for such poor pillage as this?" And being one night at supper, as his friends disputed among themselves what death was easiest, he replied, that which was most sudden, and least foreseen. But to convince the world how little he had to apprehend from his enemies, he disbanded his company of Spanish guards, which facilitated the enterprise against his life; for he should have considered, that confidence in an usurper is but rashness.

A deep-laid conspiracy was absolutely in agitation against him, composed of no less than sixty senators. They were still the more formidable, as the generality of them were of his own party; and being raised above other citizens, felt more strongly the weight of a single superior. At the head of this conspiracy were—Brutus, whose life Cæsar had spared after the battle of Pharsalia; and Cassius, who was pardoned soon after; both prætors for the present year. Brutus made it his chief glory to have been descended from that Brutus who first gave liberty to Rome. The passion for freedom seemed to have been transmitted with the blood of his ancestors down to him. But though he detested tyranny, yet he could not forbear loving the tyrant, from whom he had received the most signal benefits. However, the love of his country broke all the ties of private friendship, and he entered into a conspiracy which was to destroy his benefactor. Cassius, on the other hand, was impetuous and proud, and hated Cæsar's person still more than his cause. He had often sought an opportunity of gratifying his revenge by as-

sassination, which took rise rather from private than from public motives.

The conspirators, to give a colour of justice to their proceedings, remitted the execution of their design to the ides of March, the day on which Cæsar was to be offered the crown. The augurs had foretold that this day would be fatal to him; and in the night preceding he heard his wife Calpurnia lamenting in her sleep; and, being awakened, she confessed to him, that she dreamt of his being assassinated in her arms. These omens, in some measure, began to change his intentions of going to the senate, as he had resolved, that day; but one of the conspirators coming in, prevailed upon him to keep his resolution, telling him of the reproach that would attend his staying at home till his wife had lucky dreams, and of the preparations that were made for his appearance. As he went along to the senate, a slave, who hastened to him with information of the conspiracy, attempted to come near him, but could not for the crowd. Artemidorus, a Greek philosopher, who had discovered the whole plot, delivered him a memorial containing the heads of his information; but Cæsar gave it, with other papers, to one of his secretaries without reading, as was usual in things of this nature. Being at length entered the senate-house, where the conspirators were prepared to receive him, he met one Spurina, an augur, who had foretold his danger, to whom he said, smiling, "Well, Spurina, the ides of March are come." "Yes," replied the augur, "but they are not yet over." As soon as he had taken his place, the conspirators came near him under pretence of saluting him; and Cimber, who was one of them, approached in a suppliant posture, pretending to sue for his brother's pardon, who had been banished by his order. All the conspirators seconded him with great earnestness; and Cimber, seeming to sue with still greater submission, took hold of the bottom of his robe, holding him so as to prevent his rising: This was the signal agreed on. Casca, who was behind, stabbed him, though slightly, in the shoulder. Cæsar instantly turned round, and, with the style of his tablet, wounded him in the arm. However, all the conspirators were now alarmed, and, enclosing him round, he received a second stab from an unknown hand in the breast, while Cassius wounded him in the face. He still defended himself

with great vigour, rushing among them, and throwing down such as opposed him, till he saw Brutus among the conspirators, who, coming up, struck his dagger into his thigh. From that moment Cæsar thought no more of defending himself, but looking upon this conspirator, cried out, "And you too, my son!" Then covering his head, and spreading his robe before him, in order to fall with greater decency, he sunk down at the base of Pompey's statue, after receiving three and twenty wounds from hands which he vainly supposed he had disarmed by his benefits.

Cæsar was killed in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and about fourteen years after he began the conquest of the world. If we examine his history, we shall be equally at a loss whether most to admire his great abilities or his wonderful fortune. To pretend to say, that from the beginning he planned the subjection of his native country, is doing no great credit to his well-known penetration, as a thousand obstacles lay in his way, which fortune, rather than conduct, was to surmount. No man, therefore, of his sagacity, would have begun a scheme in which the chances of succeeding were so many against him: it is most probable, that, like all very successful men, he only made the best of every occurrence; and his ambition rising with his good fortune, from at first being contented with humbler aims, he at last began to think of governing the world, when he found scarce any obstacle to oppose his designs. Such is the disposition of man, whose cravings after power are always most insatiable when he enjoys the greatest share.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF CÆSAR TO THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM AND THE DEATH OF ANTONY, WHICH SETTLED THE CONSTITUTION IN AUGUSTUS.

U.C.710. UPON the death of Cæsar, a conjuncture happened which was never known before; there was no longer any tyrant, and yet liberty was extinguished; for the causes which had contributed to its destruction still sub-

sisted to prevent its revival. The senate had made an ill use of their power in the times of Sylla, and the people shuddered at the thought of trusting them with it once more.

As soon as the conspirators had dispatched Cæsar, they began to address themselves to the senate, in order to vindicate the motives of their enterprise, and to excite them to join in procuring their country's freedom; but the universal coldness with which their expostulations were received soon taught them to fear their conduct would not meet with many advocates. All the senators, who were not accomplices, fled with such precipitation, that the lives of some of them were endangered in the throng. The people, also, being now alarmed, left their usual occupations, and ran tumultuously through the city, some actuated by their fears, and still more by a desire of plunder. In this state of confusion the conspirators all retired to the capitol, and guarded its accesses by a body of gladiators, which Brutus had in pay. It was in vain they alleged that they only struck for freedom, and that they killed a tyrant who had usurped the rights of mankind: the people, accustomed to luxury and ease, little regarded their professions, dreading more the dangers of poverty than of subjection.

The friends of the late dictator now began to find, that this was the time for coming into greater power than before, and for satisfying their ambition under the veil of promoting justice. Of this number was Antony, whom we have already seen acting as a lieutenant under Cæsar, and governing Rome in his absence with such little justice or decency. He was a man of moderate abilities and excessive vices, ambitious of power only because it gave his pleasures a wider range to riot in, but skilled in war, to which he had been trained from his youth. He was consul for this year, and resolved, with Lepidus, who was fond of commotions like himself, to seize this opportunity of gaining that power which Cæsar had died for usurping. Lepidus, therefore, took possession of the forum with a band of soldiers at his devotion; and Antony, being consul, was permitted to command them. Their first step was to possess themselves of all Cæsar's papers and money, and the next to convene the senate. Never had this august assembly been convened upon so delicate an occasion, as it was

to determine, whether Cæsar had been a legal magistrate or a tyrannical usurper, and whether those who killed him merited rewards or punishments. There were many of these, who had received all their promotions from Cæsar, and had acquired large fortunes in consequence of his appointments: to vote him an usurper, therefore, would be to endanger their property, and yet to vote him innocent might endanger the state. In this dilemma they seemed willing to reconcile extremes, wherefore they approved all the acts of Cæsar, and yet granted a general pardon to all the conspirators.

This decree was very far from giving Antony satisfaction, as it granted security to a number of men who were the avowed enemies of tyranny, and who would be foremost in opposing his schemes of restoring absolute power. As, therefore, the senate had ratified all Cæsar's acts without distinction, he formed a scheme upon this of making him rule when dead as imperiously as he had done when living. Being, as was said, possessed of Cæsar's books of accounts, he so far gained upon his secretary as to make him insert whatever he thought proper. By these means great sums of money, which Cæsar would never have bestowed, were there distributed among the people; and every man, who had any seditious designs against the government, was there sure of finding a gratuity. Things being in this forwardness, he demanded that Cæsar's funeral obsequies should be performed, which the senate now could not decently forbid, as they had never declared him a tyrant: accordingly the body was brought forth into the forum with the utmost solemnity; and Antony, who charged himself with these last duties of friendship, began his operations upon the passions of the people, by the prevailing motives of private interest. He first read them Cæsar's will, in which he had left Octavius, his sister's grandson, his heir, permitting him to take the name of Cæsar; and three parts of his private fortune Brutus was to inherit in case of his death. The Roman people were left the gardens which he had on the other side of the Tiber; and every citizen, in particular, was to receive three hundred sesterces. This last bequest not a little contributed to increase the people's affection for their late dictator; they now began to consider Cæsar as a father, who, not satisfied with doing them the greatest good while living, thought of benefiting them even after death. As Antony continued

reading, the multitude began to be moved, and sighs and lamentations were heard from every quarter. Antony, seeing the audience favourable to his designs, now began to address the assembly in a more pathetic strain : he presented before them Cæsar's bloody robe ; and, as he unfolded it, took care they should observe the number of stabs in it : then displaying an image, which to them appeared the body of Cæsar, all covered with wounds, " This," cried he, " this is all that is left of him who was befriended by the gods, and loved by mankind, even to adoration. This is he to whom we vowed eternal fidelity, and whose person both the senate and the people concurred to declare was sacred. Behold now the execution of these vows ! Behold here the proofs of our gratitude ! the bravest of men destroyed by the most ungrateful of mankind ! He, who showered down his benefits upon the betrayers, found his death as the only return ! Is there none to revenge his cause ? Is there none, that, mindful of former benefits, will show himself now deserving of them ? Yes, there is one ! Behold me, O Jupiter ! thou avenger of the brave, ready to offer up my life on this glorious occasion. And you, ye deities, protectors of the Roman empire, accept my solemn vows, and favour the rectitude of my intentions." The people could now no longer contain their indignation ; they unanimously cried out for revenge ; all the old soldiers, who had fought under Cæsar, burnt, with his body, their coronets, and other marks of conquest with which he had honoured them. A great number of the first matrons in the city threw in their ornaments also : till, at length, rage succeeding to sorrow, the multitude ran, with flaming brands from the pile, to set fire to the conspirators' houses. In this rage of resentment, meeting with one Cinna, whom they mistook for another of the same name, who was in the conspiracy, they tore him in pieces. The conspirators themselves, however, being well guarded, repulsed the multitude with no great trouble ; but perceiving the rage of the people, they thought it, soon after, safest to retire from the city. The populace, being thus left to themselves, set no bounds to their sorrow and gratitude. Divine honours were granted him ; an altar was erected on the place where his body was burnt, where, afterwards, was erected a column, inscribed, To the Father of his Country.

In the mean time, Antony, who had excited this flame, re-

solved to make the best of the occasion. Having gained the people by his zeal in Cæsar's cause, he next endeavoured to bring over the senate, by a seeming concern for the freedom of the state. He therefore proposed to recal Sextus, Pompey's only remaining son, who had concealed himself in Spain since the death of his father, and to grant him the command of all the fleets of the empire. His next step to their confidence was the quelling a sedition of the people, who rose to revenge the death of Cæsar, and putting their leader Amathus to death, who pretended to be the son of Marius. He, after this, pretended to dread the resentment of the multitude, and demanded a guard for the security of his person. The senate granted his request; and under this pretext he drew round him a body of six thousand resolute men, attached to his interest, and ready to execute his commands. Thus he continued every day making rapid strides to absolute power; all the authority of government was lodged in his hands and those of his two brothers alone, who shared among them the consular, tribunitian, and prætorian power. His vows to revenge Cæsar's death seemed either postponed or totally forgotten; and his only aims seemed to be to confirm himself in that power, which he had thus artfully acquired. But an obstacle to his ambition seemed to arise from a quarter in which he least expected it. This was from Octavius Cæsar, afterwards called Augustus, as we shall henceforth take leave to call him, though he did not receive the title till long after. Augustus, who was the grand-nephew and adopted son of Cæsar, was at Apollonia when his kinsman was slain. He was then but eighteen years old, and had been sent to that city to improve himself in the study of Grecian literature. Upon the news of Cæsar's death, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasions of all his friends, he resolved to return to Rome, to claim the inheritance, and revenge the death of his uncle. From the former professions of Antony, he expected to find him a warm assistant to his aims; and he doubted not, by his concurrence, to take signal vengeance on all who had a hand in the conspiracy. However, he was greatly disappointed. Antony, whose projects were all to aggrandize himself, gave him but a very cold reception; and, instead of granting him the fortune left him by the will, delayed the payment of it upon various pretences, hoping to check his ambition by limiting his circumstances.

But Augustus seems to have inherited, not only the wealth, but the inclinations of his uncle : instead, therefore, of abating his claims, he even sold his own patrimonial estate to pay such legacies as Cæsar had left, and particularly that to the people. By these means he gained a degree of popularity, which his enemies vainly laboured to diminish, and which, in fact, he had many other methods to procure. His conversation was elegant and insinuating, his face comely and graceful, and his affection to the late dictator so sincere, that every person was charmed, either with his piety or his address. But what added still more to his interest was the name of Cæsar, which he had assumed ; and, in consequence of which, the former followers of his uncle now flocked in great numbers to him. All these he managed with such art, that, while he gained their affections, he never lost their esteem : so that Antony now began to conceive a violent jealousy for the talents of his young opponent, and secretly laboured to counteract all his designs. In fact, he did not want reason ; for the army near Rome, that had long wished to see the conspirators punished, began to turn from him to his rival, whom they saw more sincerely bent on gratifying their desires. Antony having also procured the government of Hither Gaul from the people, two of his legions, that he had brought home from his former government of Macedonia, went over to Augustus, notwithstanding all his remonstrances to detain them. This produced, as usual, interviews, complaints, recriminations, and pretended reconciliations, which only tended to widen the difference ; so that at length both sides prepared for war. Thus the state was divided into three distinct factions ; that of Augustus, who aimed at procuring Cæsar's inheritance and revenging his death ; that of Antony, whose sole view was to obtain absolute power ; and that of the conspirators, who endeavoured to restore the senate to its former authority.

Antony, being raised by the people to his new government of Cisalpine Gaul, contrary to the inclinations of the senate, resolved to enter upon his province immediately, and oppose Brutus, who commanded a small body of troops there, while his army was yet entire. He accordingly left Rome, and, marching thither, commanded Brutus to depart. Brutus, being unable to oppose him, retired with his forces ; but, being

pursued by Antony, he was at last besieged in the city of Mutina, of which he sent word to the senate.

In the meanwhile Augustus, who by this time had raised a body of ten thousand men, returned to Rome; and being resolved, before he attempted to take vengeance on the conspirators, if possible to diminish the power of Antony, began by bringing over the senate to second his designs. In this he succeeded, by the credit of Cicero, who long had hated Antony, because he thought him the enemy of the state. Accordingly, by means of his great eloquence, a decree was⁹ passed, ordering Antony to raise the siege of Mutina, to evacuate Cisalpine Gaul, and to await the further orders of the senate upon the banks of the Rubicon. It may easily be supposed, that, in the present state of government in Rome, a commander, at the head of a victorious army, would pay little attention to an ineffective decree. Antony treated the order with contempt; and, instead of obeying, began to express his displeasure at being hitherto so submissive. Nothing now, therefore, remained for the senate but to declare him an enemy to the state, and to send Augustus, with the army he had raised, to curb his insolence. Augustus was very ready to offer his army for this expedition, in order to punish his own private injuries, before he undertook those of the public. The two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, joined also their forces, and thus combined they marched at the head of a numerous army against Antony, into Cisalpine Gaul. He, on his part, was not slow in opposing them. After one or two ineffectual conflicts, both armies came to a general engagement, in which Antony was defeated, and compelled to fly to Lepidus, who commanded a body of forces in Further Gaul. This victory, however, which promised the senate so much success, produced effects very different from their expectations. The two consuls were mortally wounded; but Pansa, previous to his death, calling Augustus to his bed-side, advised him to join with Antony, telling him, that the senate only desired to depress both by opposing them to each other. The advice of the dying consul sunk deep on the spirits of Augustus, so that from that time he only sought a pretext to break with them. Their giving the command of a part of his army to Decimus Brutus, and their denying him a triumph soon after,

served to alienate his mind entirely from them, and made him resolve to join Antony and Lepidus. He was willing, however, to try the senate thoroughly, before he came to an open rupture, wherefore he sent to demand the consulship, which was refused him. He then thought himself obliged to keep no measures with that assembly, but privately sent to sound the inclinations of Antony and Lepidus concerning a junction of forces, and found them as eager to assist as the senate was to oppose him. Antony was, in fact, the general of both armies, and Lepidus was only nominally so, his soldiers refusing to obey him upon the approach of the former. Wherefore, upon being assured of the assistance of Augustus upon their arrival in Italy, they soon crossed the Alps with an army of seventeen legions, breathing revenge against all who had opposed their designs.

The senate now began, too late, to perceive their error in offering to disoblige Augustus; they, therefore, gave him the consulship, which they had so lately refused: and, to prevent his joining with Antony, flattered him with new honours, and gave him a power superior to all law. The first use Augustus made of his new authority was to procure a law for the condemnation of Brutus and Cassius; and, in short, to join his forces with those of Antony and Lepidus.

The meeting of these three usurpers of their country's freedom was near Mutina, upon a little island of the river Panarus. Their mutual suspicions were the cause of their meeting in a place where they could not fear any treachery; for, even in their union, they could not divest themselves of mutual diffidence. Lepidus first entered; and, finding all things safe, made the signal for the other two to approach. They embraced each other upon their first meeting: and Augustus began the conference by thanking Antony for his zeal in putting Decimus Brutus to death; who, being abandoned by his army, was taken, as he was designing to escape into Macedonia, and beheaded by Antony's command. They then entered upon the business that lay before them, without any retrospection of the past. Their conference lasted for three days; and, in this period, they fixed a division of government, and determined upon the fate of thousands. One can scarce avoid wondering, how that city, which gave birth to such men as Fabricius and Cato, could now be a tame

spectator of a conference, which bartered away the lives and liberties of the people at their pleasure. To see these three men seated, without attendants, on the highest part of a desolate island, marking out whole cities and nations for destruction, and yet none to oppose their designs, shows what changes may quickly be wrought in the bravest people in a very short time. The result of their conference was, that the supreme authority should be lodged in their hands, under the title of the Triumvirate, for the space of five years; that Antony should have Gaul; Lepidus, Spain; and Augustus, Africa and the Mediterranean islands. As for Italy, and the eastern provinces, they were to remain in common, until their general enemy was entirely subdued. But the last article of their union was a dreadful one: it was agreed, that all their enemies should be destroyed, of which each presented a list. In these were comprised not only the enemies, but the friends of the triumvirate, since the partizans of the one were often found among the opposers of the other. Thus Lepidus gave up his brother Paulus to the vengeance of his colleague; Antony permitted the proscription of his uncle Lucius; and Augustus delivered up the great Cicero. The most sacred rights of nature were violated; three hundred senators, and above two thousand knights, were included in this terrible proscription; their fortunes were confiscated, and their murderers enriched with the spoil. Rome soon felt the effects of this infernal union: nothing but cries and lamentations were to be heard through all the city, scarce a house escaping without a murder. No man dared to refuse entrance to the assassins, although he had no other hopes of safety: and this city, that was once the beauty of the world, seemed now reduced to desolation without an army; and now felt the effects of an invading enemy, with all the deliberate malice of cool-blooded slaughter.

In this horrid carnage, Cicero was one of those principally sought after; who, for a while, seemed to evade the malice of his pursuers; but upon hearing of the slaughters that were committed at Rome, he set forward from his Tusculan villa, towards the sea-side, with an intent to transport himself directly out of the reach of his enemies. There, finding a vessel ready, he presently embarked; but the winds being adverse, and the sea wholly uneasy to him, after he had sailed

about two leagues along the coast, he was obliged to land, and spend the night upon shore. From thence he was forced by the importunity of his servants on board again; but was soon after obliged to land at a country-seat of his, a mile from the shore, weary of life, and declaring he was resolved to die in that country which he had so often saved. Here he slept soundly for some time, till his servants once more forced him away in a litter towards the ship, having heard that he was pursued by a party of Antony's assassins. They were scarce departed when the assassins arrived at his house, and perceiving him to be fled, pursued him immediately towards the sea, and overtook him in a wood that lay near the shore. Their leader was one Popilius Lænas, a tribune of the army, whose life Cicero had formerly defended and saved. As soon as the soldiers appeared, the servants prepared to defend their master's life at the hazard of their own; but Cicero commanded to set him down, and to make no resistance. They soon cut off his head and his hands, returning with them to Rome, as the most agreeable present to their cruel employer. Antony, who was then at Rome, received them with extreme joy, rewarded the murderer with a large sum of money, and placed Cicero's head on the rostrum, as if there once more to reproach his vile inhumanity. Cicero was slain in the sixty-third year of his age, but not until he had seen his country ruined before him. "The glory he obtained," says Julius Cæsar, "was as much above all other triumphs, as the extent of the Roman genius was above that of the bounds of the Roman empire."

Thus the proscription went on to rage for some time with as much violence as when it began. As many as could escape its cruelty fled, either into Macedonia to Brutus, or found refuge with young Pompey, who was now in Sicily, and covered the Mediterranean with his numerous navy. Their cruelties were not aimed at the men alone: but the softer sex were in danger of being marked as objects either of avarice or resentment. They made out a list of fourteen hundred women of the best quality, and the richest in the city, who were ordered to give in an account of their fortunes, to be taxed in proportion. But this seemed so unpopular a measure, and was so firmly opposed by Hortensia, who spoke against it, that, instead of fourteen hundred women, they were content to tax

only four hundred. However, they made up the deficiency by extending the tax upon men; near a hundred thousand, as well citizens as strangers, were compelled to furnish supplies to the subversion of their country's freedom. At last, both the avarice and the vengeance of the triumviri seemed fully satisfied, and they went into the senate to declare that the proscription was at an end: and thus, having deluged the city with blood, Augustus and Antony, leaving Lepidus to defend Rome in their absence, marched with their army to oppose the conspirators, who were now at the head of a formidable army in Asia.

Brutus and Cassius, the principal of these, upon the death of Cæsar, being compelled to quit Rome, went into Greece, where they persuaded the Roman students at Athens to declare in the cause of freedom; then parting, the former raised a powerful army in Macedonia and the adjacent countries, while the latter went into Syria, where he soon became master of twelve legions, and reduced his opponent, Dolabella, to such straits as to kill himself. Both armies soon after joining at Smyrna, the sight of such a formidable force began to revive the declining spirits of the party, and to re-unite the two generals still more closely, between whom there had been, some time before, a slight misunderstanding. In short, having quitted Italy like distressed exiles, without having one single soldier, or one town that owed their command, they now found themselves at the head of a flourishing army, furnished with all the necessaries for carrying on the war, and in a condition to support a contest where the empire of the world depended on the event. This success in raising levies was entirely owing to the justice, moderation, and great humanity of Brutus, who, in every instance, seemed studious of the happiness of his country, and not his own.

It was in this flourishing state of their affairs, that the conspirators had formed a resolution of going against Cleopatra, who, on her side, had made great preparations to assist their opponents. However, they were diverted from this purpose, by an information, that Augustus and Antony were now upon their march with forty legions to oppose them. Brutus now, therefore, moved to have their army pass over into Greece and Macedonia, and there meet the enemy: but Cassius so far prevailed as to have the Rhodians and Lycians

first reduced, who had refused their usual contributions. This expedition was immediately put in execution, and extraordinary contributions were raised by that means, the Rhodians having scarce any thing left them but their lives. The Lycians suffered still more severely; for, having shut themselves up in the city of Xanthus, they defended the place against Brutus with such fury, that neither his arts nor his entreaties could prevail upon them to surrender. At length, the town being set on fire, by their attempting to burn the works of the Romans, Brutus, instead of laying hold on this opportunity to storm the place, made every effort to preserve it, entreating his soldiers to try all means of extinguishing the fire: but the desperate frenzy of the citizens was not to be mollified. Far from thinking themselves obliged to their generous enemy, for the efforts which were made to save them, they resolved to perish in the flames. Wherefore, instead of extinguishing, they did all in their power to augment the fire, by throwing in wood, dry reeds, and all kinds of fuel. Nothing could exceed the distress of Brutus, upon seeing the townsmen thus resolutely bent upon destroying themselves: he rode about the fortifications, stretching out his hands to the Xanthians, and conjuring them to have pity on themselves and their city: but, insensible to his expostulations, they rushed into the flames with desperate obstinacy, and the whole soon became a heap of undistinguishable ruin. At this horrid spectacle Brutus melted into tears, offering a reward to every soldier who should bring him a Lycian alive. The number of those whom it was possible to save from their own fury amounted to no more than one hundred and fifty.

Brutus and Cassius met once more at Sardis, where, after the usual ceremonies were past between them, they resolved to have a private conference together. They shut themselves up, therefore, in the first convenient house, with express orders to their servants to give no admission. Brutus began by reprimanding Cassius for having disposed of offices, which should ever be the reward of merit, and for having overtaxed the tributary states. Cassius retorted the imputation of avarice with the more bitterness, as he knew the charge to be groundless. The debate grew warm, till from loud speaking they burst into tears. Their friends, who were standing at the door, overheard the increasing vehemence of their voices,

and began to dread for the consequences; till Favonius, who valued himself upon a cynical boldness that knew no restraint, entering the room with a jest, calmed their mutual animosity. Cassius was ready enough to forego his anger, being a man of great abilities, but of uneven disposition; not averse to pleasure in private company; and, upon the whole, of morals not quite sincere. But the conduct of Brutus was always perfectly steady. An even gentleness, a noble elevation of sentiment, a strength of mind, over which neither vice nor pleasure could have any influence, an inflexible firmness in the defence of justice, composed the character of that great man. In consequence of these qualities, he was beloved by his army, doated upon by his friends, and admired by all good men. After their conference, night coming on, Cassius invited Brutus and his friends to an entertainment, where freedom and cheerfulness for a while took place of political anxiety, and softened the severity of wisdom.

Upon retiring home it was that Brutus, as Plutarch tells the story, saw a spectre in his tent. He naturally slept but little, and he had increased this state of watchfulness by habit and great sobriety. He never allowed himself to sleep in the day time, as was then common in Rome; and only gave so much of the night to sleep as could barely renew the natural functions. But especially now, when oppressed with such various cares, he only gave a short time after his nightly repast to rest; and, waking about midnight, generally read or studied till morning. It was in the dead of the night, when the whole camp was perfectly quiet, that Brutus was thus employed in reading by a lamp that was just expiring. On a sudden he thought he heard a noise, as if somebody entered, and, looking towards the door, he perceived it open: a gigantic figure, with a frightful aspect, stood before him, and continued to gaze upon him with silent severity. At last Brutus had courage to speak to it: "Art thou a dæmon, or a mortal man? and why comest thou to me?" "Brutus," replied the phantom, "I am thy evil genius: thou shalt see me again at Philippi." "Well then," answered Brutus, without being discomposed, "we shall meet again." Upon which the phantom vanished, and Brutus, calling to his servants, asked if they had seen any thing, to which replying in the negative, he again resumed his studies. But as he was struck with so

strange an occurrence, he mentioned it the next day to Cassius, who, being an Epicurean, ascribed it to the effect of an imagination too much exercised by vigilance and anxiety. Brutus appeared satisfied with this solution of his late terrors; and as Antony and Augustus were now advanced into Macedonia, Brutus and his colleague soon passed over into Thrace, and advanced to the city of Philippi, near which the forces of the triumviri were posted.

All mankind now began to regard the approaching armies with terror and suspense. The empire of the world depended upon the fate of a battle; as from victory on the one side they had to expect freedom; but from the other a sovereign with absolute command. Brutus was the only man who looked upon these great events before him with calmness and tranquillity. Indifferent as to success, and satisfied with having done his duty, he said to one of his friends, "If I gain the victory, I shall restore liberty to my country; if I lose it, by dying I shall be delivered from slavery myself; my condition is fixed, and I run no hazards." The republican army consisted of fourscore thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. The army of the triumviri amounted to a hundred thousand foot and thirteen thousand horse. Thus complete on both sides, they met and encamped near each other upon the plains of Philippi, a city upon the confines of Thrace. This city was situated upon a mountain, towards the west of which a plain stretched itself by a gentle declivity, almost fifteen leagues, to the banks of the river Strymon. In this plain, about two miles from the town, were two little hills about a mile distance from each other, defended on one side by mountains, on the other by a marsh which communicated with the sea. It was upon these two hills that Brutus and Cassius fixed their camps: Brutus on the hill towards the north; Cassius on that towards the south: and in the intermediate space, which separated them, they cast up lines and a parapet from one hill to another. Thus they kept a firm communication between the two camps which mutually defended each other. In this commodious situation they could act as they thought proper, and give battle only when it was thought to their advantage to engage. Behind them was the sea, which furnished them with all kinds of provisions; and at twelve miles

distance the island of Thasos, which served them for a general magazine.

The triumviri, on the other hand, were encamped on the plain below, and were obliged to bring their provisions from fifteen leagues' distance; so that their scheme and interest was to bring on a battle as soon as they could. This they offered several times, drawing out their men from the camp, and provoking the enemy to engage. On the contrary, these contented themselves with drawing up their troops at the head of their camps, but without descending to the plain. This resolution of postponing the battle was all that the republican army had for it; and Cassius, who was aware of his advantage, resolved to harass the enemy rather than engage them. But Brutus began to suspect the fidelity of some of his officers, so that he used all his influence to persuade Cassius to change his resolution. "I am impatient," said he, "to put an end to the miseries of mankind; and in that I have hopes of succeeding whether I fall or conquer." His wishes were soon gratified; for Antony's soldiers having, with great labour, made a road through the marsh which lay to the left of Cassius's camp, by that means opened a communication with the island of Thasos, which lay behind him. Both armies, in attempting to possess themselves of this road, resolved at length to come to a general engagement. This, however, was contrary to the advice of Cassius, who declared, that he was forced, as Pompey had formerly been, to expose the liberty of Rome to the hazard of a battle. The ensuing morning the two generals gave the signal for engaging, and conferred together a little while before the battle began. Cassius desired to know how Brutus intended to act in case they were unsuccessful: to which the other replied, "That he had formerly, in his writings, condemned the death of Cato; and maintained, that avoiding calamities by suicide was an insolent attempt against Heaven that sent them; but he had now altered his opinions, and, having given up his life to his country, he thought he had a right to his own way of ending it; wherefore he was resolved to change a miserable being here for a better hereafter, if fortune proved against him." "Well said, my friend," cried Cassius, embracing him; "now we may venture to face the enemy; for either we shall be

conquerors ourselves, or we shall have no cause to fear those that are so."

Augustus being sick, the forces of the triumviri were commanded alone by Antony, who began the engagement by a vigorous attack upon the lines of Cassius. Brutus, on the other side, made a dreadful irruption on the army of Augustus; and drove forward with so much intrepidity, that he broke them upon the very first charge. Upon this he penetrated as far as the camp, and cutting in pieces those who were left for its defence, his troops immediately began to plunder: but in the mean time the lines of Cassius were forced, and his cavalry put to flight. There was no effort that this unfortunate general did not try to make his infantry stand, stopping those that fled, and seizing himself the colours to rally them. But his own valour alone was not sufficient to inspire his timorous army. He saw himself entirely routed, his camp taken, and himself obliged to retire under a little hill at some distance. Brutus, who had gained a complete victory, was just returning at this interval with his triumphant army, when he found that all was lost on the part of his associate: he sent out a body of cavalry to bring him news of Cassius, who, perceiving them advance towards him, sent one Titinius to inform himself whether they were friends or enemies. Titinius soon joined this body, who received him with great transport, informing him of their success; but, delaying too long, Cassius began to mistake them for what his fears had suggested, and crying out, "that he had exposed his dearest friend to be taken prisoner," he retired to his tent with one of his freedmen, named Pindarus, who slew him, and then was never heard of after. Titinius arrived in triumph with the body of horsemen, but his joy was soon turned into anguish upon seeing his friend dead in the tent before him; upon which, accusing his own delay as the cause, he punished it with falling on his sword. Brutus was by this time informed of the defeat of Cassius, and soon after of his death as he drew near the camp. He seemed scarce able to restrain the excess of his grief for a man, whom he called the last of the Romans. He bathed the dead body with his tears; and, telling his friends, that he thought Cassius very happy in being beyond the reach of those misfortunes which remained for them to suffer, he ordered him to be privately removed, lest

the knowledge of his death should dispirit the army. It was only this precipitate despair of Cassius which gave the enemy the advantage, since, till then, the republicans might be said to have the superiority.

The first care of Brutus, when he became the sole general, was to assemble the dispersed troops of Cassius, and animate them with fresh hopes of victory. As they had lost all they possessed by the plundering of their camp, he promised them two thousand denarii each man to make up their losses. This once more inspired them with new ardour; they admired the liberality of their general, and with loud shouts proclaimed his former intrepidity. Still, however, he had not confidence sufficient to face the adversary, who offered him battle the ensuing day. His aim was to starve his enemies, who were in extreme want of provisions, their fleet having been lately defeated. But his single opinion was overruled by the rest of his army, who now grew every day more confident of their strength, and more arrogant to their new general. He was therefore, at last, after a respite of twenty days, obliged to comply with their solicitations to try the fate of the battle. Both armies being drawn out, they remained a long while opposite to each other without offering to engage. It is said, that he himself had lost much of his natural ardour by having seen the spectre the night preceding: however, he encouraged his men as much as possible, and gave the signal for battle within three hours of sun-set. He had, as usual, the advantage where he commanded in person; he bore down the enemy at the head of his infantry, and, supported by his cavalry, made a very great slaughter. But his left wing, fearing to be taken in flank, stretched itself out in order to enlarge its front; by means of which it became too weak to stand the shock of the enemy. It was there that the army of Brutus began to yield; and Antony, pushing forward, drove the enemy so far back as to be able to turn and attack Brutus in the rear. The troops which had belonged to Cassius communicated their terror to the rest of the forces, till at last the whole army gave way. Brutus, surrounded by the most valiant of his officers, fought for a long time with amazing valour. The son of Cato fell fighting by his side, as also the brother of Cassius; so that, at last, he was obliged to yield to necessity, and fled. In the mean time the two triumviri,

now assured of victory, expressly ordered by no means to suffer the general to escape, for fear he should renew the war. Thus the whole body of the enemy seemed chiefly intent on Brutus alone, and his capture seemed inevitable. In this deplorable exigence, Lucilius, his friend, was resolved, by his own death, to effect his general's delivery. Upon perceiving a body of Thracian horse closely pursuing Brutus, and just upon the point of taking him, he boldly threw himself in their way, telling them that he was Brutus. The Thracians, overjoyed with so great a prize, immediately dispatched some of their companions with the news of their success to the army. Upon which, the ardour of the pursuit now abating, Antony marched out to meet his prisoner, and to hasten his death, or insult his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of officers and soldiers, some silently deploring the fate of so virtuous a man, others reproaching that mean desire of life for which he consented to undergo captivity. Antony now seeing the Thracians approach, began to prepare himself for the interview; but the faithful Lucilius, advancing with a cheerful air, "It is not Brutus," said he, "that is taken; fortune has not yet had the power of committing so great an outrage upon virtue. As for my life, it is well spent in preserving his honour; take it, for I have deceived you." Antony, struck with so much fidelity, pardoned him upon the spot; and from that time forward loaded him with benefits, and honoured him with his friendship.

In the mean time, Brutus, with a small number of friends, passed over a rivulet, and night coming on, sat down under a rock, which concealed him from the pursuit of the enemy. After taking breath for a little time, he cast his eyes up to heaven, that was all spangled with stars: he repeated a line from Euripides, containing a wish to the gods, "that guilt should not pass in this life without punishment." To this he added another from the same poet: "O virtue! thou empty name; I have worshipped thee as a real good, but thou art only the slave of fortune." He then called to mind, with great tenderness, those whom he had seen perish in battle, and sent out one Statilius to give him some information of those that remained; but he never returned, being killed by a party of the enemy's horse. Brutus, judging very rightly of his fate, now resolved to die likewise, and spoke to those who

blood round him to lend him their last sad assistance. None of them, however, would render him so melancholy a piece of service. Upon this, raising himself up, and stretching out his hands, he spoke to them with a serene countenance, saying, "that he was happy in the fidelity of his friends, happy in the consciousness of his own rectitude; and though he fell, yet his death was more glorious than the triumphs of the enemy, since they were successful in the cause of usurpation, and he overthrown in the defence of virtue." He then retired to a little distance with one Strato, who was his master in oratory, and entreated him to do him the last office of friendship. Strato, however, expressed his reluctance in taking upon him so shocking an office. Brutus, therefore, seeing him so averse, called to one of his slaves to perform what he so ardently desired: but Strato then offered himself, crying out, "that it should never be said, that Brutus, in his last extremity, stood in need of a slave for want of a friend." Thus saying, and averting his head, he presented the sword's point to Brutus, who threw himself upon it, and immediately expired. Thus died Brutus, and with him all hopes of liberty in Rome. By this famous overthrow, the triumviri became irresistible: and though Pompey's younger son was still alive, and at the head of a powerful army, yet, with the united forces of the empire against him, little could be expected from his greatest efforts.

From the moment of Brutus's death the triumviri began to act as sovereigns, and to divide the Roman dominions between them, as theirs by right of conquest. However, though there were apparently three who thus participated all power, yet, in fact, only two were actually possessed of it, since Lepidus was at first admitted merely to curb the mutual jealousy of Antony and Augustus; and was possessed neither of interest in the army nor authority among the people. Their first care was to punish those whom they had formerly marked for vengeance. Hortensius, Drusus, and Quintilius Varus, all men of the first rank in the commonwealth, either killed themselves or were slain. A senator and his son were ordered to cast lots for their lives, but both refused it; the father voluntarily gave himself up to the executioner, and the son stabbed himself before his face. Another begged to have the rites of burial after his death; to which Augustus replied,

“that he would find a grave in the vultures that devoured him.” But chiefly the people lamented to see the head of Brutus sent to Rome, to be thrown at the foot of Caesar’s statue. His ashes, however, were sent to his wife Portia, Cato’s daughter; who, following the example of her husband and father, killed herself by swallowing burning coals. It is observed, that of all those who had a hand in the death of Cæsar, not one died a natural death.

The power of the triumviri being thus established upon the ruin of the commonwealth, they now began to think of enjoying that homage to which they had aspired. Antony went into Greece, to receive the flattery of that refined people, and spent some time at Athens, conversing among the philosophers, and assisting at their disputes in person. From thence he passed over into Asia, where all the monarchs of the East, who acknowledged the Roman power, came to pay him their obedience; while the fairest princesses strove to gain his favour by the greatness of their presents, or the allurements of their beauty. In this manner he proceeded from kingdom to kingdom, attended by a crowd of sovereigns, exacting contributions, distributing favours, and giving away crowns with capricious insolence. He presented the kingdom of Cappadocia to Sysenes, in prejudice of Ariarathes, only because he found pleasure in the beauty of Glaphyra, the mother of the former. He settled Herod in the kingdom of Judea, and supported him against every opposer. But among all the sovereigns of the East, who shared his favours, none had so large a part as Cleopatra, the celebrated queen of Egypt.

It happened that Serapion, her governor in the island of Cyprus, had formerly furnished some succours to the conspirators; and it was thought proper that she should answer for his conduct on that occasion. Accordingly, having received orders from Antony to come and clear herself of this imputation of infidelity she readily complied, equally conscious of the goodness of her cause and the power of her beauty. She had already experienced the force of her charms upon Cæsar and Pompey’s eldest son; and the addition of a few years since that time only served to heighten their lustre. She was now in her twenty-seventh year, and consequently improved those allurements by arts, which, in earlier age, are

seldom attended to. Her address and wit were still further heightened; and, though there were some women in Rome that were her equals in beauty, none could rival her in the charms of seducing conversation. Antony was now in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, when Cleopatra resolved to attend his court in person. She sailed down the river Cydnus, at the mouth of which the city stood, with the most sumptuous pageantry. Her galley was covered with gold, the sails of purple, large, and floating in the wind. The oars, of silver, kept tune to the sound of flutes and cymbals. She herself lay reclined on a couch spangled with stars of gold, and with such ornaments as poets and painters had usually ascribed to Venus. On each side were boys like Cupids, who fanned her by turns; while the most beautiful nymphs, dressed like Nereids and Graces, were placed at proper distances around her. Upon the banks of the river were kept burning the most exquisite perfumes, while an infinite number of people gazed upon the sight with a mixture of delight and admiration. So soon after relating the death of Brutus, I fancy it will give the reader but very little pleasure minutely to describe the triumphs of vice and infamy; suffice it therefore to say, that Antony was captivated with her beauty, and, leaving all his business to satisfy his passion, shortly after followed her into Egypt. There he continued in all that ease and softness to which his vicious heart was prone, and which that luxurious people were able to supply.

While he remained thus idle in Egypt, Augustus, who took upon him to lead back the veteran troops and settle them in Italy, was assiduously employed in providing for their subsistence. He had promised them lands at home, as a recompence for their past services; but they could not receive their new grants without turning out the former inhabitants. In consequence of this, multitudes of women, with children in their arms, whose tender years and innocence excited universal compassion, daily filled the temples and the streets with their distresses. Numbers of husbandmen and shepherds came to deprecate the conqueror's intention, or to obtain a habitation in some other part of the world. Among this number was Virgil, the poet, he to whom mankind owe more obligations than to a thousand conquerors; who, in a humble manner, begged permission to retain his patrimonial farm:

Virgil obtained his request; but the rest of his countrymen, of Mantua and Cremona, were turned out without mercy.

Italy and Rome now felt the most extreme miseries; the insolent soldiers plundered at will; while Sextus Pompey, being master of the sea, cut off all foreign communication, and prevented the people's receiving their usual supplies of corn. To these mischiefs were added the commencement of another civil war. Fulvia, the wife of Antony, who had been left behind him at Rome, had felt for some time all the rage of jealousy, and resolved to try every method of bringing back her husband from the arms of Cleopatra. She considered a breach with Augustus as the only probable means of rousing him from his lethargy; and, accordingly, with the assistance of Lucius, her brother-in-law, who was then consul, and entirely devoted to her interest, she began to sow the seeds of dissension. The pretext was, that Antony should have a share in the distribution of lands as well as Augustus. This produced some negotiations between them, and Augustus offered to make the veterans themselves umpires in the dispute. Lucius refused to acquiesce; and, being at the head of more than six legions, mostly composed of such as were dispossessed, he resolved to compel Augustus to accept of whatever terms he should offer. Thus a new war was excited between Augustus and Antony; or, at least, the generals of the latter assumed the sanction of his name. Augustus, however, was victorious: Lucius was hemmed in between two armies, and constrained to retreat to Perugia, a city of Etruria, where he was closely besieged by the opposite party. He made many desperate sallies, and Fulvia did all in her power to relieve him, but without success. He was at last, therefore, reduced to such extremity by famine, that he came out in person, and delivered himself up to the mercy of the conqueror. Augustus received him very honourably, and generously pardoned him and all his followers. Thus having concluded the war in a few months, he returned in triumph to Rome, to receive new marks of adulation from the sequious senate.

Antony, who during this interval was revelling in all the studied luxuries procured him by his insidious mistress, having heard of his brother's overthrow, and his wife's being compelled to leave Italy, was resolved to oppose Augustus with

out delay. He accordingly sailed, at the head of a considerable fleet, from Alexandria to Tyre; from thence to Cyprus and Rhodes, and had an interview with Fulvia, his wife, at Athens. He much blamed her for occasioning the late disorders; testified the utmost contempt for her person; and leaving her upon her death-bed at Sicyon, hastened into Italy to fight Augustus. They both met at Brundisium; and it was now thought that the flames of civil war were going to blaze out once more. The forces of Antony were numerous, but mostly newly-raised; however, he was assisted by Sextus Pompeius, who, in these oppositions of interest, was daily coming into power. Augustus was at the head of those veterans, who had always been irresistible, but who seemed no way disposed to fight against Antony, their former general. A negotiation was therefore proposed; and, by the activity of Cocceius, a friend to both, a reconciliation was effected. All offences and affronts were mutually forgiven; and, to cement the union, a marriage was concluded between Antony and Octavia, the sister of Augustus. A new division of the Roman empire was made between them: Augustus was to have the command of the West; Antony of the East; while Lepidus was obliged to content himself with the provinces in Africa. As for Sextus Pompeius, he was permitted to retain all the islands he had already possessed, together with Peloponnesus: he was also granted the privilege of demanding the consulship in his absence, and of discharging that office by any of his friends. It was likewise stipulated to leave the sea open, and to pay the people what corn was due out of Sicily. Thus a general peace was concluded, to the great satisfaction of the people, who now expected a cessation from all their calamities.

This calm seemed to continue for some time. Antony led his forces against the Parthians, over whom his lieutenant, Ventidius, had gained some advantages. Augustus drew the greatest part of his army into Gaul, where there were some disturbances; and Pompey went to secure his newly-ceded province to his interest. It was in this quarter that fresh motives were given for renewing the war. Antony, who was obliged by treaty to quit Peloponnesus, refused to evacuate it till Pompey had satisfied him for such debts as were due to him from the inhabitants. This Pompey would by no means

comply with, but immediately fitted out a new fleet, and renewed his former enterprises, by cutting off such corn and provisions as were consigned to Italy. Thus the grievances of the poor were again renewed; and the people began to complain, that, instead of three tyrants, they were now oppressed by four.

In this exigence Augustus, who had long meditated the best means of diminishing the number, resolved to begin by getting rid of Pompey, who kept the state in continual alarms. He was master of two fleets, one which he had caused to be built at Ravenna, and another which Menodorus, who revolted from Pompey, brought to his aid. His first attempt was to invade Sicily; but, being overpowered in his passage by Pompey, and afterwards shattered in a storm, he was obliged to defer his designs to the ensuing year. During this interval, he was reinforced by a noble fleet of one hundred and twenty ships, given him by Antony, with which he resolved once more to invade Sicily on three several quarters. But fortune seemed still determined to oppose him. He was a second time disabled and shattered by a storm, which so raised the vanity of Pompey, that he began to style himself the son of Neptune. However, Augustus was not to be intimidated by any disgraces; for, having shortly refitted his navy, and recruited his forces, he gave the command of both to Agrippa, his faithful friend and associate in war. Agrippa proved himself worthy of the trust reposed in him; he began his operations by a victory over Pompey; and, though he was shortly after worsted himself, he soon after gave his adversary a complete and final overthrow. Thus undone, Pompey resolved to fly to Antony, from whom he expected refuge, as he had formerly obliged that triumvir by giving protection to his mother. However, a gleam of hope offering, he tried once more, at the head of a small body of men, to make himself independent, and even surprised Antony's lieutenants, who had been sent to accept of his submissions. Nevertheless, he was at last abandoned by his soldiers, and delivered up to Titus, Antony's lieutenant, who shortly after caused him to be slain.

The death of this general removed one very powerful obstacle to the ambition of Augustus, and he resolved to take the earliest opportunity to get rid of the rest of his associates.

An effence was seen furnished by Lepidus, that served as a sufficient pretext for depriving him of his share in the triumvirate. Being now at the head of twenty-two legions, with a strong body of cavalry, he idly supposed, that his present power was more than an equivalent to the popularity of Augustus. He therefore resolved upon adding Sicily, where he then was, to his province, pretending a right, as having first invaded it. Augustus sent to expostulate upon these proceedings, but Lepidus fiercely replied, that he was determined to have his share in the administration, and would no longer submit to let one alone possess all the authority. Augustus was previously informed of the disposition of Lepidus's soldiers, for he had, by his secret intrigues and largesses, entirely attached them to himself. Wherefore, without further delay, he with great boldness went alone to the camp of Lepidus, and, with no other assistance than his private bounties, and the authority he had gained by his former victories, he resolved to depose his rival. The soldiers thronged around him with the most dutiful alacrity, while Lepidus hastened to prevent their defection. But Augustus, though he received a wound from one of the centurions, flew with great presence of mind to the place where the military ensigns were planted, and flourishing one of them in the air, all the legionary soldiers ran in crowds, and saluted him as their general. Lepidus being thus abandoned by his men, divested himself of all the marks of his authority, which he could no longer keep, and submissively threw himself at the feet of Augustus. This general despised his colleague too much to take his life; he spared it, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the army, but deprived him of all his former authority, and banished him to Circum. There he continued the rest of his life, despised by his friends, and to all a melancholy object of blasted ambition.

Augustus was received, upon his return to Rome, with universal joy; the senators met him at the gates, and conducted him to the capitol; the people followed, crowned with garlands of flowers; and, after having returned thanks to the gods, waited upon him to his palace. There remained now but one obstacle to his ambition, which was Antony, whom he resolved to remove; and for that purpose began to render his character as contemptible as he possibly could at Rome. In

fact; Antony's conduct did not a little contribute to promote the endeavours of his ambitious partner in the state. He had marched against the Parthians with a prodigious army, but was forced to return with the loss of the fourth part of his forces and all his baggage. This extremely diminished his reputation; but his making a triumphal entry into Alexandria soon after, entirely disgusted the citizens of Rome. However, Antony seemed quite regardless of their resentment; alive only to pleasure, and totally disregarding the business of the state, he spent whole days and nights in the company of Cleopatra, who studied every art to increase his passion, and vary his entertainments. Few women have been so much celebrated for the art of giving novelty to pleasure, and making trifles important; still ingenious in filling up the languid pauses of sensual delight with some new stroke of refinement, she was at one time a queen, then a Bacchanal, and sometimes a huntress. She invented a society, called *The Inimitable*, and those of the court, who made the most sumptuous entertainments, carried away the prize. Not contented with sharing in her company all the delights which Egypt could afford, Antony was resolved to enlarge his sphere of luxury, by granting her many of those kingdoms which belonged to the Roman empire. He gave her all Phœnicia, Coele-Syria, and Cyprus, with a great part of Cilicia, Arabia, and Judæa, gifts which he had no right to bestow, but which he pretended to grant in imitation of Hercules. This complication of vice and folly at last totally exasperated the Romans; and Augustus, willing to take the advantage of their resentment, took care to exaggerate all his defects. At length, when he found the people sufficiently irritated against him, he resolved to send Octavia, who was then at Rome, to Antony, as if with a view of reclaiming her husband, but, in fact, to furnish a sufficient pretext of declaring war against him, as he knew she would be dismissed with contempt.

Antony was now at the city of Lousepolis, revelling with his insidious paramour, when he heard that Octavia was at Athens, upon her journey to visit him. This was very unwelcome news, as well to him as to Cleopatra, who, feeling the charms of her rival, endeavoured to convince Antony of the strength of her passion by her sighs, languishing looks,

and well-feigned melancholy. He frequently caught her in tears, which she seemed as if willing to hide; and often entreated her to tell him the cause, which she seemed willing to suppress. These artifices, together with the ceaseless flattery and importunity of her creatures, prevailed so much upon Antony's weakness, that he commanded Octavia to return home without seeing her, and attached himself still more closely to Cleopatra than before. His ridiculous passion now began to have no bounds. He resolved to own her for his wife, and entirely to repudiate Octavia. He accordingly assembled the people of Alexandria in the public theatre, where was raised an alcove of silver, under which were placed two thrones of gold, one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra. There he seated himself, dressed like Bacchus, while Cleopatra sat beside him, clothed in the ornaments and attributes of Isis, the principal deity of the Egyptians. On that occasion he declared her queen of all the countries which he had already bestowed upon her, while he associated Cæsario, her son by Cæsar, as her partner in the government. To the two children, which he had by her himself, he gave the title of king of kings, with very extensive dominions; and, to crown his absurdities, he next sent a minute account of his proceedings to the two consuls at Rome. One folly is generally the parent of many more. As he became a god, it was now necessary to act up to his imaginary dignity; new luxuries and pageant-tries were now therefore studied, and new modes of profusion found out: no less than sixty thousand pounds of our money was lavished upon one single entertainment; it is said, upon this occasion, that Cleopatra dissolved a pearl of great value in vinegar and drank it off. Yet, however high wrought their entertainments might be, they wanted that delicacy, which gives the finest relish to all sensual happiness. Antony, as we are told, was but a coarse and inelegant soldier, who mistook obscenity for wit, and profusion for magnificence. Cleopatra, who was naturally more refined, was yet obliged to comply with his disposition, and to bear with his debaucheries, rather than share them. But we are told of one circumstance, that might well repress their delights, and teach mankind to relish the beverage of virtue, however simple, above their most sated enjoyments. He was suspicious of being poisoned in

every meal; he feared Cleopatra, whom he so much loved, and would eat nothing without having it previously tasted by one of his attendants.

In the mean time Augustus had now a sufficient pretext for declaring war, and informed the senate of his intentions. However, he deferred the execution of his design for a while, being then employed in quelling an insurrection of the Illyrians. The following year was chiefly taken up in preparations against Antony, who, perceiving his design, remonstrated to the senate, that he had many causes of complaint against his colleague, who had seized upon Sicily without affording him a share; alleging, that he had also dispossessed Lepidus, and kept to himself the province he had commanded; and that he had divided all Italy among his own soldiers, leaving nothing to recompense those in Asia. To this complaint Augustus was contented to make a sarcastic answer, implying, that it was absurd to complain of his distribution of a few trifling districts in Italy, when Antony having conquered Parthia, he might now reward his soldiers with cities and provinces. The sarcasm upon Antony's misfortunes in Parthia so provoked him, that he ordered Canidius, who commanded his army, to march without intermission into Europe, while he and Cleopatra followed to Samos, in order to prepare for carrying on the war with vigour. When arrived there, it was ridiculous enough to behold the odd mixture of preparations for pleasure and for war. On one side, all the kings and princes from Egypt to the Euxine sea had orders to send him thither supplies both of men, provisions, and arms; on the other side, all the comedians, dancers, buffoons, and musicians of Greece were ordered to attend him. Thus, frequently, when a ship was thought to arrive laden with soldiers, arms, and ammunition, it was found only filled with players and theatrical machinery. When news was expected of the approach of an army, messengers only arrived with tidings of a fresh quantity of venison. In this manner he laboured to unite incompatible pursuits; the kings, who attended him, endeavoured to gain his favour more by their entertainments than their warlike preparations; the provinces strove rather to please him by sacrificing to his divinity, than by their alacrity in his defence; so that some were heard to say, "What rejoicings would not this man make for a victory, when he thus triumphs at the

eve of a dangerous war!" In short, his best friends now began to forsake his interests, which is generally the case with all those who first forsake themselves.

His delay at Samos, and afterwards at Athens, where he carried Cleopatra to receive new honours, was extremely favourable to the arms of Augustus. This general was, at first, scarcely in a disposition to oppose him, had he gone into Italy, but he soon found time to put himself in a condition for carrying on the war, and shortly after declared it against him in form. All Antony's followers were invited over to join him, with great promises of rewards; but they were not declared enemies, partly to prevent their growing desperate, and partly to give a show of moderation to his own party. At length, both sides found themselves in readiness to begin the war, and their armies were answerable to the empire they contended for. The one was followed by all the forces of the East; the other drew all the strength of the West to support his pretensions. Antony's force composed a body of a hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, while his fleet amounted to five hundred ships of war. The army of Augustus mustered but eighty thousand foot, but equalled his adversary's in his number of cavalry; his fleet was but half as numerous as Antony's; however, his ships were better built and manned with better soldiers. Such forces on both sides may excite our wonder, but not our interest: neither had a good cause to support, the contention of both being only like that of two robbers, who quarrel in the division of their plunder.

The great decisive engagement, which was a naval one, was fought near Actium, a city of Epirus, at the entrance of the gulf of Ambracia. Antony ranged his ships before the mouth of the gulf, and Augustus drew up his fleet in opposition. Neither general assumed any fixed station to command in, but went about from ship to ship, wherever his presence was necessary. In the mean time, the two land armies, on opposite sides of the gulf, were drawn up only as spectators of the engagement, and encouraged their fleets, by their shouts, to engage. The battle began, on both sides, with great ardour, and after a manner not practised upon former occasions. The prows of their vessels were armed with brazen points, and with these they drove furiously against each other. In this conflict the ships of Antony came with greater force, but

those of Augustus avoided the shock with greater dexterity. On Antony's side, the sterns of the ships were raised in form of a tower; from whence they threw arrows from machines for that purpose. Those of Augustus made use of long poles hooked with iron, and fire posts. They fought in this manner for some time, with equal animosity; nor was there any advantage on either side, except a small appearance of disorder in the centre of Antony's fleet. But all of a sudden, Cleopatra determined the fortune of the day. She was seen flying from the engagement, attended by sixty sail; struck, perhaps, with the terrors natural to her sex; but what increased the general amazement was to behold Antony himself following soon after, and leaving his fleet at the mercy of the conquerors. The engagement, notwithstanding, continued with great obstinacy till five in the evening; when Antony's forces, partly constrained by the conduct of Agrippa, and partly persuaded by the promises of Augustus, submitted to the conqueror. The land forces soon after followed the example of the navy; and all yielded to Augustus, without striking a blow, the fourth day after the battle.

When Cleopatra fled, Antony pursued her in a five-oared galley; and, coming along side of her ship, entered it without seeing or being seen by her. She was in the stern, and he went to the prow, where he remained for some time silent, holding his head between his hands. In this manner he continued three whole days, during which, either through indignation or shame, he neither saw nor spoke to Cleopatra. At last, when they were arrived at the promontory of Tensus, the queen's female attendants reconciled them, and every thing went on as before. Still, however, he had the consolation to suppose his army continued faithful to him, and accordingly dispatched orders to his lieutenant Canidius, to conduct it into Asia. However, he was soon undeceived when he arrived in Africa, where he was informed of their submission to his rival. This account so transported him with rage, that he was hardly prevented from killing himself; but at length, at the entreaty of his friends, he returned to Alexandria, in a very different situation from that in which he had left it some time before. Cleopatra, however, seemed to retain that fortitude in her misfortunes which had utterly abandoned her admirer. Having amassed considerable riches by means of confiscations and

other acts of violence, she formed a very singular and unheard-of project; this was to convey her whole fleet over the isthmus of Suez into the Red Sea, and thereby save herself, in another region, beyond the reach of Rome, with all her treasures. Some of her vessels were actually transported thither, pursuant to her orders: but the Arabians having burnt them, and Antony dissuading her from the design, she abandoned it for the more improbable scheme of defending Egypt against the conqueror. She omitted nothing in her power to put this advice in practice, and made all kinds of preparations for war; at least hoping thereby to obtain better terms from Augustus. In fact, she had always loved Antony's fortunes rather than his person; and if she could have fallen upon any method of saving herself, though even at his expense, there is no doubt but she would have embraced it with gladness. She even still had some hopes from the power of her charms, though she was arrived almost at the age of forty; and was desirous of trying upon Augustus those arts, which had been so successful with the greatest men of Rome. Thus, in three embassies which were sent, one after another, from Antony to Augustus in Asia, the queen had always her secret agents, charged with particular proposals in her name. Antony desired no more than that his life might be spared, and to have the liberty of passing the remainder of his days in obscurity. To those proposals Augustus made no reply. Cleopatra sent him also public proposals in favour of her children; but at the same time privately resigned him her crown, with all the ensigns of royalty. To the queen's public proposal no answer was given: to her private offer he replied, by giving her assurances of his favour, in case she sent away Antony, or put him to death. These negociations were not so private but they came to the knowledge of Antony, whose jealousy and rage every occurrence now contributed to heighten. He built a small solitary house upon a mole in the sea, and there shut himself up, a prey to all those passions that are the tormentors of unsuccessful tyranny. There he passed his time, shunning all commerce with mankind, and professing to imitate Timon the man-hater. However, his furious jealousy drove him even from this retreat into society; for hearing that Cleopatra had many secret conferences with one Thyrus, an emissary from Augustus, he seized upon him,

and having ordered him to be cruelly scourged, he sent him back to his patron. At the same time he sent letters by him, importing, that he had chastised Thyrsus for insulting a man in misfortunes; but withal he gave Augustus permission to avenge himself by scourging Hipparchus, Antony's freedman, in the same manner. The revenge, in this case, would have been highly pleasing to Antony, as Hipparchus had left him to join the fortunes of his more successful rival.

Meanwhile the operations of the war were carried vigorously forward, and Egypt was once more the theatre of the contending armies of Rome. Gallus, the lieutenant of Augustus, took Paretonium, which opened the whole country to his incursions. On the other side, Antony, who had still considerable forces by sea and land, wanted to take that important place from the enemy. He therefore marched towards it, flattering himself, that as soon as he should show himself to the legions which he had once commanded, the affection for their ancient general would revive. He approached therefore, and exhorted them to remember their former vows of fidelity. Gallus, however, ordered all the trumpets to sound, in order to hinder Antony from being heard, so that he was obliged to retire.

Augustus himself was in the mean time advancing with another army before Pelusium, which, by its strong situation, might have retarded his progress for some time. But the governor of the city, either wanting courage to defend it, or previously instructed by Cleopatra to give it up, permitted him to take possession of the place; so that Augustus had now no obstacle in his way to Alexandria, whither he marched with all expedition. Antony, upon his arrival, sallied out to oppose him, fighting with great desperation, and putting the enemy's cavalry to flight. This slight advantage once more revived his declining hopes; and, being naturally vain, he re-entered Alexandria in triumph. Then going, all armed as he was, to the palace, he embraced Cleopatra, and presented her a soldier who had distinguished himself in the late engagement. The queen rewarded him very magnificently, presenting him with a head-piece and breast-plate of gold. With these, however, the soldier went off the next night to the other army, prudently resolving to secure his riches by keeping on the strongest side. Antony could not bear this defection without

fresh indignation ; he resolved, therefore, to make a bold expiring effort by sea and land, but previously offered to fight his adversary in single combat. Augustus too well knew the inequality of their situations to comply with this forlorn offer ; he only, therefore, coolly replied, That Antony had ways enough to die besides single combat.

The evening before the day appointed for his last desperate attempt, he ordered a grand entertainment to be prepared. " Give me good wine and good cheer," cried he to his friends ; " let me live to-day ; to-morrow, perhaps, you may serve another master." About midnight, as Plutarch relates, while a melancholy silence reigned throughout the city, a noise of voices, instruments, and dancing, was heard, as if passing through the town, and seeming to go out at the gate which looked towards the enemy. At day-break, Antony posted the few troops he had remaining upon a rising ground near the city ; from whence he sent orders to his galleys to engage the enemy. There he waited to be a spectator of the combat ; and, at first, he had the satisfaction to see them advance in good order ; but his approbation was soon turned into rage, when he saw his ships only saluting those of Augustus, and both fleets uniting together, and sailing back into the harbour. At the very same time his cavalry deserted him. He tried, however, to lead on his infantry, which were easily vanquished ; and he himself compelled to return into the town. His anger was now ungovernable ; he could not help crying out aloud, as he passed, that he was betrayed by Cleopatra, and delivered by her to those, who, for her sake alone, were his enemies. In these suspicions he was not deceived, for it was by secret orders from the queen that the fleet had passed over to the enemy.

Cleopatra had, for a long while, dreaded the effects of Antony's jealousy ; and had, some time before, prepared a method of obviating any sudden sallies it might produce. Near the temple of Isis she had erected a building, which was seemingly designed for a sepulchre. Hither she removed all her treasure and most valuable effects, covering them over with torches, faggots, and other combustible matter. This sepulchre she designed to answer a double purpose ; as well to screen her from the sudden resentments of Antony, as to make Augustus believe that she would burn all her treasures, in case he refused her proper terms of capitulation. Here,

therefore, she retired from Antony's present fury; shutting the gates, which were fortified with bolts and bars of iron; but, in the mean time, gave orders that a report should be spread of her death. This news, which soon reached Antony, recalled all his former love and tenderness. This poor wretch was now a being subject to the gust of every passion, and each of them in extreme. He now lamented her death with the same violence he had but a few minutes before seemed to desire it. "Wretched man!" cried he to himself, "what is there now worth living for: since all that could soothe or soften my cares is departed? O Cleopatra!" continued he, being got to his chamber, "our separation does not so much afflict me as the disgrace I suffer, in permitting a woman to instruct me in the ways of dying." He then called one of his freed-men, named Eros, whom he had engaged by oath to kill him, whenever fortune should drive him to this last resource. Eros being now commanded to perform his promise, this faithful follower drew the sword, as if going to execute his orders; but, turning his face, plunged it into his own bosom, and died at his master's feet. Antony for a while hung over his faithful servant, and, commending his fidelity, took up the sword, with which stabbing himself in the belly, he fell backward upon a little couch. Though the wound was mortal, yet, the blood stopping, he recovered his spirits, and earnestly conjured those who were come into the room to put an end to his life; but they all fled, being seized with fright and horror. He therefore continued in this manner for some time, still crying out and writhing with pain, till he was informed by one of the queen's secretaries that his mistress was still alive. He then earnestly desired to be carried to the place where she was. They accordingly brought him to the gate of the sepulchre; but Cleopatra, who would not permit it to be opened, appeared at the window, and threw down cords in order to pull him up. In this manner, assisted by her two female attendants, she raised him all bloody from the ground; and while yet suspended in the air, he continued stretching out his hands to encourage her. Cleopatra and her maids had only just strength sufficient to raise him; and at last, with much straining, they effected their purpose, and carried him to a couch, on which they gently laid him. There she gave way to her sorrow, tearing her clothes, beating her breast,

and kissing the wound of which he was dying. She called upon him as her lord, her husband, her emperor, and seemed to have forgotten her own distresses in the greatness of his sufferings. Antony entreated her to moderate the transports of her grief, and asked for some wine, either because he was thirsty, or because he thought it would hasten his end: after he had drank, he entreated Cleopatra to endeavour to preserve her life, if she could do it with honour; and recommended Proculus, a friend of Augustus, as one she might rely on to be her intercessor. He exhorted her not to lament for his misfortunes, but to congratulate him upon his former felicity: to consider him as one who had lived the most powerful of men, and at last died by the hand of a Roman. Just as he had done speaking he expired; and Proculus made his appearance, by command of Augustus, who had been informed of Antony's desperate conduct. He was sent to try all means of getting Cleopatra into his power; Augustus having a double motive for his solicitude on this occasion: one to prevent her destroying the treasures she had taken with her into the tomb; the other, to preserve her person as an ornament to grace his triumph. Cleopatra, however, was upon her guard, and would not confer with Proculus, except through the gate, which was very well secured. In the mean time, while he designedly drew out the conference to some length, and had given Gallus, one of his fellow-soldiers, directions to carry on the conversation in his absence, he entered with two more by the window at which Antony had been drawn up. As soon as he was entered, he ran down to the gate; and one of the women crying out that they were taken alive, Cleopatra, perceiving what had happened, drew a poignard, and attempted to stab herself: but Proculus, preventing the blow, gently remonstrated, that she was cruel in refusing so good a prince, as his master was, the pleasure of displaying his clemency. He then forced the poignard out of her hand, and examined her clothes, to be certain she had no poison about her. Thus leaving every thing secured, he went to acquaint his master with his proceedings.

Augustus was extremely pleased at finding her in his power: he sent Epaphroditus to bring her to his palace, and to watch her with the utmost circumspection. He was likewise ordered to use her, in every respect, with that deference and submission which was due to her rank; and to do every thing in his

power to render her captivity agreeable. She was permitted, to have the honour of granting Antony the rites of burial; and furnished with every thing she desired, that was becoming to his dignity to receive, or her love to offer. Yet still she languished under her new confinement: her excessive sorrow, and her many losses, and the blows she had given her bosom, produced a fever, which she seemed willing to increase. She resolved to abstain from taking any nourishment, under the pretence of a regimen necessary for her disorder; but Augustus, being made acquainted with the real motive by her physician, began to threaten her with regard to her children, in case she persisted. This was the only punishment that could now affect her; she allowed herself to be treated as they thought proper, and received whatever was prescribed for her recovery.

In the mean time, Augustus made his entry into Alexandria; taking care to mitigate the fears of the inhabitants, by conversing familiarly, as he went along, with Areus, a philosopher, and a native of the place. The citizens, however, trembled at his approach; and when he placed himself upon the tribunal, they prostrated themselves, with their faces to the ground, before him, like criminals who waited the sentence of their execution. Augustus presently ordered them to rise, telling them, that three motives induced him to pardon them:—his respect for Alexander, who was the founder of their city; his admiration of its beauty; and his friendship for Areus, their fellow-citizen. Two only of particular note were put to death upon this occasion; Antony's eldest son, Antyllus, and Cæsario, the son of Julius Cæsar, both betrayed into his hands by their respective tutors, who themselves suffered for their perfidy shortly after. As for the rest of Cleopatra's children, he treated them with great gentleness, leaving them to the care of those who were entrusted with their education, who had orders to provide them with every thing suitable to their birth. As for her, when she was recovered from her late indisposition, he came to visit her in person; she received him lying on a couch, in a careless manner; and, upon his entering the apartment, rose up to prostrate herself before him. She was dressed in nothing but a loose robe. Her misfortunes had given an air of severity to her features: her hair was dishevelled, her voice trembling, her complexion

pale, and her eyes red with weeping. Yet still her natural beauty seemed to gleam through the distresses that surrounded her; and the graces of her motion, and the alluring softness of her looks, still bore testimony to the former power of her charms. Augustus raised her with his usual complaisance, and, desiring her to sit, placed himself beside her. Cleopatra had been prepared for this interview, and made use of every method she could think of to propitiate the conqueror. She tried apologies, entreaties, and allurements, to obtain his favour, and soften his resentment. She began by attempting to justify her conduct; but when her art and skill failed against manifest proofs, she turned her defence into supplications. She talked of Caesar's humanity to those in distress; she read some of his letters to her, full of tenderness, and enlarged upon the long intimacy that had passed between them. "But of what service," cried she, "are now all his benefits to me! Why could I not die with him? Yet he still lives; methinks I see him still before me—he revives in you." Augustus was no stranger to this method of address; but he remained firm against all attacks, answering always with a cold indifference, which obliged her to give her attempts a different turn. She now addressed his avarice, presenting him with an inventory of her treasure and jewels. This gave occasion to a very singular scene, which shows, that the little decorums of breeding were then by no means so carefully attended to as at present. One of her stewards having alleged, that the inventory was defective, and that she had secreted a part of her effects, she fell into a violent passion, started from her couch, and, catching him by the hair, gave him several blows on the face. Augustus smiled at her indignation, and leading her to the couch, desired her to be pacified. To this she replied, that she could not bear being insulted in the presence of one whom she so highly esteemed. "And supposing," cried she, "that I have secreted a few trifles, am I to blame, when they are reserved, not for myself, but for Livia and Octavia, whom I hope to make my intercessors with you?" This excuse, which intimated a desire of living, was not disagreeable to Augustus; who politely assured her, that she was at liberty to keep whatever she had reserved, and that in every thing she should be indulged to the height of her expectations. He then took

leave and departed; imagining he had reconciled her to life and to the indignity of being shown in the intended triumphth which he was preparing for on his return to Rome: but in thisth he was deceived. Cleopatra, all this time, had kept a correspondence with Dolabella, a young Roman of high birth, in theth camp of Augustus; who, perhaps from compassion, or strongerth motives, was interested in the misfortunes of that princess.th From him she learned the intentions of Augustus, and that he was determined to send her off in three days, together with her children, to Rome. She now, therefore, determined upon dying; but previously entreated permission to pay her last oblations at Antony's tomb. This request being granted her, she was carried, with her two female attendants, to the stately monument where he was laid. There she threw herself upon his coffin, bewailed her captivity, and renewed her protestations not to survive him. She then crowned the tomb with garlands of flowers; and having kissed the coffin a thousand times, she returned home to execute her fatal resolution. Having bathed, and ordered a sumptuous banquet, she attired herself in the most splendid manner. She then feasted as usual; and soon after ordered all but her two attendants, Charmian and Iras, to leave the room. Then, having previously ordered an asp to be secretly conveyed to her in a basket of fruit, she sent a letter to Augustus, informing him of her fatal purpose, and desiring to be buried in the same tomb with Antony. Augustus, upon receiving this letter, instantly dispatched messengers to stop her intentions, but they arrived too late. Upon entering the chamber, they beheld Cleopatra lying dead upon a gilded couch, arrayed in her royal robes. Near her, Iras, one of her faithful attendants, was stretched lifeless at the feet of her mistress; and Charmian herself, almost expiring, was settling the diadem upon Cleopatra's head. "Alas!" cried one of the messengers, "was this well done, Charmian?" "Yes," replied she, "it is well done; such a death becomes a glorious queen, descended from a race of noble ancestors." On pronouncing these words, she fell down, and died with her much-loved mistress. There are some circumstances in the death of this celebrated woman, that interest our affections, contrary to the dictates of our reason. Though with scarce any valuable talent but that of cunning, and scarce any other ornament but that of beauty,

yet we pity her fate, and sympathize with her distresses. She died at the age of thirty-nine, after having reigned twenty-two years. Her death put an end to the monarchy in Egypt, which had flourished there for immemorial ages.

Augustus seemed much troubled at Cleopatra's death, as it deprived him of a principal ornament in his intended triumph. However, the manner of it a good deal exalted her character among the Romans, with whom suicide was considered as a virtue. Her dying request was complied with, her body being laid by Antony's, and a magnificent funeral prepared for her and her two faithful attendants. By the death of Antony, Augustus was now become complete master of the Roman empire. He soon after returned to Rome in triumph; where by sumptuous feasts and magnificent shows, he began to obliterate the impressions of his former cruelty; and from thenceforward resolved to secure by his clemency a throne, the foundations of which were laid in blood. He was now at the head of the most extensive empire that mankind had ever concurred in obeying. The former spirit of the Romans, and those characteristic marks that distinguished them from others, were totally lost. The city was now inhabited by a concourse from all the countries of the world; and being consequently divested of all just patriotic principles, perhaps a monarchy was the best form of government that could be found to unite its members. However, it is very remarkable, that during these long contentions among themselves, and these horrid devastations by civil war, the state was daily growing more formidable and powerful, and completed the destruction of all the kings who presumed to oppose it. A modern politician (Montesquieu) pretends to prove, upon principle, that this must be the case in every state long harassed by civil war. "In such a season," says he, "the nobility, the citizens, the artisans, the peasants, in short, the whole body of the people, become soldiers; and when peace has united all the contending parties, this state enjoys great advantages over others, whose subjects are generally citizens. Besides, civil wars always produce great men; as then is the season when merit is sought for, and talents become conspicuous." However this may be, there never was a time when Rome was so magnificent, so populous, and so refined. The empire was now brought very near its utmost extent. It contained in Europe,

Italy, Gaul, Spain, Greece, Illyricum, Dacia, Pannonia, Britain, and some part of Germany: in Asia, all those provinces which went under the name of Asia Minor; together with Armenia, Syria, Judea, Mesopotamia, and Media: in Africa, almost all those parts of it which were then supposed habitable; namely, Egypt, Numidia, Mauritania, and Libya; the whole of their empire comprising an extent of between three and four thousand miles in length, and half as much in breadth. As to the yearly revenues of the empire, they have been computed at about forty millions of our money. The number of the citizens amounted to four millions and sixty-three thousand men, women, and children; a number at least four times greater than that of London, at present the most populous city in the world. As to the improvements in polite learning, they exceeded all that preceded them, and have never since been equalled. Besides Virgil, and Horace, and Ovid, poets, whose names it is sufficient to mention; Livy, the historian, graced this period; a writer, whose works are as much superior to those of any other historian, as the actions he undertook to record were greater. Without either pedantry or affectation it may be said, that none have ever been comparable to him; and in whatever point of view his books may be considered, whether in point of accuracy, eloquence, or vigour of imagination, he has set mankind a model of the grandest subject, treated in the most becoming manner.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM THE DEATH OF ANTONY TO THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS.

THE government having now taken a permanent form, it is not to be supposed that history can teem with such striking events as during that period in which the constitution was struggling for freedom. But a dearth of historical occurrences is generally the happiness of the people. In fact, Rome never enjoyed an interval of so much prosperity as during the continuance of the reign of Augustus. From the moment he wanted a rival, he gave up his cruelty; and,

U.C. 725.

being entirely without an opposer, he seemed totally divested of suspicion. His first care was to assure himself of the friends of Antony; to which end he publicly reported, that he had burnt all Antony's letters and papers without reading, convinced, that, while any thought themselves suspected, they would be fearful of even offering him their friendship. His next stroke of politics was to establish order, or rather permanent servitude; for, when once the sovereignty is usurped in a free state, every transaction on which an unlimited authority can be founded is called a regulation: however, as the greatest number of those that raise their fortunes assume new titles to authorize their power, Augustus resolved to conceal his new power under usual names and ordinary dignities. He caused himself to be styled emperor, to preserve authority over the army; he made himself to be created tribune, to manage the people; and prince of the senate, to govern there. Thus uniting in his own person so many different powers, he charged himself also with the cares belonging to each separate department; and while he did the greatest good to others, fully gratified his ambition in the discharge of his duty. In this manner the people's interest and his ambition seemed to co-operate; and, while he governed all, he let them imagine that they were governing themselves.

For this purpose, as he had gained the kingdom by his army, he resolved to govern it by the senate. This body, though greatly fallen from their ancient splendour, he knew to be the best ordered, and most capable of wisdom and justice. To these, therefore, he gave the chief power in the administration of his government, while he still kept the people and the army steadfast to him by donatives and acts of favour. By these means, all the odium of justice fell upon the senate, and all the popularity of pardon was solely his own. Thus restoring to the senate their ancient splendour, and discountenancing all corruption, he pretended to reserve to himself a very moderate share of authority, which none could refuse him; namely, an absolute power to compel all ranks of the state to do their duty. This, in fact, was reserving absolute dominion in his own hands; but the misguided people began to look upon his moderation with astonishment: they considered themselves as restored to their former freedom, except in the capacity of promoting sedition; and the senate

supposed their power re-established in all things but their tendency to injustice. It was even said, that the Romans, by such a government, lost nothing of the happiness that liberty could produce, and were exempt from all the misfortunes it could occasion. This observation might have some truth under such a monarch as Augustus now appeared to be; but they were taught to change their sentiments under his successors, when they found themselves afflicted with all the punishments that tyranny could inflict or sedition make necessary.

After having established this admirable order, Augustus found himself agitated by different inclinations; and considered a long time whether he should keep the empire, or restore the people to their ancient liberty. The examples of Sylla and Cæsar variously operated upon him. He considered that Sylla, who had voluntarily quitted the dictatorship, died peaceably in the midst of his enemies; and Cæsar, who had kept it, was assassinated by his most intimate friends, who gloried in the action. Struggling with this troublesome uncertainty, he discovered the disorder of his mind to his two principal friends, Agrippa and Mæcenas. Agrippa, who had gained him the empire by his valour, advised him to resign it; either impelled by patriotism, or a desire to seize upon what should be thus laid down. Mæcenas, however, was of a contrary opinion. This minister, so famous for patronizing the men of genius of his time, had much merit, but was effeminate and tender. More an admirer of the useful than the splendid virtues, he was better satisfied with what benefited the people than raised their admiration: besides, he might have been influenced by self-interested motives in the advice he gave; for being more capable of advising than of acting, and entirely formed for the cabinet, he hoped to obtain those honours from a master, which he could not force from the people, with whom he must have raised himself by his own proper powers, and acted with vigorous independence. He, therefore, entreated Augustus to consider rather what was advantageous to his country than alluring to himself: he likened the republic to a ship fraught with passengers, but totally destitute of a pilot: he considered it as now grown almost a wreck, though safely brought into harbour, and in the utmost danger of sinking, if once more pushed off from shore. He described the empire as now too great and unwieldy to subsist without

the most vigorous master, and likely to fall into pieces under a variety of rulers. To these he added a dissuasive, perhaps still more prevailing; namely, the safety of the emperor, which nothing but his present authority could secure. These reasons prevailed upon a mind already too well inclined to preserve that power, which it had so hardly laboured to obtain. From that time Augustus adopted the advice of Mæcenæ, not only in this instance, but on every other occasion. By the instructions of that great minister he became gentle, affable, and humane. By his advice it was, that he set a resolution of never being concerned at what was said against him. However, in order to avoid obloquy as much as possible, he encouraged men of learning, and gave them much of his time and his friendship. They in their turn relieved his most anxious hours, and circulated his praise through the empire.

Thus having given peace and happiness to the empire, and being convinced of the attachment of all the orders of the state to his person, he resolved upon impressing the people with an idea of his magnanimity also. This was nothing less than making a show of resigning his authority; wherefore, having previously instructed his creatures in the senate how to act, he addressed them in a studied speech, importing the difficulty of governing so extensive an empire; a task, which, he said, none but the immortal gods were equal to. He modestly urged his own inability, though impelled by every motive to undertake it; and then, with a degree of seeming generosity, freely gave up all that power, which, as he observed, his arms had gained, and the senate had confirmed. This power he repeatedly offered to restore, giving them to understand, that the true spirit of the Romans was not lost in him. This speech operated upon the senate variously, as they were more or less in the secret: many believed the sincerity of his professions, and, therefore, regarded his conduct as an act of heroism unequalled by any thing that had hitherto appeared in Rome; others, equally ignorant of his motives, distrusted his designs. Some there were, who, having greatly suffered during the late popular commotions, were fearful of having them renewed; but the majority, who were entirely devoted to his interests, and instructed by his ministers, frequently attempted to interrupt him while speaking, and received his proposal with pretended indignation. These unani-

mously besought him not to resign his administration; but, upon his continuing to decline their request, they in a manner compelled him to comply. However, that his person might be in greater security, they immediately decreed the pay of his guard to be doubled. On the other hand, that he might seem to make some concessions on his side, he permitted the senate to govern the weak internal provinces of the empire, while the most powerful provinces, and those that required the greatest armies for their defence, were taken entirely under his own command. Over these he assumed the government but for ten years, leaving the people still in hopes of regaining their ancient freedom; but, at the same time, laying his measures so well, that his government was renewed every ten years to his death.

This show of a resignation only served to confirm him in the empire and the hearts of the people. New honours were heaped upon him. He was then first called Augustus, a name I have hitherto used, as that by which he is best known in history. A laurel was ordered to be planted at his gates. His house was called the palace, to distinguish it from that of ordinary citizens. He was confirmed in the title of father of his country, and his person declared sacred and inviolable. In short, flattery seemed on the rack to find out new modes of pleasing him: but, though he despised the arts of the senate, he permitted their homage, well knowing, that, among mankind, titles produce a respect which enforces authority.

Upon entering into his tenth consulship, the senate, by oath, approved of all his acts, and set him wholly above the power of the laws. They some time after offered to swear, not only to all the laws he had made, but such as he should make for the future. It was then customary with fathers upon their death-beds to command their children to carry oblations to the capitol, with this inscription, That at the day of their deaths they left Augustus in health. It was determined, that no man should be put to death on such days as the emperor entered the city. Upon a dearth of provisions, the people in a body entreated him to accept of the dictatorship; but, though he undertook to be procurator of the provisions, he would by no means accept of the title of dictator, which had been abolished by a law made when Antony was consul.

This accumulation of titles and employments did not in the least diminish his assiduity in filling the duties of each. Several very wholesome edicts were passed by his command, tending to suppress corruption in the senate, and licentiousness in the people. He ordained, that none should exhibit a show of gladiators without orders from the senate, and then no oftener than twice a year: nor with more than a hundred and twenty at a time. This law was extremely necessary at so corrupt a period of the empire, when whole armies of these unfortunate men were brought at once upon the stage, and compelled to fight often till half of them were slain. It had been usual also with the knights, and some women of the first distinction, to exhibit themselves as dancers upon the theatre; he ordered that not only they, but their children and grandchildren, should be restrained from such exercises for the future. He fined many that had refused to marry at a certain age, and rewarded such as had many children. He ordained, that virgins should not be married till twelve years of age; and permitted any person to kill an adulterer taken in the fact. He enacted, that the senators should be always held in great reverence; adding to their authority what he had taken from their power. He made a law, that no man should have the freedom of the city without a previous examination into his merit and character. He appointed new rules and limits to the manumission of slaves; and was himself very strict in the observance of them. With regard to players, of whom he was very fond, he severely examined their morals, not allowing the least licentiousness in their lives, nor indecency in their actions. Though he encouraged the athletic exercises, yet he would not permit women to be present at them; holding it unbecoming the modesty of the sex to be spectators of these sports, which were performed by naked men. In order to prevent bribery in suing for offices, he took considerable sums of money from the candidates, by way of pledge; and if any indirect practices were proved against them they were obliged to forfeit all. Slaves had been hitherto disallowed to confess any thing against their own masters; but he abolished the practice, and first sold the slave to another; which altering the property, his examination became free. These, and many other laws, all tending to reform vice, or deter from crimes, gave the manners of the

people another complexion ; so that the rough character of the Roman was now softened into that of the refined citizen.

Indeed his own example a good deal tended to humanize his fellow citizens ; for being placed above all equality, he had nothing to fear from condescension : wherefore he was familiar with all, and suffered himself to be reprimanded with the most patient humility. Though he was, by the single authority of his station, capable of condemning or acquitting whomsoever he thought proper, yet he gave the laws their proper course ; and even sometimes pleaded for those he desired to protect. Thus Primus, the governor of Macedonia, having a day assigned him for having made war upon the Odrisii, a neighbouring state, as he said, by the command of Augustus, the latter denied the charge. Upon which the advocate for Primus desired to know, with an insolent air, what brought Augustus into court, or who had sent for him ? To this the emperor submissively replied, " The commonwealth ; " an answer which greatly pleased the people. Upon another occasion, one of his veteran soldiers entreated his protection in a certain cause ; but Augustus, taking little notice of his request, desired him to apply to an advocate. " Ah ! " replied the soldier, " it was not by proxy that I served you at the battle of Actium. " This reply pleased Augustus so much, that he pleaded his cause in person, and gained it for him. He was extremely affable, and returned the salutations of the meanest persons. One day a person presented him a petition, but with so much awe, that Augustus was displeased with his meanness. " What, friend, " cried he, " you seem as if you were offering something to an elephant, and not to man : be bolder. " One day, as he was sitting on the tribunal in judgment, Mæcenas perceiving by his temper, that he was inclined to be severe, attempted to speak to him ; but not being able to get up to the tribunal for the crowd, he threw a paper into his lap, on which was written, " Arise, executioner. " Augustus read it without any displeasure, and immediately rising, pardoned those whom he was disposed to condemn. But what most of all showed a total alteration in his disposition was his treatment of Cornelius Cinna, Pompey's grandson. This nobleman had entered into a very dangerous conspiracy against him ; but the plot was discovered before it was ripe for execution. Augustus, for some time, debated with him-

self how to act; but, at last, his clemency prevailed: he therefore sent for those who were guilty, and after reprimanding them, dismissed them all. But he was resolved to mortify Cinna by the greatness of his generosity: for, addressing him in particular, "I have twice," says he, "given you your life; first, as an enemy; now, as a conspirator; I now give you the consulship: let us, therefore, be friends for the future; and let us only contend in showing, whether my confidence, or your fidelity, shall be victorious." This generosity, which the emperor very happily timed, had so good an effect, that from that instant all conspiracies ceased against him.

In the practice of such virtues as these, he passed a long reign of about forty years, to which the happiness of the people seemed to conspire with his own: not but that there were wars, in the distant provinces of the empire, during almost the whole reign; but they were rather the quelling of insurrections, than the extending of dominions; for he had made it a rule, to carry on no operations in which ambition, and not the safety of the state, was concerned. In fact, he seemed the first Roman, who aimed at gaining a character by the arts of peace alone; and who obtained the affections of the soldiers without any military talents of his own. Nevertheless, the Roman arms, under his lieutenants, were crowned with success. The Cantabrians, in Spain, who had revolted, were more than once quelled by Tiberius, his step-son; Agrippa, his son-in-law; and Ælius Lama; who followed them to their inaccessible mountains, there blocked them up, and compelled them by famine to surrender at discretion. The Germans also gave some uneasiness, by their repeated incursions into the territories of Gaul, but were repressed by Lollius. The Rhetians were conquered by Drusus, the brother of Tiberius. The Bessi and Sialatæ, barbarous nations, making an irruption into Thrace, were overthrown by Piso, governor of Pamphylia, who gained triumphal honours. The Dacians were repressed with more than one defeat: the Armenians also were brought into due subjection by Caius, his grandson. The Getulians, in Africa, took up arms; but were subdued by the consul, Caius Cossus, who thence received the surname of Getulicus. A dangerous war also was carried on against the Dalmatians and Pannonians; who having acquired great strength, by the continuance of a long peace, gathered

an army of two hundred thousand foot and nine thousand horse, threatening Rome itself with destruction. Levies were therefore made in Italy with the utmost expedition; the veteran troops were recalled from all parts; and Augustus went to Arminium, for the greater convenience of giving his directions. And indeed, though personal valour was by no means his most shining ornament, yet no man could give wiser orders upon every emergency, or go with greater dispatch into all parts of his dominions than he. This war continued near three years, being principally managed by Tiberius and Germanicus, the latter of whom gained great reputation against these fierce and barbarous multitudes. Upon their reduction, Bato, their leader, being summoned before the tribunal of Tiberius, and being demanded how he could offer to revolt against the power of Rome, the bold barbarian replied, "that the Romans, and not he, were the aggressors; since they had sent, instead of dogs and shepherds to secure their flocks, only wolves and bears to devour them." But the war, which was most fatal to the Roman interests during this reign, U.C. 752. was that which was managed by Quintilius Varus. This general, invading the territories of the Germans, was induced to follow the enemy among their forests and marshes, with his army in separate bodies; there he was attacked by night, and entirely cut off, with his whole army. These were the best and choicest legions of the whole empire, either for valour, discipline, or experience. The affliction from this defeat seemed to sink very deep upon the mind of Augustus. He was often heard to cry out, in a tone of anguish, "Quintilius Varus, restore me my legions;" and some historians pretend to say, that he never after recovered the former serenity of his temper.

But he had some uneasiness of a domestic nature, in his own family, that contributed to distress him; he had married Livia, the wife of Tiberius Nero, by the consent of her husband, at a time she was six months gone with child. This was an imperious woman; and, conscious of being beloved, she controlled him ever after at her pleasure. She had two sons by her former husband, Tiberius, the elder, whom she greatly loved, and Drusus, who was born three months after she had been married to Augustus, and who was thought to be his own son. The eldest of these, Tiberius, whom he af-

terwards adopted, and who succeeded him in the empire, was a good general, but of a suspicious and obstinate temper; so that though he was serviceable to Augustus in his foreign wars, yet he gave him but little quiet at home. He was, at last, obliged to go into exile for five years to the island of Rhodes, where he chiefly spent his time in a retired manner, conversing with the Greeks, and addicting himself to literature, of which, however, he made afterwards but a bad use. Drusus, the other son of Livia, died in his return from an expedition against the Germans, leaving Augustus inconsolable for his loss. But his greatest affliction was the conduct of his daughter Julia, whom he had by Scribonia, his former wife. This woman, whom he married to his general Agrippa, and after his death to Tiberius, set no bounds to her lewdness. Not contented with enjoying her pleasures, she seemed also earnest in procuring the infamy of her prostitutions. Augustus for a long time would not believe the accounts he daily heard of her conduct, but at last could not help observing them. He found she was arrived at that excess of wantonness and prodigality, that she had her nocturnal appointments in the most public parts of the city; the very court, where her father presided, not being exempt from her debaucheries. He at first had thoughts of putting her to death; but, after some consideration, he banished her to Pandataria, forbidding her the use of wine, and all such delicacies as could inflame her vicious inclinations: he ordered, also, that no persons should come near her without his own permission, and sent her mother Scribonia with her to bear her company. Afterwards, whenever any attempted to intercede for Julia, his answer was, that fire and water should sooner unite, than he with her. When some persons one day were more than usually urgent with him in her favour, he was driven to such an extremity of passion, as to wish that they might have such a daughter. However, she had two sons by Agrippa, named Caius and Lucius, from whom great expectations were formed, but they died when scarcely arrived at man's estate: Lucius about five years after his father at Marseilles, and Caius two years after, on his return to Rome, of a wound he had received in Armenia. Thus Augustus, having in a great measure survived all his nearest relations, at length, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, began to think of retiring, in good earnest, from the

fatigues of state ; and, in some measure, of constituting Tiberius his successor in his usual employments. He desired the senate to salute him no longer at the palace according to custom, nor to take it amiss, if, for the future, he could not converse with them as formerly. From that time Tiberius was joined in the government of the provinces U.C. 766. with him, and invested with almost the same authority. However, Augustus could not entirely forsake the administration of the state, which habit had mixed with his satisfactions ; he still continued a watchful guardian of its interests, and showed himself, to the last, a lover of his people. Finding it now, therefore, very inconvenient to come to the senate, by reason of his age, he desired to have twenty privy counsellors assigned him for a year ; and it was decreed, that whatever measures were resolved upon by them, together with the consuls, they should have entirely the force of a law. He seemed, in some measure, apprehensive of his approaching end, for he made his will, and delivered it to the vestal virgins. He then solemnized the census, or numbering the people, whom he found to amount to four millions one hundred and thirty-seven thousand, which shows Rome to be equal to four of the greatest cities of modern times. While these ceremonies were performing by a mighty concourse of people in the Campus Martius, it is said, that an eagle flew round the emperor several times, and, directing its flight to a neighbouring temple, perched over the name of Agrippa, which was by the augurs conceived to portend the death of the emperor. Shortly after, having accompanied Tiberius, in his march into Illyria, as far as Beneventum, he was there taken ill of a diarrhoea. Returning, therefore, from thence, he came to Nola, near Capua, and there, finding himself dangerously ill, he sent for Tiberius, with the rest of his most intimate friends and acquaintance. He did not continue long to indulge vain hopes of recovery, but, convinced that his end was at hand, patiently awaited its arrival. A few hours before his death, he ordered a looking-glass to be brought, and his hair to be adjusted with more than usual care. He then addressed his friends, whom he beheld surrounding his bed, and desired to know whether he had properly played his part in life : to which being answered in the affirmative, he cried out with his last breath, " Then give me your applause ;" and thus, in the seventy-sixth year

of his age, after reigning forty-one, he expired in the arms of Livia, bidding her remember their marriage and farewell.

The death of the emperor, when known, caused inexpressible grief throughout the whole Roman empire: it was even supposed that his wife Livia had some hand in hastening it, willing to procure the succession more speedily for her son. However this be, she took care, for some time, to keep it concealed, having guarded all the passages to the palace, sometimes giving out that he was recovered, and pretending a relapse. At length, having settled the succession to her mind, she published the emperor's death, and at the same time the adoption of Tiberius to the empire. The emperor's funeral was performed with great magnificence. The senators being in their places, Tiberius, on whom the care was devolved, began a consolatory oration to them, but suddenly stopped in the beginning of his speech, as unable to restrain the violence of his sorrow; and, instead of continuing, gave his notes to Drusus, his son, who read them to the senate. After this, one of the late emperor's freedmen publicly read his will in the senate house, wherein he made Tiberius and Livia his heirs, and by that Livia was likewise adopted into the Julian family, and honoured with the name of Augusta. He gave considerable legacies to many private persons, to the prætorian guards, to the legionary soldiers, and to all the citizens of Rome. But his resentment to his daughter Julia continued even to the last; he left her a small legacy indeed, but would neither restore her to her family, nor permit her to be buried in the sepulchre of her ancestors. Besides his will, four other writings of his were produced: one, in which he had left instructions concerning his funeral; another, containing an enumeration of his several exploits; a third, comprising an account of the provinces, forces, and revenues of the empire: and the fourth, a schedule of directions to Tiberius for governing the empire. Among these, it was found to be his opinion, that no man, how great a favourite soever he might be, should be entrusted with too much authority, lest it should induce him to turn tyrant. Another maxim was, that none should desire to enlarge the empire, which was already preserved with difficulty. Thus he seemed studious of serving his country to the very last; and the sorrow of the people seemed equal to his assiduity. It was decreed, that all the women should mourn for him a whole year.

Temples were erected to him ; divine honours were allowed him ; and one Numerius Atticus, a senator, willing to convert the adulation of the times to his own benefit, received a large sum of money for swearing that he saw him ascending into Heaven, so that no doubt remained among the people concerning his divinity.

Such were the honours paid to Augustus, whose power began in the slaughter, and terminated in the happiness of his subjects ; so that it was said of him, that it had been good for mankind if he had never been born, or if he never had died. It is very probable, that the cruelties, exercised in his triumph, were suggested by his colleagues ; or perhaps he thought, in the case of Cæsar's death, that revenge was virtue. Certain it is, that these severities were, in some measure, necessary to restore public tranquillity ; for until the Roman spirit was entirely eradicated, no monarchy could be secure. He gave the government an air suited to the disposition of the times ; he indulged his subjects in the pride of seeing the appearance of a republic, while he made them really happy in the effects of a most absolute monarchy, guided by the most consummate prudence. In this last virtue he seemed to have excelled most monarchs ; and, indeed, could we separate Octavius from Augustus, he would be one of the most faultless princes in history. The long peace, which his subjects enjoyed during his administration, may be entirely ascribed to his moderation alone ; and about the middle of his reign the greatest part of mankind saw themselves at once professing obedience to one monarch, and in perfect harmony with each other. This was the time in which our Saviour Christ came into the world to teach new laws, and give new sanctions to the practice of every human virtue. He was born in Judea, in the seven hundred and fifty-second year of Rome, in the twenty-fifth of the reign of Augustus, and in the four thousand and third year of the world, according to the common computation.

CHAPTER XXV.

TIBERIUS, THE THIRD EMPEROR.

U.C. 767. **TIBERIUS** is, perhaps, the strongest example of a man, by an excess of refinement, destroying those very advantages he attempts to secure. **A. D. 15.** Augustus left him in possession of great popularity, and a happy empire; but he immediately found means to injure his popularity, by claiming as a debt that homage, which his predecessor was willing to receive as a favour; and subverted the happiness of the empire, by making a distinction between the welfare of the prince and the people. Thus all his abilities only served to heighten his errors and corrupt his heart, till, in the end, his life seemed painfully employed in finding pretexts for appearing what he might easily have been, and in deceiving others by being deceived himself.

The first object of his suspicion, when he came to the empire, was Agrippa Posthumus, the third and only remaining son of the general of that name, by Julia, daughter of Augustus. This youth, having rather imitated the licentiousness of his mother than the prudence of his father, was banished by Augustus into the island of Planasium, and was now murdered by the order of Tiberius, who pretended that it was done by the particular appointment of the late emperor, who was solicitous for the safety of the succession. He even carried his dissimulation so far, that when the centurion, who had executed his commands, came with the account, Tiberius pretended that he had given no such command, and that he should answer for his conduct before the senate. However, the business was hushed up soon after, and no inquiry made after the murderer.

As for the people in general, they were now ready to suffer every injury without murmuring. Every order of the state was ambitious of slavery, and only desirous of showing the extent of their obedience by the humility of their adulation. All suits and petitions were now made to Tiberius; and he, at the same time, took care that nothing material should be done

without his concurrence. The senate was willing enough to give up the reins of government, yet he had so much dissimulation in his nature as to wish to make his acceptance of them the greatest favour. He began, therefore, in the senate, with great art, to descant on the extent of the Roman empire, and the difficulty of guiding it with proper skill; he then alleged his own insufficiency for the task, and hinted, that no man could be a worthy successor to Augustus. But as the city was so happily ornamented with great numbers of wise and worthy men, it would be more advisable for a number to unite their care and their counsels, than to lay the whole burthen upon him alone. The senate, however, skilled now only in the arts of adulation, besought him, in the most humble manner, to accept of the government, and not to reject a task to which he alone was equal. Tiberius, upon this, pretending to be somewhat softened, partly accepted their offers, but alleged that he was unable to take the charge of the whole; but, at their request, declared himself willing to undertake the protection of any part they assigned him. Whereupon Asinius Gallus demanded what part he was willing to take charge of. This unexpected question quite confounded the dissembling emperor. He, for some time, remained silent; but, recovering himself, answered, with a subtle reserve, that it ill became him to choose any one part of that from which he begged a general exemption. Gallus, who now perceived he had gone too far, and who, perhaps, only put the question to flatter his vanity, very readily brought himself off by saying, "that he did not offer that question as though he designed to divide what was in itself indissoluble; but, from his own confession, to convince him, that the commonwealth was but one body, and was consequently to be actuated only by one soul." At length Tiberius, seemingly overcome by the importunities and clamours of all around him, yielded by degrees to their entreaties, and at last condescended to take upon him the labour of the government, purely to satisfy their wishes rather than his own; adding, however, that he would keep it only till they should think fit to give repose to his old age.

He was now fifty-six years old when he took
 upon him the government of the Roman empire. U.C. 765.
 He had long lived in a profound state of dissi- A. D. 18.
 mulation under Augustus, and was not yet hardy enough

to show himself in his real character. In the beginning of his reign nothing appeared but prudence, generosity, and clemency. He utterly rejected many of those great names and titles of honour, which were so liberally offered him by the senate. He prohibited their erecting statues to him but upon certain occasions, and absolutely forbade their worshipping him as a deity. Those just praises, also, which he might have received without censure, seemed irksome to him, and he appeared to desire no other rewards for his labours in the empire but the consciousness of having deserved them. When the senate offered to swear to obey all the ordinances which had not only been made, but those he was about to enact hereafter, he checked their vile adulation, observing, that all sublunary things were mutable and uncertain, and the higher he was raised, his state would only be the more exposed to danger. He assumed also an appearance of great patience and moderation upon all occasions; and though in the senate there passed some things contrary to his will, yet he seemed not in the least offended. Having learned that some persons had spoken ill both of him and his government, he showed no resentment, but mildly replied, that in a free city the tongues of men ought also to be free. When the senate would have proceeded against some who had libelled him, he would not consent, alleging, that he had greater and more useful employments than to embarrass himself with such trifling concerns; adding, that the best way of punishing such as defamed him was to make the account of his conduct uneasy to them, or else by retaliating their contempt. When some governors had shown him a method of increasing his revenues, he with indignation answered, that a good shepherd ought to shear, but never flay his flock. He made many sumptuary edicts against taverns and places of public resort; he punished dishonest matrons, and even prohibited kissing by way of salutation. He was very vigilant in suppressing robberies and seditions, and caused justice to be duly and regularly administered in all the towns of Italy. He also behaved in a very respectful manner to the senate, and in the beginning did nothing of moment without their advice and approbation. They, on their parts, continually forced upon him the most extravagant praises, so that no prince was ever more flattered than he. Nor is it an improbable conjecture to suppose, that this adula-

tion served greatly to perjure his mind, and to make him more boldly throw aside the mask of dissimulation.

The successes of Germanicus first brought his natural dispositions to light, and discovered the malignity of his mind without disguise. He was scarcely well settled on his throne when he received intelligence that the legions in Pannonia, hearing of the death of Augustus, and desirous of novelty, had revolted; but these were soon quieted, and Percennius their leader slain. A commotion in Germany was attended with much more important consequences. The legions in that part of the empire were conducted by Germanicus, the son of Drusus, late brother of Tiberius, a youth of most admirable qualities, and who had been, at the late emperor's request, adopted to succeed to the empire. The legions under his command had taken the opportunity of his absence to revolt, and now boldly began to affirm, that the whole Roman empire was in their power, and that its principal grandeur was owing to the success of their arms; wherefore, when Germanicus returned, they unanimously resolved to choose him emperor. This general was the darling of the soldiers, and almost idolized by them, so that he might with very little difficulty have raised himself to the highest dignity in the state; but his duty prevailed over his ambition: he rejected their offers with the utmost indignation, and used the most indefatigable endeavours to oppose the sedition. This he effected, though with extreme hazard, by cutting off many of the principal revoltors, and then by leading the troops against the Germans, who were considered as the common enemies of the empire.

Tiberius was as much pleased with the loyalty of Germanicus as he was distressed at his superior popularity; his success also, immediately after, against the Germans, only still more excited the emperor's envy and private disgust: he overthrew the enemy in several battles, subduing many wild and extensive countries, the Angrivarii, the Cherusci, and the Chatti, with other fierce nations beyond the Rhine. Among his other conquests it was not considered as the least honourable, that of recovering the standards that had been taken from the unfortunate Varus, and erecting trophies to the memory of his own legions, in those very wilds, in which the legions of the former were slain. Upon one of the monuments of his vic-

tories he placed a modest inscription, mentioning only the people that were conquered, and the army which made the conquest, entirely omitting his own name, either willing to avoid envy, or sensible that posterity would supply the defect.

All these victories, however, only served to inflame the emperor's jealousy, and every virtue in the general now became a new cause of offence. This dislike first began to appear by Tiberius making use of every pretence to draw Germanicus from the legions; but he was for a while obliged to postpone his purpose, upon account of a domestic insurrection, which was made in Italy by one Clemens, who had been a slave to the young Agrippa that was slain. This adventurer, being about the same age, and in person very much resembling his late master, took upon him his name, and caused it to be reported in all parts of Italy that Agrippa was still A. D. 17. alive. This report, idle as it was, had a surprising influence through the empire, and raised great tumults in many towns of Italy, Clemens himself boldly asserting his claim, and now and then appearing in different parts of the country, when he could do it with safety. Tiberius, however, knew but too well the imposture, and was resolved to oppose fraud on his side to that of this young pretender. Accordingly, two soldiers were employed, who were to find him out, and, by pretending an attachment to his person, seize him upon the first opportunity. This commission they executed with punctuality and success. Clemens was taken prisoner, and brought before Tiberius, who sternly demanded how he came to be Agrippa? To which the other as boldly replied, "By the same arts with which you have become Cæsar." Tiberius, finding by his resolution that it was vain to expect any discovery from him of his accomplices, resolved to put him immediately to death; however, such were his apprehensions from the people, that he would not punish him publicly, but ordered him to be conveyed to a secret apartment in the palace, and there to be executed in private.

Being now rid of his domestic enemy, he began to consult on the most specious means of bringing home Germanicus from the legions in Germany. For this, an invasion of the Parthians offered him the fairest opportunity. These fierce and unconquerable people, having slain two of their own kings, and having refused to accept one who had been a hostage at

Rome, and was, it seems, the lawful successor, broke the peace which had been ratified in the reign of Augustus, and invaded Armenia, a kingdom tributary to the empire. Tiberius was not displeased at this invasion, as it gave him a pretext for recalling Germanicus from those legions, which were too much devoted to his interest. He first, therefore, began by procuring him a triumph for his victory in Germany; and then by writing to him to return, in order to enjoy those honours which the senate had decreed: adding, that he had reaped enough of glory in a country where he had been sent nine times, and had been every time victorious; concluding, that the number of triumphs were sufficient; and that the most signal vengeance that could be inflicted on them was their being permitted to carry on their own intestine commotions. To all these specious civilities Germanicus made no direct reply, but earnestly entreated the continuance of his command for one year longer, only to finish the enterprises he had begun. Tiberius, however, was too well skilled in dissimulation not to prevail upon him by a repetition of pretended honours; he offered him the consulship, and desired him to execute the office in person; so that Germanicus had no longer any pretences for refusing. Thus, finding the season very far advanced, he delayed his return no longer; and he was met many miles out of the city by infinite multitudes, who received him rather with marks of adoration than respect: the gracefulness of his person; his triumphal chariot, in which were carried his five children; and the recovered standards of the army of Varus, threw the people into a frenzy of joy and admiration. Tiberius, though inwardly repining, seemed to join in the general rapture: he gave the people, in the name of Germanicus, three hundred sesterces each man; and, the succeeding year, made him his colleague in the consulship. However, his aim was to send him distant from Rome, where his popularity was now become odious to him; and yet not to give him such a command as could at any time be turned against himself. Wherefore, the Parthian invasion was now very convenient for his designs; and, besides, there now offered other pretexts for sending him into Asia, which might be considered as no better than specious banishment. Antiochus, king of Comagena, and Philopater, king of Cilicia; being both dead, some differences arose in those nations to

the prejudice of the Romans. At the same time, also, Syria and Judea, overburthened with taxes, made earnest supplications for redress. These, therefore, appeared to be objects worthy the attention of Germanicus; and Tiberius was not wanting in urging before the senate the necessity there was of his presence in that quarter of the empire. In consequence of this, all the provinces of Asia were readily decreed to Germanicus; and a greater power given him than had been granted to any governor before. But Tiberius, to restrain this power, had sent Cneius Piso governor into Syria, having dispossessed Silenus of that office. This Piso was a person of a furious and headstrong temper, and, in every respect, fit to execute those fatal purposes for which he was designed. His instructions were to oppose Germanicus upon every occasion; and to excite all the hatred against him, which, without suspicion, he could; and even to procure his death, if an opportunity should offer.

A. D. 19. Germanicus, being now appointed to his new dignity, departed from Rome for his eastern expedition, carrying with him his wife Agrippina, and his children. In the mean time, Piso, pursuant to his directions, endeavoured to gain the affections of the soldiers by the arts of bribery and adulation. He took every opportunity of abusing Germanicus; and taxed him with diminishing the Roman glory by his peculiar protection to that people who called themselves Athenians, but were now such no longer. Germanicus disregarded his invectives, being more employed in executing the business of his commission than in counteracting the private designs of Piso. In a short time he replaced the king of Armenia, who was a friend to the Romans; and reduced Cilicia and Comagena into Roman provinces, placing prætors there to collect the taxes due to the empire. He soon after obliged the king of Parthia to sue for peace; which was granted him, much to the advantage and honour of Rome. However, Piso, and his wife Plancina, who is recorded as one of an implacable and cruel disposition, continued to defame him, and openly to tax all his proceedings. These efforts of ineffective malice were quite disregarded; Germanicus only opposed patience and condescension to all their invectives; and, with that gentleness which was peculiar to him, repaid their resentment by courtesy. He was not

ignorant of their motives; and was rather willing to evade than oppose their enmity. Wherefore he took a voyage into Egypt, under a pretence of viewing the celebrated antiquities of the place, but in reality to avoid the machinations of Piso, and those of his wife, which were still more dangerous. However, upon his return, he fell sick; and, whether from a mind previously alarmed, or from more apparent marks of treachery, he sent to let Piso know, that he broke off all further connections and friendship with him. A short interval of convalescence restored the hopes of his friends, and the citizens of Antioch prepared to offer sacrifices for his recovery. However, Piso, with his lictors, disturbed their solemnities, and drove off their victims from the foot of the altars. In the mean time, Germanicus grew daily worse; and his death now began to appear inevitable. Whereupon, finding his end approaching, he addressed his friends, who stood round his bed, to the following effect:—"Had my death been natural, I might have reason to complain of being thus snatched away from all the endearments of life at so early an age; but now my complaints are aggravated in falling the victim of Piso and Plancina's treachery. Let the emperor, therefore, I conjure you, know the manner of my death, and the tortures I suffer. Those that loved me, when living, those even that envied my fortune, will feel some regret, when they hear of a soldier, who had so often escaped the rage of the enemy, falling a sacrifice to the treachery of a woman. Plead, then, my cause before the people; you will be heard with pity; and if my murderers should pretend to have acted by command, they will either receive no credit or no pardon." As he spoke these words, he stretched forth his hand, which his weeping friends tenderly pressing, most earnestly vowed that they would sooner lose their lives than their revenge. The dying prince then turning to his wife conjured her, by his memory, and all the bonds of nuptial love, to submit to the necessity of the times, and to evade the resentment of her more powerful enemies by not opposing it. Thus much he said openly; something more was uttered in private; intimating, as was supposed, his fears from the emperor's cruelty; and shortly after he expired. Nothing could exceed the distress of the whole empire upon hearing of the death of Germanicus. But the people of Rome seemed to put no bounds to their distress. A vacation was

made in all public and domestic duties ; the streets were filled with lamentations ; the people cast stones at their temples, and flung down their altars ; while new-born infants were exposed, as objects not worthy parental attention in this universal distress. So much was the spirit of the people now changed from its former fortitude and equality. They now were so accustomed to place their happiness in paying homage to their masters, that they considered the safety of the state as comprised in an individual. In fact, the community was now composed of persons, who had lately received their freedom ; or of such indolent and idle people as lived at the expense of the public treasure. These were, therefore, sensible of nothing but their own imbecility ; and afflicted themselves, like children, for evils which were only suggested by their fears.

In this universal distress, Piso seemed marked for destruction. Historians in general charge him and his wife with the death of Germanicus : it is now too remote a period to controvert their testimony ; however, the general accusation of their giving him a slow poison is one of those imputations that seems to have but little foundation. The belief of slow poisons is now much disputed ; it being in general supposed by physicians, that it is not in the power of art to regulate the duration of their effect. Let this be as it will, not only Piso and his wife, but even the emperor himself, with his mother Livia, incurred a share of the general suspicion. These were soon after greatly increased by the arrival of Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, a woman in high esteem for her virtue, who appeared bearing the ashes of her husband, and attended by all her children. As she approached the city, she was met by the senate, and the whole body of the people of Rome, with a strange mixture of acclamation and distress. The veteran soldiers, many of whom had served under Germanicus, gave the sincerest testimonies of their concern. The whole multitude, while the ashes were depositing in the tomb of Augustus, at first regarded the ceremony in profound silence ; but shortly after, all of a sudden, broke out into loud lamentations ; crying, that the commonwealth was now no more.

Tiberius, whose jealousy had some reason to be alarmed at this effeminate excess of sorrow, used all his art to hide his anger, and make a show of sharing in the general calamity.

He even permitted the accusation of Piso, who was supposed to be merely the instrument of his vengeance. This general having returned to Rome shortly after, presuming on the great favour he was in with the emperor, was accused before the senate, in behalf of Agrippina and her friends, of the death of Germanicus; and several other crimes, particularly his cruelty to good men, and his corrupting the legions, were laid to his charge.

Piso, either conscious of his innocence, or seeing the inefficacy of any defence against the tide of popularity, vindicated himself but weakly against every part of the charge. However, the poisoning of Germanicus could not be made evident enough to satisfy his judges, who seemed to take part against him. His trial was therefore drawn out to a greater length than was expected: but in the mean time he cut it short, by putting an end to his life in his own house. His wife Plancina, who was universally believed to be most culpable, escaped punishment by the interest of Livia: so that all disturbances raised upon this account by degrees subsided.

About a year after the death of Germanicus, Tiberius took his own son Drusus as a colleague with him in the consulship; and, willing to initiate him into business betimes, left him in the government of the city; while he himself retired, under the pretence of indisposition. About this time, several nations of the Gauls revolted, being unable to endure the heavy tributes which the emperor had lately imposed upon them. The principal leaders in the revolt were Florus and Sacrovir; who were so successful in the beginning, that the fame of their successes spread consternation even as far as Rome. Caius Silius, however, marched with the Roman legions to oppose them; and gained a great and decisive victory. A revolt also happened about this time in Numidia, under Tacfarinas, who had rebelled once before; but he was now, in some measure, brought under by Blæsus; who, in consequence, received the honour of being saluted imperator, by the permission of Tiberius.

Hitherto Tiberius had kept within bounds: he was frugal; just in the distribution of offices; a rigid punisher of injustice in others; and an example of temperance to his luxurious court. But now, from the ninth year of his reign, it is that

historians begin to trace the bloody effects of his suspicious temper.

Having now no object of jealousy to keep him in awe, he began to pull off the mask entirely, and appear more in his natural character than before. He no longer adopted that wisest maxim, the truth of which has familiarized it into a proverb, that "honesty is the best policy." With him, judgment, justice, and extent of thinking, were converted into slyness, artifice, and expedients adapted to momentary conjunctures. He took upon himself the interpretation of all political measures; and gave morals whatever colour he chose, by the fine-drawn speculations of his own malicious mind. He began daily to diminish the authority of the senate; which design was much facilitated by their own aptitude to slavery; so that he despised their meanness, while he enjoyed its effects. A law at that time subsisted, which made it treason to form any injurious attempt against the majesty of the people. Tiberius assumed to himself the interpretation and enforcement of this law, and extended it not only to the cases which really affected the safety of the state, but to every conjuncture that could possibly be favourable to his hatred or suspicions. All freedom was now, therefore, banished from convivial meetings; and diffidence reigned amongst the dearest relations. The gloomy disposition and insincerity of the prince were diffused through all ranks of men; friendship had the air of an allurements to betray; and a fine genius was but a shining indiscretion; even virtue itself was considered as an impertinent intruder, that only served to remind the people of their lost happiness.

The law of offended majesty being revived, the first of note that fell a sacrifice to it was Cremutius Cordus, who, in his annals of the Roman empire, had called Brutus the last of the Romans. It is also thought he had given offence to Sejanus, the emperor's favourite, by too great liberty in private conversation. This brave man, seeing his death resolved upon, defended himself in the senate with great force and undaunted resolution. Then going home, he resolved to defeat the malice of the tyrant by a voluntary death, and refused taking any manner of sustenance. The informers, who perceived that he was upon the point of depriving them of

their reward, presented their complaints to the senate, signifying his intentions of escaping justice. However, while their petitions continued under deliberation, Cremutius, as Seneca expresses it, pronounced his own absolution by dying.

It was in the beginning of these cruelties, that Tiberius took into his confidence Sejanus, a Roman knight, who found out the method of gaining his confidence by the most refined degree of dissimulation, being an over-match for his master in his own arts. This favourite minister, by birth a Volscian, was close and subtle in his designs, but bold and aspiring in his attempts; modest to outward appearance, but concealing an ambition that knew no bounds. He was so secure in the affections of the emperor, that, though ever reserved and secret to others, he was entirely open and explicit with him. He was made, by the emperor, captain of the prætorian guards, one of the most confidential trusts in the state; and extolled in the senate as a worthy associate in his labours. The servile senators, with ready adulation, set up the statues of the favourite beside those of Tiberius: and seemed eager to pay him similar honours. It is not well known whether he was the adviser of all the cruelties that ensued soon after; but certain it is, that, from the beginning of his ministry, Tiberius seemed to become more fatally suspicious.

It was from such humble beginnings, that this minister even ventured to aspire at the throne, and was resolved to make the emperor's foolish confidence one of the first steps to his ruin. However, he considered that cutting off Tiberius alone would rather retard than promote his designs, while his son Drusus, and the children of Germanicus, were yet remaining. He therefore began by corrupting Livia, the wife of Drusus, whom, after having debauched, he prevailed upon to poison her husband. This was effected by means of a slow poison (as we are told), which gave his death the appearance of a casual distemper. Tiberius, in the mean time, either naturally phlegmatic, or, at best, not much regarding his son, bore his death with great tranquillity. He was even heard to jest upon the occasion: for when the ambassadors from Troy came somewhat late with their compliments of condolence, he answered their pretended distresses by condoling with them also upon the death of Hector.

Sejanus, having succeeded in this, was resolved to make

his next attempt upon the children of Germanicus, who were undoubted successors to the empire. However, he was frustrated in his designs, both with regard to the fidelity of their governors, and the chastity of Agrippina, their mother. Whereupon, he resolved upon changing his aims, and removing Tiberius out of the city; by which means he expected more frequent opportunities of putting his designs into execution. He therefore used all his address to persuade Tiberius to retire to some agreeable retreat, remote from Rome. By this he expected many advantages, since there could be no access to the emperor but by him. Thus all letters being conveyed to the prince by soldiers at his own devotion, they would pass through his hands; by which means he must in time become the sole governor of the empire; and, at last, be in a capacity of removing all obstacles to his ambition. He now therefore began to insinuate to Tiberius the great and numerous inconveniences of the city; the fatigues of attending the senate; and the seditious temper of the inferior citizens of Rome.

Tiberius, either prevailed upon by his persuasions, or pursuing the natural turn of his temper, which led to indolence and debauchery, in the twelfth year of his reign left Rome, and went into Campania, under pretence of dedicating temples to Jupiter and Augustus. After this, though he removed to several places, he never returned to Rome, but spent the greatest part of his time in the island of Caprea, a place which was rendered as infamous by his pleasures as detestable by his cruelties, which were shocking to human nature. For having, in pursuance of his intentions, dedicated the temples which he had built in Campania, he published an edict, forbidding all persons to disturb his repose; and stopped the concourse of his subjects, by placing soldiers in the ways which led to his palace. But still growing weary of places where mankind might follow him with their complaints and distresses, he withdrew himself, as was said, into that most delightful island of Caprea, three miles from the continent, and opposite Naples. Buried in this retreat, he gave himself up to his pleasures, quite regardless of the miseries of his subjects. Thus an insurrection of the Jews, upon placing his statue in Jerusalem, under the government of Pontius Pilate, gave him no sort of uneasiness. The falling of an amphitheatre at

Fidens, in which fifty thousand persons were either killed or wounded, no way affected his repose. He was only employed in studying how to vary his odious pleasures, and forcing his feeble frame, shattered by age and former debaucheries, into the enjoyment of them. Nothing can present a more horrid picture than the retreat of this impure old man, attended in this place by all the ministers of his perverted appetites. He was at this time sixty-seven years old; his person was most displeasing; and some say the disagreeableness of it, in a great measure, drove him into retirement. He was quite bald before; his face was all broke out into ulcers, and covered over with plasters; his body was bowed forward; while its extreme height and leanness increased its deformity. With such a person, and a mind still more hideous, being gloomy, suspicious, and cruel, he sat down with a view rather of forcing his appetites than satisfying them. He spent whole nights in debaucheries at the table; and he appointed Pomponius Flaccus and Lucius Piso to the first posts of the empire, for no other merit than that of having sat up with him two days and two nights without interruption. These he called his friends of all hours. He made one Novelius Torgantus a prætor, for being able to drink off five bottles of wine at a draught. His luxuries of another kind were still more detestable, and seemed to increase with his drunkenness and gluttony. He made the most eminent women of Rome subservient to his lusts; and all his inventions only seemed calculated how to make his vices more extravagant and abominable. Here he invented rooms adapted to his libidinous exercises, where he made use of all manner of incentives, which nothing but the depraved imagination of a tyrant could delight in. The numberless obscene medals dug up in that island at this day bear witness at once to his shame, and the veracity of the historians who have described his debaucheries. In short, in this retreat, which was surrounded with rocks on every side, he quite gave up the business of the empire; or, if he was ever active, it was only to do mischief.

In fact, it had been happy for mankind had he given up his suspicions when he declined the fatigues of reigning, and resigned the will to do harm when he divested himself of the power of doing good. But from the time of his retreat he became more cruel, and Sejanus always endeavoured to in-

crease his distrusts. Secret spies and informers were placed in all parts of the city, who converted the most harmless actions into subjects of offence. If any person of merit testified any concern for the glory of the empire, it was immediately construed into a design to obtain it. If another spoke with regret of former liberty, he was supposed to aim at re-establishing the commonwealth. Every action became liable to forced interpretations; joy expressed a hope of the prince's death; melancholy, an envying of his prosperity. Sejanus found his aims every day succeeding; the wretched emperor's terrors were an instrument that he wrought upon at his pleasure, and by which he levelled every obstacle to his designs. But the chief objects of his jealousy were the children of Germanicus, whom he resolved to put out of the way. He, therefore, sedulously continued to render them obnoxious to the emperor, to alarm him with false reports of their ambition, and to terrify them with alarms of his intended cruelty. By these means he so contrived to widen the breach, that he actually produced on both sides those dispositions which he pretended to obviate; till, at length, the two princes, Nero and Drusus, were declared enemies to the state, and afterwards starved to death in prison, while Agrippina, their mother, was sent into banishment.

In consequence of their pretended crimes, many others lost their lives. Sabinus, who was attached to their interests, was accused and condemned by a most vile combination of informers against him. Asinius Gallus was sentenced to remain in prison, only to increase the rigour of his punishment by a lingering death. Syriacus was condemned and executed merely for being a friend to the latter. In this manner Sejanus proceeded, removing all who stood between him and the empire, and every day increasing in confidence with Tiberius, and power with the senate. The number of his statues exceeded even those of the emperor; people swore by his fortune, in the same manner as they would have done had he been actually upon the throne: and he was more dreaded than even the tyrant who actually enjoyed the empire. But the rapidity of his rise seemed only preparatory to the greatness of his downfall. All we know of his first disgrace with the emperor is, that Satrius Secundus was the man who had the boldness to accuse him. Antonia, the mother of Ger-

manicus, seconded the accusation. What were the particulars of his crimes, we now cannot learn ; but certain it is, that he attempted to usurp the empire by aiming at the life of Tiberius ; but his own life was very opportunely substituted to that against which he aimed. Tiberius, sensible of the traitor's power, proceeded with his usual dissimulation in having him apprehended. He granted him new honours at the very time he resolved his death, and took him as his colleague in the consulship. The emperor's letter to the senate began only with slight complaints against his friend, but ended with an order for putting him in prison. He entreated the senators to protect a poor old man, as he was, abandoned by all ; and in the mean time prepared ships for his flight, and ordered soldiers for his security. The senate, who had long been jealous of the favourite's power, and dreaded his cruelty, immediately took this opportunity of going beyond their orders. Instead of sentencing him to imprisonment, they directed his execution. A strange revolution now appeared in the city ; of those numbers, that but a moment before were pressing into the presence of Sejanus with offers of service and adulation, not one was found that would seem to be of his acquaintance : he was deserted by all : and those, who had formerly received the greatest benefits from him, seemed now converted into his most inveterate enemies. As he was conducting to execution, the people loaded him with insult and execration. He attempted to hide his face with his hands, but even this was denied him, and his hands were secured. He was pursued with sarcastic reproaches, his statues were instantly thrown down, and he himself shortly after strangled by the executioner. Nor did the rage of his enemies subside with his death ; his body was ignominiously dragged about the streets, and his whole family executed with him. Such was the end of Sejanus ; a striking example of the instability of every favourite's power, and the precariousness of every tyrant's friendship.

His death only lighted up the emperor's rage for further executions. Plancina, the wife of Piso, was put to death, as little pitied as the former. Sextus Vestilius shared the same fate, as it was pretended, for having written a satire against Caligula, the only surviving son of Germanicus ; but his real fault was, that his severe virtues were become intolerable to

the vicious emperor. Vesularius Atticus and Julius Marinus, formerly the inseparable friends of Tiberius, and who had been his companions in Rhodes, were now executed by his command for being attached to Sejanus; and Mamercus Scaurus was also obliged to prevent his execution by suicide, for having written a tragedy upon the story of Atreus. The suspicious emperor applied to himself the invective that was alleged against tyrants in general; and declared in a rage, that if he was become an Atreus, he would compel the author to become an Ajax. Vitia, an aged woman, was put to death only for having lamented the execution of her son. Fafnus, and his wife Publia, being accused of treason against the emperor, were obliged to prevent their condemnation by suicide. Confidius Proculus, as he was cheerfully employed among his friends, in celebrating his birth-day, found himself, in an instant, dragged before the senate, accused of conspiring against the emperor, condemned, and executed: the whole family of Theophanes was treated with the same cruel expedition. Sextus Marius found his riches and the beauty of his daughter sufficient causes to procure his conviction and death. The prisons were crowded with pretended accomplices in the conspiracy of Sejanus. Tiberius began to grow weary of particular executions; he therefore gave orders, that all the accused should be put to death together, without further examination. The whole city was filled with slaughter and mourning. The place of execution was a deplorable scene, where persons of every sex and age were exposed, racked and mangled; dead bodies, putrefying, lay heaped on each other, while even the friends of the wretched convicts were denied the satisfaction of weeping. Thus miserable were the Romans, under the arbitrary rod of this gloomy tyrant; no person, though ever so virtuous, could be safe; or, rather, every virtue was but an approach to new dangers. Of twenty senators, whom he chose for his council, he put sixteen to death. "Let them hate me," cried he, "so long as they obey me." He even averred that Priam was a happy man, who outlived all his posterity. In this manner there was not a day without some barbarous execution, in which the sufferers were obliged to undergo the most shameful indignities and exquisite torments. When one Carnulius had killed himself to avoid the torture, "Ah," cried Tiberius, "how has that man been able to

escape me!" When a prisoner earnestly entreated that he would not defer his death: "No," cried the tyrant, "I am not sufficiently your friend to shorten your torment." Sometimes he was more jocose in his cruelties, particularly when a certain man, stopping a hearse, desired the dead body to tell Augustus, that his legacies to the people were yet unpaid. Tiberius sent for him, and having paid him his share, caused him to be immediately executed; bidding him go tell Augustus, that he, at least, had been satisfied. One would have thought that such cruelties, exercised at Rome, would have satiated his love of vengeance; but Caprea itself, the place secluded for his pleasures and his ease, was daily contaminated, not less with his cruelties than his debauchery. He often satisfied his eyes with the tortures of the wretches, who were put to death before him; and in the days of Suetonius the rock was to be seen, from which he ordered such as had displeased him to be thrown headlong. As he was one day examining some persons upon the rack, he was told that an old friend of his was come from Rhodes to see him. Tiberius, supposing him brought for the purposes of information, immediately ordered him to the torture: and when he was convinced of his mistake, he ordered him to be put to death to prevent further discovery.

In this manner did the tyrant continue to torment others, although he was himself still more tortured by his own suspicions. In one of his letters to the senate he confessed, that the gods and goddesses had so afflicted and confounded him that he knew not what or how to write: and, in fact, he had every reason for such a confession; a plotting senate, a reviling people, his bodily infirmities increased by his luxuries, and his nearest friends conscious of being suspected. The domestic policy of the empire, also, was in the hands of miscreants, and the frontier provinces were invaded with impunity. Mesia was seized on by the Dacians and Sarmatians; Gaul was wasted by the Germans, and Armenia conquered by the king of Parthia. These were losses that might excite the vigilance of any other governor than Tiberius. He, however, was so much a slave to his brutal appetites, that he left his provinces wholly to the care of his lieutenants, and they were intent rather on the accumulation of private fortune, than the safety of the state. Such a total disorder in the empire might be

naturally supposed to produce a degree of anxiety in him who governed it; so that he was heard to wish, that heaven and earth might perish with him when he died.

In this manner he lived, odious to all the world, and troublesome to himself; an enemy to the lives of others, and a tormentor of his own. At length, however, in the twenty-second year of his reign, he began to feel the approaches of his dissolution, and all his appetites totally to forsake him. He now, therefore, found it was time to think of a successor, and hesitated for a long while, whether he should choose Caligula, whose vices were too apparent to escape his observation. He had been often heard to say, that this youth had all the faults of Sylla, without his virtues; that he was a serpent, that would sting the empire, and a phaeton, that would set the world in a flame. However, notwithstanding all his well-grounded apprehensions, he named him for his successor; willing, perhaps, by the enormity of Caligula's conduct, to cover the memory of his own.

But though he thought fit to choose a successor, he could by no means think of dying: though totally forsaken by his appetites and enjoyments, his dissimulation never forsook him: he therefore concealed his approaching decline with the utmost care, as if he was willing at once to hide it from the world and himself. He long had a contempt for physic, and refused the advice of such as attended him: he even seemed to take a pleasure in being present at the sports of the soldiers, and ventured himself to throw a javelin at a boar that was let loose before him. The effort which he made on this occasion caused a pain in his side, which hastened the approaches of death: still, however, he seemed willing to avoid his end; and strove, by change of place, to put off the inquietude of his own reflections. He left his favourite island, and went upon the continent: he at last fixed at the promontory of Misenum, in a house that had formerly belonged to Lucullus. It was there that Chiracles, his physician, pretending to kiss his hand, felt the failure of his pulse, and apprised Macro, the emperor's present favourite, that he had not above two days to live. Tiberius, on the contrary, who had perceived the art of Chiracles, did all in his power to impress his attendants with an opinion of his health; he continued at table till the evening; he saluted all his guests as they left the room,

and read the acts of the senate, in which they had absolved some persons he had written against, with great indignation. He resolved to take signal vengeance of their disobedience, and meditated new schemes of cruelty, when he fell into such faintings as all believed were fatal. It was in this situation, that, by Macro's advice, Caligula prepared to secure the succession. He received the congratulations of the whole court, he caused himself to be acknowledged by the prætorian soldiers, and went forth from the emperor's apartment amidst the applauses of the multitude; when all of a sudden he was informed that the emperor was recovered, that he had begun to speak, and desired to eat. This unexpected account filled the whole court with terror and alarm: every one who had before been earnest in testifying their joy now reassumed their pretended sorrow, and left the new emperor, through a feigned solicitude for the fate of the old. Caligula himself seemed thunderstruck; he preserved a gloomy silence, expecting nothing but death, instead of the empire at which he had aspired. Macro, however, who was hardened in crime, ordered that the dying emperor should be dispatched, by smothering him with pillows, or, as others will have it, by poison. In this manner Tiberius died in the seventy-eighth year of his age, after reigning twenty-two.

U.C. 790.

A. D. 39.

Little can be added to the character of this prince, which, in every instance, was so strongly marked with cruelty and dissimulation. It only remains, therefore, to characterise the people whom he governed. The Romans were, at this time, arrived at their highest pitch of effeminacy and vice. The wealth of almost every nation of the empire, having, for some time, circulated through the city, brought with it the luxuries peculiar to each country; so that Rome presented a despicable picture of various pollutions. In this reign lived Apicius, so well known for having reduced gluttony into system: some of the notorious in this way thought it no shame to give near a hundred pounds for a single fish, and exhaust a fortune of fifty thousand pounds in one entertainment. Debaucheries of every other kind kept pace with this; while the detestable folly of the times thought it was refining upon pleasure to make it unnatural. There were at Rome men called Spintrise, whose sole trade it was to study new modes of pleasure;

and these were universally favourites of the great. The senators were long fallen from their authority, and were no less estranged from their integrity and honour. Their whole study seemed to be, how to invent new ways of flattering the emperor, and various methods of tormenting his supposed enemies. The people were still more corrupt; they had, for some years, been accustomed to live in idleness, upon the donations of the emperor; and, being satisfied with subsistence, entirely gave up their freedom. Too effeminate and cowardly to go to war, they only railed against their governor; so that they were bad soldiers and seditious citizens. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that such indifferent subjects should be indifferently governed. It has been often asked, how so many of the emperors were bad princes. The answer is easy—because the people they had brought to command, were ill disposed to obey. Good subjects generally make good kings; while luxury, sedition, discontent, and murmurs in the populace as usually produce severity, cruelty, and suspicion in him who is appointed to govern. Little more need be said of these times, but that, in the eighteenth year of this monarch's reign, Christ was crucified; as if the universal depravity of mankind wanted no less a sacrifice than that of God himself to reclaim them. Shortly after his death Pilate wrote to Tiberius an account of his passion, resurrection, and miracles; upon which the emperor made a report of the whole to the senate, desiring that Christ might be acknowledged a god by the Romans. But the senate being displeased that the proposal had not come first from themselves, refused to allow of his apotheosis; alleging an ancient law, which gave them the superintendence in all matters of religion. They even went so far as, by an edict, to command, that all Christians should leave the city; but Tiberius, by another edict, threatened death to all such as should accuse them: by which means they continued unmolested during the rest of his reign.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CALIGULA, THE FOURTH EMPEROR.

No monarch ever came to the throne with more advantages than Caligula. He was the son of Germanicus, who had been the darling of the army and the people. He was bred among the soldiers, from whom he received the name of Caligula; from the short buskin, called caliga, that was worn by the common sentinels, and which was also usually worn by him. He succeeded a merciless tyrant, after whom even moderate merit would look like excellence. Wherefore, as he approached Rome, the principal men of the state went out in crowds to meet him. He received the congratulations of the people on every side, all equally pleased in being free from the cruelties of Tiberius, and in hoping new advantages from the virtues of his successor.

Caligula seemed to take every precaution to impress them with the opinion of a happy change. Amidst the rejoicings of the multitude, he advanced mourning, with the dead body of Tiberius, which the soldiers brought to be burned at Rome, according to the custom of that time. Upon his entrance into the city, he was received with new titles of honour by the senate, whose chief employment seemed now to be the art of increasing their emperor's vanity. He was left coheir with Gemellus, grandson to Tiberius; but they set aside the nomination, and declared Caligula sole successor to the empire. The joy for this election was not confined to the narrow bounds of Italy; it spread through the whole empire; and victims without number were sacrificed upon the occasion. Some of the people, upon his going into the island of Caprea, made vows for his return; and shortly after, when he fell sick, the multitude crowded whole nights round his palace, and some even devoted themselves to death in case he recovered, setting up bills of their resolutions in the street. In this affection of the citizens, strangers themselves seemed ambitious of sharing. Artabanus, king of Parthia, who took every method of contemning his predecessor, sought the present emperor's alliance

with assiduity. He came to a personal conference with one of his legates; he passed the Euphrates; he adored the Roman eagles, and kissed the emperor's images; so that the whole world seemed combined to praise him for virtues, which their hopes, and not their experience, had given him.

Thus all the enormities of this emperor were concealed in the beginning of his reign. He at first seemed extremely careful of the public; and having performed the funeral solemnities of Tiberius, he hastened to the islands of Pandataria and Pontia, to remove the ashes of his mother and brothers, exposing himself to the danger of tempestuous weather, to give a lustre to his piety. Having brought them to Rome, he ordained annual solemnities to their honour, and ordered the month of September to be called *Germanicus*, in memory of his father. These ceremonies being over, he conferred the same honours upon his grandmother Antonia, which had before been given to Livia, and ordered all informations to be burnt, that any ways exposed the enemies of his family. He even refused a paper that was offered him, tending to the discovery of a conspiracy against himself; alleging, that he was conscious of nothing to deserve any man's hatred, and therefore had no fears from their machinations. He caused the institutions of Augustus, which had been disused in the reign of Tiberius, to be revived. He undertook to reform many abuses in the state, and severely punished corrupt governors. Among others, he banished Pontius Pilate into Gaul, where this unjust magistrate afterwards put an end to his life by suicide. He strictly inspected the behaviour of the knights, whom he publicly degraded upon being found guilty of an infamous crime.

He banished, without remission, the *Spintriae*, or inventors of abominable recreations, from Rome. He attempted to restore the ancient manner of electing magistrates by the suffrages of the people, and gave them a free jurisdiction, without any appeal to himself. Although the will of Tiberius was annulled by the senate, and that of Livia suppressed by Tiberius, yet he caused all their legacies to be punctually paid; and, in order to make Gemellus amends for missing the crown, he caused him to be elected "*Princeps Juventutis*," or Principal of the Youth. He restored some kings to their dominions, who had been unjustly dispossessed by Tiberius;

and gave them the arrears of their revenues. And, that he might appear an encourager of every virtue, he ordered a female slave a large sum of money, for enduring the most exquisite torments without discovering the secrets of her master. So many concessions, and such apparent virtue, could not fail of receiving just applause. A shield of gold, bearing his image, was decreed to be carried annually to the capitol, attended by the senate and the sons of the nobility, singing in praise of the emperor's virtues. It was likewise ordained, that the day on which he was appointed to the empire should be called Pubitia, implying, that, when he came to govern, the city received a new foundation.

But it had been happy for him and the empire, had such a beginning been as strenuously maintained. In less than eight months all this show of moderation and clemency vanished; while furious passions, unexampled avarice, and capricious cruelty, began to take their turn in his mind. As most of the cruelties of Tiberius arose from suspicion, so most of those committed by Caligula took rise from prodigality. Some, indeed, pretend to assert, that a disorder, which happened soon after his accession to the empire, entirely distorted his reason and discomposed his understanding. However this may be, madness itself could scarcely dictate cruelties more extravagant, or inconsistencies more ridiculous, than are imputed to him; some of them appear almost beyond belief, as they seem entirely without any motive to incite to such barbarities.

The first object of his cruelty, and one that will scarcely be regretted by posterity, was a person named Politus, who had devoted himself to death, in case the emperor, who was then sick, should recover. When Caligula's health was re-established, he was informed of the zeal of Politus, and actually compelled him to complete his vow. This ridiculous devotee was, therefore, led round the city by children adorned with chaplets, and then put to death, being thrown headlong from the ramparts. Another, named Secundus, had vowed to fight in the amphitheatre upon the same occasion. To this he was also compelled, the emperor himself choosing to be a spectator of the combat. However, he was more fortunate than the former, being so successful as to kill his adversary, by which he obtained a release from his vow. Gemellus was the next, who suffered from the tyrant's inhumanity. The pretence:

against him was, that he had wished the emperor might not recover, and that he had taken a counter-poison to secure him from any secret attempts against his life. Caligula ordered him to kill himself; but as the unfortunate youth was ignorant of the manner of doing it, the emperor's messengers soon instructed him in the fatal lesson. Silenus, the emperor's father-in-law, was the next that was put to death upon slight suspicions; and Grecinus, a senator of noted integrity, refusing to witness falsely against him, shared his fate. After followed a crowd of victims to the emperor's avarice or suspicion. The pretext against them was their enmity to his family; and in proof of his accusations he produced these very memorials, which but a while before he pretended to have burnt. Among the number of those, who were sacrificed to his jealousy, was Macro, the late favourite of Tiberius, and the person to whom Caligula owed his empire. He was accused of many crimes, some of which were common to the emperor as well as to him, and his death brought on the ruin of that favourite's whole family.

These cruelties, however, seemed only the first fruits of a mind naturally timid and suspicious: his vanity and profusion soon gave rise to others, which were more atrocious, as they sprang from less powerful motives. His pride first began by assuming to himself the title of Ruler, which was usually granted only to kings. He would also have taken the crown and diadem, had he not been advised, that he was already superior to all the monarchs of the world. Not long after he assumed divine honours, and gave himself the names of such divinities as he thought most agreeable to his nature. For this purpose he caused the heads of the statues of Jupiter and some other gods to be struck off, and his own to be put in their places. He frequently seated himself between Castor and Pollux, and ordered that all, who came to their temple to worship, should pay their adorations only to him. However, such was the extravagant inconstancy of this unaccountable idiot, that he changed his divinity as often as he changed his clothes: being at one time a male deity, at another a female; sometimes Jupiter or Mars, and not unfrequently Venus or Diana. He even built and dedicated a temple to his own divinity, in which his statue of gold was every day dressed in similar robes to those which he himself wore, and was wor-

shipped by crowds of adorers. His priests were numerous; the sacrifices made to him were of the most exquisite delicacies that could be procured, and the dignity of the priesthood was sought by the most opulent men in the city. However, he admitted his wife and his horse to that honour; and, to give a finishing stroke to his absurdities, he became a priest to himself. His method of assuming the manners of a deity was not less ridiculous: he often went out in the full moon, and courted it in the style of a lover. He often invited it to his bed, to taste the pleasures of his embraces. He employed many inventions to imitate thunder, and would frequently defy Jupiter, crying out, with a speech of Homer, "Do you conquer me, or I will conquer you." He frequently pretended to converse in whispers with the statue of Jupiter, and usually seemed angry at its replies; threatening to send it packing into Greece. Sometimes, however, he would assume a better temper, and seemed contented that they two should dwell together in amity.

A person so impious respecting the Deity, was still more criminal with regard to man. He was not less notorious for the depravation of his appetites than for his ridiculous presumption. Neither person, place, nor sex, were obstacles to the indulgence of his unnatural lusts. There was scarce a lady of any quality in Rome that escaped his lewdness; and, indeed, such was the degeneracy of the times, that there were few ladies then who did not think this disgrace an honour. He committed incest with his three sisters, and at public feasts they lay with their heads upon his bosom by turns. Of these he prostituted Livia and Agrippina to his vile companions, and then banished them as adulteresses and conspirators against his person. As for Drusilla, he took her from her husband Longinus, and kept her as his wife. Her he loved so affectionately, that, being sick, he appointed her the heiress of his empire and fortune; and she happening to die before him, he made her a goddess. Nor did her example when living appear more dangerous to the people than her divinity when dead. To mourn for her death was a crime, as she was become a goddess; and to rejoice for her deity was capital, because she was dead. Nay, even silence itself was an unpardonable insensibility, either of the emperor's loss or his sister's advancement. Thus he made his sister subservient to

his profit, as before he had done to his pleasure; raising vast sums of money by granting pardons to some, and by confiscating the goods of others. As to his marriages, whether he contracted them with greater levity; or dissolved them with greater injustice, is not easy to determine. Being present at the nuptials of Livia Oristilla with Piso, as soon as the solemnity was over, he commanded her to be brought to him as his own wife, and then dismissed her in a few days. He soon after went so far as to banish her, upon suspicion of cohabiting with her husband after she was parted from him. He was enamoured of Lollia Paulina, upon a bare relation of her grandmother's beauty; and thereupon took her from her husband, who commanded in Macedonia; notwithstanding which he repudiated her as he had done the former, and likewise forbade her in future marrying with any other. The wife who caught his affections most was Milonia Cesonia, whose chief merit lay in her perfect acquaintance with all the alluring arts of her sex; for she was otherwise possessed neither of youth nor of beauty. She continued with him during his reign, and he loved so ridiculously, that he sometimes showed her to his soldiers dressed in armour, and sometimes to his companions stark naked; so that his very regards were a reproach to those whom he wished to oblige.

His envy was still more detestable than his lusts. We are told that he put Caius to death for no other crime than because he wore a purple gown, the lustre of which called off all the regards of the spectators from himself. He ordered several persons in the city to be shaved, for having hair more beautiful than ordinary. He ordered one Proculus, who was remarkable for his beauty and tallness of his stature, to descend into the amphitheatre, and to fight among the combatants as a gladiator. Proculus came off victorious, having vanquished two men, one after the other. However, the tyrant was not satisfied with this punishment, but caused him to be bound and clothed in rags, and then to be led round the city and slain. Being present at the public games, where a particular gladiator succeeded with more than ordinary applause, he was so highly displeased that he flung himself out of the amphitheatre in a fury, crying out with great indignation, that the Romans gave more honour to a pitiful fencer than to the emperor himself.

But of all vices, his prodigality was the most remarkable, and that which in some measure gave rise to the rest. The luxuries of former emperors were simplicity itself when compared to those which he practised. He contrived new ways of bathing, where the richest oils and most precious perfumes were exhausted with the utmost profusion. He found out dishes of immense value, and had even jewels, as we are told, dissolved among his sauces. He sometimes had services of pure gold presented before his guests instead of meat, observing, that a man should be an economist or an emperor.

The expensive manner in which he maintained his horse will give some idea of his domestic economy. He built it a stable of marble, and a manger of ivory. Whenever this animal, which he called *Incitatus*, was to run, he placed sentinels near its stable the night preceding, to prevent its slumbers from being broken. He appointed it a house, furniture, and a kitchen, in order to treat all its visitors with proper respect. The emperor sometimes invited *Incitatus* to his own table, presented it with gilt oats, and wine in a golden cup. He often swore by the safety of his horse; and it is said, he would have appointed it to the consulship, had not his death prevented.

For several days together he flung considerable sums of money among the people. He ordered ships of prodigious bulk to be built of cedar, the sterns of ivory inlaid with gold and jewels, the sails and tackling of various silks, while the decks were planted with the choicest fruit-trees, under the shade of which he often dined. There, attended by all the ministers of his pleasures, the most exquisite singers, and the most beautiful youths, he coasted along the shore of Campania with great splendour. All his buildings seem rather calculated to raise astonishment than to answer the purposes of utility. He ordered houses to be built in the sea; he cut his way through rocks of prodigious bulk; he levelled mountains, and elevated plains and valleys. But the most notorious instance of his fruitless profusion was the vast bridge at Puteoli, which he undertook in the third year of his reign. To satisfy his desire of being master as well of the ocean as the land; he caused an infinite number of ships to be fastened to each other, so as to make a floating bridge from Baie to Puteoli, across an arm of the sea three miles and a half broad. The ships being

placed in two rows, in form of a crescent, were secured to each other with anchors, chains, and cables. Over these were laid vast quantities of timber, and upon them earth, so as to make the whole resemble one of the streets of Rome. He next caused several houses to be built upon his new bridge, for the reception of himself and his attendants, into which fresh water was conveyed by pipes from the land. He then repaired thither with all his court, attended by prodigious throngs of people, who came from all parts to be spectators of such an expensive pageant. It was there that Caligula, adorned with all the magnificence of eastern royalty, sitting on horseback, with a civic crown and Alexander's breast-plate, attended by the great officers of the army, and all the nobility of Rome, entered at one end of the bridge, and with ridiculous importance rode to the other. At night, the number of torches and other illuminations, with which this expensive structure was adorned, cast such a gleam as illuminated the whole bay and all the neighbouring mountains. This seemed to give the weak emperor new cause for exultation, boasting that he had turned night into day, as well as sea into land. The next morning he again rode over in a triumphal chariot, followed by a numerous train of charioteers, and all his soldiers in glittering armour. He then ascended a rostrum erected for the occasion, where he made a solemn oration in praise of the greatness of his enterprise, and the assiduity of his workmen and his army. He then distributed rewards among his men, and a splendid feast succeeded. However, there was still wanting something to mark the disposition of the mighty projector. In the midst of the entertainment many of his attendants were thrown into the sea; several ships, filled with spectators, were attacked and sunk in a hostile manner; and, although the majority escaped through the calmness of the weather, yet many were drowned; and some, who endeavoured to save themselves by climbing up the bridge, were struck down again by the emperor's command. The calmness of the sea during this pageant, which continued two days, furnished Caligula with fresh opportunities for boasting; being heard to say, "that Neptune took care to keep the sea smooth and serene, merely out of reverence to himself."

Expenses like these, it may naturally be supposed, must have exhausted the most unbounded wealth: in fact, after

reigning about a year, Caligula found his revenues totally exhausted; and a fortune, of about eighteen millions of our money, which Tiberius had amassed together, entirely spent in extravagance and folly. Now, therefore, his prodigality put him upon new methods of supplying the exchequer; and, as before his profusion, so now his rapacity, became boundless. He put in practice all kinds of rapine and extortion: while his principal study seemed to be the inventing new imposts and illicit confiscations. Every thing was taxed, to the very wages of the meanest tradesman. He caused freedmen to purchase their freedom a second time, and poisoned many who had named him for their heir, to have the immediate possession of their fortunes. He set up a brothel in his own palace, by which he gained considerable sums by all the methods of prostitution. He also kept a gaming house, in which he himself presided, scrupling none of the mean tricks of that reptile race, in order to advance his gains. On a certain occasion, having had a run of ill luck, he saw two rich knights passing through his court, upon which he suddenly rose up, and causing both to be apprehended, confiscated their estates, and then, joining his former companions, boasted that he never had a better throw in his life. Another time, wanting money for a stake, he went down, and caused several noblemen to be put to death, and then returning, told the company, that they sat playing for trifles, while he had won sixty thousand sesterces at a cast. Having had a daughter born, he complained openly of his poverty, and published an edict, that he would receive whatever presents should be sent him, and actually stood in the portico of his palace to induce the people to be liberal in their donations.

These methods, however, were but subordinate to the cruelties by which he acquired immense sums. He slew many of the senate, and afterwards cited them to appear, as if they had killed themselves. He condemned many persons of the highest quality to dig in the mines, and to repair the highways, for offering to ridicule his profusion. He cast great numbers of old and infirm men and poor decrepid house-keepers to wild beasts, to free the state from such unserviceable citizens. He usually fed his wild beasts with the bodies of those wretches whom he condemned; and every tenth day sent off numbers of them to be thus devoured, which

he jocosely called clearing his accounts. One of those, who was thus exposed, crying out that he was innocent, Caligula ordered his tongue to be cut out, and then thrown into the amphitheatre as before. He took delight in killing men with slow tortures, that, as he expressed it, they might feel themselves dying; being always present at such executions, himself directing the duration of the punishment, and mitigating the tortures, merely to prolong them. In fact, he valued himself for no quality more than this unrelenting temper and inflexible severity, which he preserved while presiding at an execution.

His barbarous attempts at wit in the midst of slaughter sufficiently evince what little pain he felt from compassion. An eminent citizen, who for an indisposition had got leave to retire into the island Anticyra, which was a place famous for curing madness by hellebore, desiring to have his stay prolonged, Caligula ordered him to be put to death; adding, with a smile, that bleeding must certainly be useful to one who had so long taken hellebore without success. On putting a wrong person to death by mistake, upon finding his error, he said it was well done, for this criminal had doubtless deserved to die as well as the other. This horrid disposition never forsook him, even in the most festive hours: he frequently had men racked before him while he sat at meat, ironically pitying their misfortunes, and blaming their executioner. He always desired to have the friends and relations of the sufferers to be present at these executions. Upon a certain occasion, one of them excusing himself upon account of sickness, the tyrant sent a litter to carry him. Whenever he kissed his wife or mistress, he generally laid his hand on her neck, observing, that however smooth and lovely it was, he could take it off when he pleased. Demanding of one whom he had recalled from banishment, how he employed himself in his exile, being told that he had prayed for the death of Tiberius, Caligula immediately concluding that all whom he himself had banished wished for his death likewise, commanded that all exiles should be slain without mercy. At one time, being incensed with the citizens of Rome, he wished that all the Roman people had but one neck, that he might dispatch them at a blow.

Such insupportable and capricious cruelties produced many

secret conspiracies against him; but these were for a while deferred, upon account of his intended expedition against the Germans and Britons, which he undertook in the third year of his reign. For this purpose, he caused numerous levies to be made in all parts of the empire, and talked with so much resolution, that it was universally believed he would conquer all before him. His march perfectly indicated the inequality of his temper; sometimes it was so rapid, that the cohorts were obliged to leave their standards behind them; at other times it was so slow, that it more resembled a pompous procession than a military expedition. In this disposition he would cause himself to be carried on eight men's shoulders, and order all the neighbouring cities to have their streets well swept and watered to defend him from the dust. However, all these mighty preparations ended in nothing. Instead of conquering Britain, he only gave refuge to one of its banished princes; and this he described in his letter to the senate as taking possession of the whole island. Instead of conquering Germany, he only led his army to the sea-shore in Batavia. There, disposing his engines and warlike machines with great solemnity, and drawing up his men in order of battle, he went on board his galley, with which, coasting along, he commanded his trumpets to sound, and the signal to be given as if for an engagement; upon which his men, having had previous orders, immediately fell to gathering the shells that lay upon the shore into their helmets, terming them the spoils of the conquered ocean, worthy of the palace and the capitol. After this doughty expedition, calling his army together, as a general after victory, he harangued them in a pompous manner, and highly extolled their achievements, and then, distributing money among them, dismissed them with orders to be joyful, and congratulated them upon their riches. But that such exploits should not pass without a memorial, he caused a lofty tower to be erected by the sea-side, and ordered the galleys, in which he had put to sea, to be conveyed to Rome, in a great measure by land.

After numberless instances of folly and cruelty in this expedition, among which he had intentions of destroying the whole army that had formerly mutinied under his father Germanicus, he began to think of a triumph. The senate, who had long been the timid ministers of his pride and cruelty, immediately

set about consulting how to satisfy his expectations. They considered that a triumph would, even to himself, appear as a burlesque upon his expedition; they, therefore, decreed him only an ovation. Having come to this resolution, they sent him a deputation, informing him of the honours granted him, and the decree, which was drawn up in terms of the most extravagant adulation. However, their flattery was far from satisfying his pride. He considered their conduct rather as a diminution of his power, than an addition to his glory. He therefore ordered them, on pain of death, not to concern themselves with his honours; and, being met by the messengers on the way, who invited him to come and partake of the preparations which the senate had decreed, he informed them that he would come; and then, laying his hand upon his sword, added, that he would bring that also with him. In this manner, either quite omitting his triumph, or deferring it to another time, he entered the city only with an ovation, while the senate passed the whole day in acclamations in his praise, and speeches filled with the most excessive flattery. This conduct in some measure served to reconcile him, and soon after their excessive zeal in his cause entirely gained his favour. For it happened that Protogenes, who was one of the most intimate and most cruel of his favourites, coming into the house, was fawned upon by the whole body of the senate, and particularly by Proculus. Whereupon Protogenes, with a fierce look, asked how one, who was such an enemy to the emperor, could be such a friend to him? There needed no more to excite the senate against Proculus. They instantly seized upon him, and violently tore him in pieces, plainly showing, by their conduct, that tyranny in the prince produces cruelty in those whom he governs.

It was after returning from his extravagant expedition that he was waited on by a deputation from the Jews of Alexandria, who came to deprecate his anger, for not worshipping his divinity, as other nations had done. He was employed in looking over some houses of pleasure, and giving directions to the workmen, when Philo the Jew, and the rest of the embassy, were admitted to an audience. Upon their approaching him, with the most profound humility, he began by calling them enemies to the gods; and by asking them how they could refuse to acknowledge his divinity? Upon their replying, that

they had sacrificed hecatombs, both upon his accession to the empire, and his recovery from sickness, he replied, that those sacrifices were offered, not to him, but for him. In the mean time, while they continued silently astonished at his impiety, he went from room to room, giving directions to his workmen concerning new improvements, and remarking such parts of the furniture as happened to displease him. He would now and then stop to ask some extravagant question. "What can be the reason," cried he, "that you Jews abstain from pork?" This question seemed so very lively to his attendants, that they burst into such loud fits of laughter, as obliged an officer who was present to reprimand them. Philo was willing to give him all the information he was able upon this head, and began by saying, that different nations had different customs; that, while the people of one religion abstained from pork, those of another never eat lamb. "Nor do I blame them," cried Caligula, "for lamb is very bad eating. But tell me," continued he, "what pretensions have you to be citizens of Alexandria!" Upon this, Philo began to enter into the business of his embassy: but he had scarce commenced, when Caligula abruptly left him, and ran into a large hall, the windows of which he ordered to be adorned with transparent stone, which was used by the ancients instead of glass. He then returned to the deputies, and, assuming a more moderate air, "Well," cried he, "let me know what you have to say in your defence." Philo began his harangue where it had been interrupted before, but Caligula again left him in the midst of it, and gave orders for placing some pictures. Nothing can be a more striking picture than this, of the manner in which this monster attended to the complaints of mankind. This affair of the Jews remained undecided during his reign; but it was at last settled by his successor to their satisfaction. It was upon this occasion that Philo made the following remarkable answer to his associates, who were terrified with apprehensions from the emperor's indignation: "Fear nothing," cried he to them; "Caligula, by declaring against us, puts God on our side."

The continuation of this horrid reign seemed to threaten universal calamity; however, it was as short as it deserved to be. There had already been several conspiracies formed to destroy the tyrant, but without success. That which at last

succeeded in delivering the world of this monster was concerted under the influence of Cassius Cherea, tribune of the prætorian bands. This was a man of experienced courage, an ardent admirer of freedom, and consequently an enemy to tyrants. Besides the motives which he had in common with other men, he had received repeated insults from Caligula, who took all occasions of turning him into ridicule, and impeaching him of cowardice, merely because he happened to have an effeminate voice. Whenever Cherea came to demand the watch-word from the emperor, according to custom, he always gave him either *Venus*, *Adonis*, or some such, implying effeminacy and softness. He, therefore, secretly imparted his designs to several senators and knights, whom he knew to have received personal injuries from Caligula, or to be apprehensive of those to come. Among the rest was *Valerius Asiaticus*, whose wife the emperor had debauched. *Annius Vinicianus*, also, who was suspected of having been in a former conspiracy, was desirous of really engaging in the first design that offered. Besides these, were *Clemens*, the præfect, and *Calistus*, whose riches made him obnoxious to the tyrant's resentment.

While these were deliberating upon the most certain and speedy method of destroying the tyrant, an unexpected incident gave new strength to the conspiracy. *Pompedius*, a senator of distinction, having been accused before the emperor of having spoken of him with disrespect, the informer cited one *Quintilia*, an actress, to confirm his accusation. *Quintilia*, however, was possessed of a degree of fortitude not easily found, even in the other sex. She denied the fact with obstinacy; and, being put to the torture, at the informer's request, she bore the severest torments of the rack with unshaken constancy. But what is most remarkable of her resolution is, that she was acquainted with all the particulars of the conspiracy; and, although Cherea was the person appointed to, preside at her torture, she revealed nothing: on the contrary, when she was led to the rack, she trod upon the toe of one of the conspirators, intimating at once her knowledge of the confederacy, and her own resolution not to divulge it. In this manner she suffered, until all her limbs were dislocated, and in that deplorable state was presented to the emperor; who ordered her a gratuity for what she had suffered. Che-

rea could now no longer contain his indignation at being thus made the instrument of a tyrant's cruelty. He therefore proposed to the conspirators to attack him as he went to offer sacrifices in the capitol; or while he was employed in the secret pleasures of his palace. The rest, however, were of opinion, that it was best to fall upon him when he should be unattended, by which means they would be more certain of their success. After several deliberations, it was at last resolved to attack him during the continuance of the Palatine games, which lasted four days, and to strike the blow when his guards should have the least opportunity to defend him. In consequence of this, the first three days of the games passed, without affording that opportunity which was so ardently desired. Cherea now, therefore, began to apprehend, that deferring the time of the conspiracy might be a means to divulge it: he even began to dread, that the honour of killing the tyrant might fall to the lot of some other person more bold than himself. Wherefore he at last resolved to defer the execution of his plot only to the day following, when Caligula should pass through a private gallery to some baths, not far distant from the palace.

The last day of the games was more splendid than the rest, and Caligula seemed more sprightly and condescending than usual. He took great amusement in seeing the people scramble for the fruits, and other rarities, thrown by his order among them, and seemed no way apprehensive of the plot formed for his destruction. In the mean time, the conspiracy began to transpire; and, had he any friends left, it could not fail of being discovered. A senator, who was present, asking one of his acquaintance if he had heard any thing new, the other replying in the negative, "Then you must know," says he, "that this day will be represented the death of a tyrant." The other immediately understood him, but desired him to be more cautious how he divulged a secret of so much importance. The conspirators waited a great part of the day with the most extreme anxiety; and, at one time, Caligula seemed resolved to spend the whole day without any refreshment. This unexpected delay entirely exasperated Cherea; and, had he not been restrained, he would have gone and perpetrated his design in the midst of all the people. Just at that instant, while he was yet hesitating what he should do, Asprenas, one of the conspirators, persuaded Caligula to go to the bath and

take some slight refreshment, in order to enjoy the rest of the entertainment with greater relish. The emperor, therefore, rising up, the conspirators used every precaution to keep off the throng, and to surround him, under pretence of greater assiduity. Upon entering into the little vaulted gallery that led to the bath, he was met by a band of Grecian children, who had been instructed in singing, and were come to perform in his presence. He was once more, therefore, going to return into the theatre with them, had not the leader of the band excused himself as having a cold. This was the moment which Cherea seized to strike him to the ground, crying out, "Tyrant, think upon this." Immediately after, the other conspirators rushed in; and, while the emperor continued to resist, crying out, that he was not yet dead, they dispatched him with thirty wounds.

Such was the merited death of Caius Caligula, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a short reign of three years, ten months, and eight days. It will be unnecessary to add any thing more to his character than what Seneca says of him, namely, that nature seemed to have brought him forth, to show what was possible to be produced from the greatest vice, supported by the greatest authority. His wit and eloquence are applauded by some; but what could be his taste in either, who condemned Virgil as a bad poet, and Livy as a wretched historian? With him his wife and infant daughter also perished, the one being stabbed by a centurion, the other having its brains dashed out against the wall. His money, also, was melted down by a decree of the senate; and such precautions were taken, that all seemed willing that neither his features nor his name might be transmitted to posterity.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CLAUDIUS, THE FIFTH EMPEROR.

U.C. 794. AS soon as the death of Caligula was made public,
 A. D. 42. it produced the greatest confusion in all parts of the city. The conspirators, who only aimed at destroying a tyrant, without attending to a successor, had all

sought safety by retiring to private places. Some thought the report of the emperor's death was only an artifice of his own, to see how his enemies would behave. Others averred, that he was still alive, and actually in a fair way to recover. In this interval of torturing suspense, the German guards, finding it a convenient time to pillage, gave a loose to their licentiousness, under a pretence of revenging the emperor's death. All the conspirators and senators that fell in their way received no mercy. Asprenas, Norbanus, and Anteius were cut in pieces. However, their rage at length wanting an object to wreak itself, and their service a master, they grew calm by degrees, and the senate was permitted to assemble, in order to deliberate upon what was necessary to be done in the present emergency.

In this deliberation, Saturninus, who was then consul, insisted much upon the benefits of liberty, and talked in raptures of Cherea's fortitude, alleging, that it deserved the noblest reward. This was a language highly pleasing to the senate, who, being long harassed by the cruelty of tyrants, panted once more for the restoration of their former freedom. Liberty now became the favourite topic; and they even ventured to talk of extinguishing the very name of Cæsar. Impressed with this generous resolution, they brought over some cohorts of the city to their side, and boldly seized upon the capitol. But it was now too late for Rome to regain her pristine freedom; the populace and the army opposed their endeavours. The former were still mindful of their ancient hatred to the senate, and remembered the donations and public spectacles of the emperors with regret. The latter were sensible they could have no power but in a monarchy; and had some hopes, that the election of the emperor would fall to their determination. In this opposition of interest and variety of opinions chance seemed at last to decide the fate of the empire. Some soldiers, happening to run about the palace, discovered Claudius, Caligula's uncle, lurking in a secret place, where he had hid himself through fear. Of this personage, who had hitherto been despised for his imbecility, they resolved to make an emperor, and accordingly carried him upon their shoulders to the camp, where they proclaimed him, at a time he expected nothing but death.

The senate now, therefore, perceiving that force alone was

likely to settle the succession, were resolved to submit, since they had no power to oppose. Claudius was the person most nearly allied to the late emperor then living, being the nephew of Tiberius, and the uncle of Caligula. The senate, therefore, passed a decree, confirming him in the empire, and went soon after in a body to render him their compulsive homage. Cherea was the first who fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of this new monarch. He met death with all the fortitude of an ancient Roman, desiring to die by the same sword with which he had killed Caligula. Lupus, his friend, was put to death with him; and Sabinus, one of the conspirators, laid violent hands on himself.

Claudius was now fifty years old when he began to reign. The complicated diseases of his infancy had, in some measure, affected all the faculties both of his body and mind. He was continued in a state of pupillage much longer than was usual at that time; and seemed in every part of life incapable of conducting himself. Not that he was entirely destitute of undertaking, since he had made a tolerable proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages, and even wrote a history of his own time, which, however destitute of other merit, was not contemptible in point of style. Nevertheless, with this share of erudition, he was unable to advance himself in the state, and seemed utterly neglected, till he was placed all at once at the head of affairs.

The commencement of his reign, as it was with all the other bad emperors, gave the most promising hopes of a happy continuance. He began by passing an act of oblivion for all former words and actions, and disannulled all the cruel edicts of Caligula. He showed himself more moderate than his predecessors with regard to titles and honours. He forbade all persons, upon severe penalties, to sacrifice to him, as they had done to Caligula. He was assiduous in hearing and examining complaints; and frequently administered justice in person, tempering by his mildness the severity of strict justice. We are told of his bringing a woman to acknowledge her son, by adjudging her to marry him. The tribunes of the people coming one day to attend him, when he was on his tribunal, he courteously excused himself for not having room for them to sit down. By this deportment he so much gained the affections of the people, that upon a vague report of his

being slain by surprise, they ran about the streets in the utmost rage and consternation, with horrid imprecations against all such as were accessory to his death; nor could they be appeased till they were assured of his safety. He took a more than ordinary care that Rome should be continually supplied with corn and provisions, securing the merchants against pirates. He was not less assiduous in his buildings, in which he excelled almost all that went before him. He constructed a wonderful aqueduct, called after his own name, much surpassing any other in Rome, either for workmanship or plentiful supply. It brought water from forty miles distance, through great mountains and over deep vallies, being built on stately arches, and furnishing the highest parts of the city. He made also a haven at Ostia, a work of such immense expense, that his successors were unable to maintain it. But his greatest work of all was the draining the lake Fucinus, which was the largest in Italy, and bringing its water into the Tiber, in order to strengthen the current of that river. For effecting this, among other vast difficulties, he mined through a mountain of stone three miles broad, and kept thirty thousand men employed for eleven years together.

To this solicitude for the internal advantages of the state he added that of a watchful guardianship over the provinces. He restored Judea to Herod Agrippa, which Caligula had taken from Herod Antipas, his uncle, the man who had put John the Baptist to death, and who was banished by order of the present emperor. Claudius also restored such princes to their kingdoms as had been unjustly dispossessed by his predecessors; but deprived the Lycians and Rhodians of their liberty, for having promoted insurrections, and crucified some citizens of Rome.

He even undertook to gratify the people by foreign conquest. The Britons, who had for near a hundred years been left in sole possession of their own island, began to seek the mediation of Rome to quell their intestine commotions. The principal man who desired to subject his native country to the Roman dominion was one Bericus, who by many arguments persuaded the emperor to make a descent upon the island, magnifying the advantages that would attend the conquest of it. In pursuance of his advice, therefore, Plautius, the prætor, was ordered to pass over into Gaul, and make preparations

for this great expedition. At first, indeed, his soldiers seemed backward to embark, declaring, that they were unwilling to make war beyond the limits of the world, for so they judged Britain to be. However, they were at last persuaded to go; and the Britons, under the conduct of their king Cynobelinus, were several times overthrown.

A. D. 46. These successes soon after induced Claudius to go into Britain in person, upon pretence that the natives were still seditious, and had not delivered up some Roman fugitives who had taken shelter among them. However, his expedition rather seemed calculated for show than service; the time he continued in Britain, which was in all but sixteen days, was more taken up in receiving homage than extending his conquests. Great rejoicings were made upon his return to Rome: the senate decreed him a splendid triumph; triumphal arches were erected to his honour, and annual games instituted to commemorate his victories. In the mean time the war was vigorously prosecuted by Plautius and his lieutenant Vespasian, who, according to Suetonius, fought thirty battles with the enemy, and by that means reduced a part of the island into the form of a Roman province. However, this war broke out afresh under

A. D. 51. the government of Ostorius, who succeeded Plautius. The Britons, either despising him for want of experience, or hoping to gain advantages over a person newly come to command, rose up in arms, and disclaimed the Roman power. The Iceni, the Cangi, and the Brigantes, made a powerful resistance, though they were at length overcome; but the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales, under their king Caractacus, were the most formidable opponents the Roman generals had ever yet encountered. This brave barbarian not only made a gallant defence, but often seemed to claim a doubtful victory. He, with great conduct, removed the seat of war into the most inaccessible parts of the country, and for nine years kept the Romans in continual alarm.

This general, however, upon the approach of Ostorius, finding himself obliged to come to a decisive engagement, addressed his countrymen with calm resolution; telling them, that this battle would either establish their liberty or confirm their servitude: that they ought to remember the bravery of their ancestors, by whose valour they were delivered from

taxes and tributes, and that this was the time to show themselves equal to their progenitors. Nothing, however, that undisciplined valour could perform, could avail against the conduct of the Roman legions. After an obstinate fight, the Britons were entirely routed; the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners; and he himself, seeking refuge from Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, was treacherously delivered up to the conquerors. When he was brought to Rome, nothing could exceed the curiosity of the people to behold a man, who had for so many years braved the power of the empire. On his part he testified no marks of base dejection; but, as he was led through the streets, happening to observe the splendour of every object around him, "Alas!" cried he, "how is it possible, that people possessed of such magnificence at home, could think of envying Caractacus an humble cottage in Britain!" When he was brought before the emperor, while the other captives sued for pity with the most abject lamentations, Caractacus stood before the tribunal with an intrepid air, and seemed rather willing to accept of pardon than meanly solicitous of suing for it. "If," cried he, towards the end of his speech, "I had yielded immediately, and without opposition, neither my fortune would have been remarkable, nor your glory memorable; you would have ceased to be victorious, and I had been forgotten. If now, therefore; you spare my life, I shall continue a perpetual example of your clemency." Claudius had the generosity to pardon him; and Ostorius was decreed a triumph, which, however, he did not live to enjoy. Though the Britons were thus humbled, they were by no means entirely subdued: several new revolts ensued; but the natives, being weakened by dissensions among each other, were many times overthrown, and more easily kept under. These transactions in Britain continued during the whole reign of Claudius; his first expedition into Britain was in the second year of his reign, and the victory over Caractacus in the tenth. I have thrown them, however, into one point of view, to avoid interrupting the narrative.

Claudius, as I have said, gave, in the beginning of his reign, the most hopes of a happy continuance; but he soon began to neglect his care for the public, and to commit to his favourites all the concerns of the empire. This weak prince had from his infancy been in a state of pupillage; and now;

when called to govern, he was unable to act but under the direction of others. Men of narrow capacities and feeble minds are only good or evil, as they happen to fall into the hands of virtuous or vicious guides; and, unhappily for him, his directors were, to the last degree, abandoned and infamous. The chief of these was his wife, Messalina, whose name is almost become a common appellation of women of abandoned characters. However, she was not less remarkable for her cruelties than her lusts, as by her intrigues she destroyed many of the most illustrious families of Rome. Subordinate to her were the emperor's freedmen; Pallas, the treasurer; Narcissus, the secretary of state; and Callistus, the master of the requests. These entirely governed Claudius, so that he was only left the fatigues of ceremony, while they were possessed of all the power of the state.

It would be tedious to enumerate the various cruelties which these insidious advisers obliged the feeble emperor to commit; those against his own family will suffice. Appius Silanus, a person of great merit, who had been married to the emperor's mother-in-law, was put to death upon the suggestions of Messalina. After him he slew both his sons-in-law, Silanus and Pompey, and his two nieces, the Livias, one the daughter of Drusus, the other of Germanicus; and all without permitting them to plead in their defence, or even without assigning any cause for his displeasure. Great numbers of others fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of Messalina and her minions, who bore so great a sway in the state, that all offices, dignities, and governments, were entirely at their disposal. Every thing was put to sale: they took money for pardons and penalties; and accumulated by these means such vast sums, that the wealth of Crassus was considered as nothing in comparison. One day the emperor complaining, that his exchequer was exhausted, he was ludicrously told, that it might be sufficiently replenished, if his two freedmen would take him into partnership. Still, however, during such immense strides of corruption, he regarded his favourites with the highest esteem, and even solicited the senate to grant them peculiar marks of their approbation. These disorders in the ministers of government did not fail to produce conspiracies against the emperor. Statius Corvinus and Gallus Assinus formed a conspiracy against him. Two knights, whose names are not told us,

privately combined to assassinate him. But the revolt which gave him the greatest uneasiness, and which was punished with the most unrelenting severity, was that of Camillus, his lieutenant-governor in Dalmatia. This general, incited by many of the principal men of Rome, openly rebelled against him, and assumed the title of emperor. Nothing could exceed the terrors of Claudius, upon being informed of this revolt: his nature and his crimes had disposed him to be more cowardly than the rest of mankind; so that when Camillus commanded him by his letters to relinquish the empire, and retire to a private station, he seemed inclined to obey. Notwithstanding, his fears upon this account were soon removed; for the legions that had declared for Camillus, being terrified by some remarkable prodigies, shortly after abandoned him; so that the man, whom but five days before they had acknowledged as emperor, they now thought it no infamy to destroy. The cruelty of Messalina and her minions, upon this occasion, seemed to have no bounds. They so wrought upon the emperor's fears and suspicions, that numbers were executed without trial or proof; and scarce any, even of those who were but suspected, escaped, unless by ransoming their lives with their fortunes.

Among the number, who were put to death on this occasion, I cannot omit mentioning the pathetic catastrophe of Petus and his faithful wife Arria. Cecina Petus was one of those unfortunate men who joined with Camillus against the emperor, and who, when his associate was slain by the army, had endeavoured to escape into Dalmatia. However, he was there apprehended, and put on board a ship, in order to be conveyed to Rome. Arria, who had been long the partner of his affections and misfortunes, entreated his keepers to be taken in the same vessel with her husband. "It is usual," she said, "to grant a man of his quality a few slaves, to dress, undress, and attend him; I myself will perform all these offices, and save you the trouble of a more numerous retinue." Her fidelity, however, could not prevail. She therefore hired a fisherman's bark, and thus kept company with the ship in which her husband was conveyed through the voyage. They had an only son, remarkably for the beauty of his person and the rectitude of his disposition. This youth died at the time his father was confined to his bed by a dangerous disorder. How-

ever, the affectionate Arria concealed her son's death, and in her visits to her husband testified no marks of sadness. Being asked how her son did, she replied that he was at rest, and only left her husband's chamber to give a vent to her tears. When Petus was condemned to die, and the orders were that he should put an end to his own life, Arria used every art to inspire him with resolution; and at length, finding him continue timid and wavering, she took the poignard, and, stabbing herself in his presence, presented it to him, saying, "It gives me no pain, my Petus."

By such cruelties as these, the favourites of the emperor endeavoured to establish his and their own authority; but in order to increase the necessity of their assistance, they laboured to augment the greatness of his terrors. He now became a prey to jealousy and inquietude. Being one day in the temple, and finding a sword that was left there by accident, he convened the senate in a fright, and informed them of his danger. After this he never ventured to go to any feast without being surrounded by his guards, nor would he suffer any man to approach him without a previous search. Thus wholly employed by his anxiety for self-preservation, he entirely left the care of the state to his favourites, who by degrees gave him a relish for slaughter. From this time, he seemed delighted with inflicting tortures; and on a certain occasion continued a whole day at the city Tibur, waiting for a hangman from Rome, that he might feast his eyes with an execution in the manner of the ancients. Nor was he less regardless of the persons he condemned, than cruel in the infliction of their punishment. Such was his extreme stupidity, that he would frequently invite those to supper whom he had put to death but the day before; and often denied the having given orders for an execution, but a few hours after pronouncing sentence. Suetonius assures us, that there were no less than thirty-five senators, and above three hundred knights, executed in his reign; and that such was his unconcern in the midst of slaughter, that one of his tribunes bringing him an account of a certain senator who was executed, he quite forgot his offence, but calmly acquiesced in his punishment.

In this manner was Claudius urged on by Agrippina to commit cruelties, which he considered only as wholesome severities, while in the mean time she put no bounds to her

enormities. The impunity of her past vices only increasing her confidence to commit new, her debaucheries now became every day more notorious, and her lewdness exceeded what had ever been seen in Rome. She chose her paramours through wantonness, and then sacrificed them through caprice. She caused some women of the first quality to commit adultery in the presence of their husbands, and destroyed such as refused to comply. After appearing for some years insatiable in her desires, she at length fixed her affections upon Caius Silius, the most beautiful youth in Rome. As all her passions were in extreme, her love for this young Roman seemed to amount even to madness. She obliged him to divorce his wife Junia Syllana, that she might entirely possess him herself. She obliged him to accept of immense treasures and valuable presents, cohabiting with him in the most open manner, and treating him with the most shameless familiarity. The very imperial ornaments were transferred to his house, and the emperor's slaves and attendants had orders to wait upon the adulterer. Nothing was wanting to complete the insolence of their conduct, but their being married together, and that was soon after effected. They relied upon the emperor's imbecility for security, and only waited till he retired to Ostia to put their ill-judged project into execution. In his absence they celebrated their nuptials with all the ceremonies and splendour, which attend the most confident security. Messalina, giving a loose to her passion, appeared as a bacchanalian with a thyrsus in her hand; while Silius assumed the character of Bacchus, his body being adorned with robes imitating ivy, and his legs covered with buskins. A troop of singers and dancers attended, who heightened the revel with the most lascivious songs and the most indecent attitudes. In the midst of this riot, one Valens, a buffoon, is said to have climbed a tree; and, being demanded what he saw, answered, that he perceived a dreadful storm coming from Ostia. What this fellow spoke at random was actually at that time in preparation. It seems, that some time before, as the friendships of the vicious are always of short duration, there had been a quarrel between Messalina and Narcissus, the emperor's first freedman. This subtle minister, therefore, desired nothing more than an opportunity of ruining the empress; and he judged this to be a most favourable occasion. He first made

the discovery by means of two concubines who attended the emperor, who were instructed to inform him of Messalina's marriage, as the news of the day, while Narcissus himself stepped in to confirm their information. Finding that it operated upon the emperor's fears as he could wish, he resolved to alarm him still more by a discovery of all Messalina's projects and attempts. He aggravated the danger, and urged the expediency of speedily punishing the delinquents. Claudius, quite terrified at so unexpected a relation, supposed that the enemy was already at his gates, and frequently interrupted his freedmen, by asking if he was still master of the empire. Being assured that he yet had it in his power to continue so, he resolved to go and punish the affront offered to his dignity without delay.

Nothing could exceed the consternation of Messalina and her thoughtless companions, upon being informed that the emperor was coming to disturb their festivity. Every one retired in the utmost confusion. Silius was taken. Messalina took shelter in some gardens formerly belonging to Lucullus, but which she had lately seized upon, having expelled Asiaticus, the true owner, and put him to death. From thence she sent Britannicus, her only son by the emperor, with Octavia her daughter, to intercede for her, and implore his mercy. She soon after followed them herself: but Narcissus had so fortified the emperor against her arts, and contrived such methods of diverting his attention from her defence, that she was obliged to retire in despair. Narcissus, being thus far successful, led Claudius to the house of the adulterer, there showed him the apartments adorned with the spoils of his own palace: and then, conducting him to the prætorian camp, revived his courage by giving him assurances of the readiness of the soldiers to defend him. Having thus artfully wrought upon his fears and resentment, the wretched Silius was commanded to appear, who making no defence was instantly put to death in the emperor's presence. Several others shared the same fate, but Messalina still flattered herself with hopes of pardon. She resolved to leave neither prayers nor tears unattempted to appease the emperor. She sometimes even gave a loose to her resentment, and threatened her accusers with vengeance. Nor did she want ground for entertaining the most favourable expectations. Claudius having returned

from the execution of her paramour, and having allayed his resentment in a banquet, began to relent. He now, therefore, commanded his attendants to apprise that miserable creature, meaning Messalina, of his resolution to hear her accusation the next day, and ordered her to be in readiness with her defence. The permission to defend herself would have been fatal to Narcissus; wherefore he rushed out, and ordered the tribunes and centurions, who were in readiness, to execute her immediately by the emperor's command. Upon their arrival at the gardens, where she still continued, they found her stretched upon the ground, attended by her mother Lepida, who exhorted her to prevent her punishment by a voluntary death. But this unfortunate woman was too much softened by luxury to be able to face death without terror. Instead of fortifying her resolution to meet the blow, she only gave way to tears and unpitied distress. At length, taking a sword from one of the soldiers, she put it to her breast; but her fears still prolonging the blow, the tribune ran her through the body, and so dispatched her. Claudius was immediately informed of her death, in the midst of his banquet; but this insensible idiot showed not the least appearance of emotion. He continued at table with his usual tranquillity, while neither the love he bore her, the joy of her accusers, nor the sorrow of his children, had the least effect upon his temper. As a proof, however, that this proceeded rather from stupidity than fortitude, the day following, while he was sitting at table, he asked why Messalina was absent, as if he had totally forgotten her crimes and her punishment.

Claudius, being now a widower, declared publicly, that, as he had been hitherto unfortunate in his marriages, he would remain single for the future; and that he would be contented to forfeit his life, in case he broke his resolution. However, the resolutions of Claudius were but of short continuance. Having been accustomed to live under the control of women, his present freedom was become irksome to him, and he was entirely unable to live without a director. His freedmen, therefore, perceiving his inclinations, resolved to procure him another; and, after some deliberation, they fixed upon Agrippina, the daughter of his brother Germanicus. This woman was more practised in vice than even the former empress. Her cruelties were more dangerous as they were directed with greater caution. She had poisoned her former

husband, to be at liberty to attend the calls of ambition ; and, perfectly acquainted with all the infirmities of Claudius, only made use of his power to advance her own. However, as the late declaration of Claudius seemed to be an obstacle to his marrying again, persons were suborned to move in the senate, that he should be compelled to take a wife, as a matter of great importance to the commonwealth ; and some more determined flatterers than the rest left the house, as with a thorough resolution, that instant, to constrain him. When this decree (by which also incestuous marriages were made lawful) past in the senate, Claudius had scarce patience to contain himself a day before the celebration of his nuptials. But such was the detestation in which the people in general held these incestuous matches, that, though they were made lawful, yet only one of his tribunes and one of his freedmen were found base enough to follow his example.

Claudius, having now received a new director, submitted with more implicit obedience than in any former part of his reign. Agrippina's chief aims were to gain the succession in favour of her own son Nero, and to set aside the claims of young Britannicus, son to the emperor and Messalina. For this purpose she married Nero to the emperor's daughter Octavia, a few days after her own marriage. Not long after this, she urged the emperor to strengthen the succession, in imitation of his predecessors, by making a new adoption, and advised him to take in her son Nero, in some measure to divide the fatigues of government. The feeble prince, who had no discernment nor malice but what were infused into him, immediately yielded to her persuasions, and adopted Nero in preference to his only son Britannicus. Her next care was to increase her son's popularity, by giving him Seneca for a tutor. This excellent man, by birth a Spaniard, had been banished into the island of Corsica by Claudius, upon the false testimony of Messalina, who had accused him of adultery with Julia, the emperor's niece. The people loved and admired him for his genius, but still more for his strict morality ; and a part of his reputation therefore necessarily devolved to his pupil. This subtle woman was not less assiduous in pretending the utmost affection for Britannicus, whom however she resolved at a proper time to destroy. But her jealousy was not confined to this child only ; she, shortly after her accession, procured the deaths of several ladies who had been her

rivals in the emperor's affections. She displaced the captain of the guards, and appointed Burrhus to that command; a person of great military knowledge, and strongly attached to her interests. From that time, she took less pains to disguise her power, and frequently entered the capitol in a chariot; a privilege which none before were allowed, except those of the sacerdotal order.

U.C. 790.
A. D. 38.

In the twelfth year of this monarch's reign, she persuaded him to restore liberty to the Rhodians, of which he had deprived them some years before; and to remit the taxes of the citizens of Ilium, as having been the progenitors of Rome. Her design in this was to increase the popularity of Nero, who pleaded the cause of both with great approbation. Thus did this ambitious woman take every step to aggrandize her son, and was even contented to become hateful herself to the public, merely to increase his popularity. Being one day told by an astrologer, that he would be emperor, and yet the cause of her death; "Let him kill me," answered she, "provided he but reigns." *Occidat dum imperat.*

Such a very immoderate abuse of her power served at last to awaken the emperor's suspicions. Agrippina's imperious temper began to grow insupportable to him; and he was heard to declare, when heated with wine, that it was his fate to suffer the disorders of his wives, and to be their executioner. This expression sunk deep in her mind, and engaged all her faculties to prevent the blow. Her first care was to remove Narcissus, whom she hated upon many accounts, but particularly for his attachment to Claudius. This minister for some time opposed her designs; but at length thought fit to retire by a voluntary exile into Campania. The unhappy emperor, thus exposed to all the machinations of his insidious consort, seemed entirely regardless of the dangers that threatened his destruction. His affections for Britannicus were perceived every day to increase, and served also to increase the vigilance of Agrippina, and add stings to her jealousy. She now, therefore, resolved not to defer a crime, which she had meditated a long while before; namely, that of poisoning her husband. She for some time, however, debated with herself in what manner she should administer the poison; as she feared too strong a dose would discover her treachery, and one too weak might fail of its effect. At length she determined upon a poison of singular efficacy to destroy his intellects, and yet not

suddenly to terminate his life. As she had been long conversant in this horrid practice, she applied to a woman called Locusta, notorious for assisting on such occasions. The poison was given the emperor among mushrooms, a dish he was particularly fond of. Shortly after having eaten, he dropped down insensible; but this caused no alarm, as it was usual with him to sit eating till he had stupified all his faculties, and was obliged to be carried off to his bed from the table. However, his constitution seemed to overcome the effects of the potion, when Agrippina resolved to make sure of him; wherefore she directed a wretched physician, who was her creature, to thrust a poisoned feather down his throat, under pretence of making him vomit, and this dispatched him.

The reign of this emperor, feeble and impotent as he was, produced no great calamities in the state, since his cruelties were chiefly levelled at those about his person. The list of the inhabitants of Rome at this time amounted to six million eight hundred and forty-four thousand souls; a number equal, perhaps, to all the people of England at this day. In such a concourse, it is not to be doubted but every virtue and every vice must come to their highest pitch of refinement; and, in fact, the conduct of Seneca seems an instance of the former, and that of Messalina of the latter. However, the general character of the times was that of corruption and luxury; for wherever there is a great superfluity of wealth, there will also be seen a thousand vicious modes of exhausting it. The military spirit of Rome, though much relaxed from its former severity, still continued to awe mankind; and though, during this reign, the world might be justly said to be without a head, yet the terror of the Roman name alone kept mankind in their obedience.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

NERO, THE SIXTH EMPEROR.

U.C. 793. CLAUDIUS being destroyed, Agrippina took every
A. D. 41. precaution to conceal his death from the public,
until she had settled her measures for securing the
succession. A strong guard was placed at all the avenues of

the palace, while she amused the people with various reports; at one time giving out that he was still alive; at another, that he was recovering. In the mean while, she made sure of the person of young Britannicus, under pretence of affection for him. Like one overcome with the extremity of her grief, she held the child in her arms, calling him the dear image of his father, and thus preventing his escape. She used the same precautions with regard to his sisters, Octavia and Antonia; and even ordered an entertainment in the palace, as if to amuse the emperor. At last, when all things were adjusted, the palace-gates were thrown open; and Nero, accompanied by Burrhus, præfect of the prætorian guards, issued to receive the congratulations of the people and the army. The cohort then attending, proclaimed him with the loudest acclamations, though not without making some inquiries after Britannicus. He was carried in a chariot to the rest of the army; where, having made a speech proper for the occasion, and promising them a donation, in the manner of his predecessors, he was declared emperor by the army, the senate, and the people.

Nero's first care was to show all possible respect to the deceased emperor, in order to cover the guilt of his death. His obsequies were performed with a pomp equal to that of Augustus; the young emperor pronounced his funeral oration; and he was canonized among the gods, who scarce deserved the name of man. The funeral oration, though spoken by Nero, was drawn up by Seneca; and it was remarked, that this was the first time a Roman emperor needed the assistance of another's eloquence.

Nero, though but seventeen years of age, began his reign with the general approbation of mankind. As he owed the empire to Agrippina, so, in the beginning, he submitted to her directions with the most implicit obedience. On her part, she seemed resolved on governing with her natural ferocity, and considered her private animosities as the only rule to guide her in public justice. Immediately after the death of Claudius, she caused Silanus, the proconsul of Asia, to be assassinated upon very light suspicions, and without ever acquainting the emperor with her design. The next object of her resentment was Narcissus, the late emperor's favourite; a man equally notorious for the greatness of his wealth and the number of his crimes. He was obliged to put an end

to his life, by Agrippina's order, although Nero refused his consent.

This bloody outset would have been followed by many severities of the same nature, had not Seneca and Burrhus, the emperor's tutor and general, opposed. These worthy men, although they owed their rise to the empress, were above being the instruments of her cruelty. They therefore combined together in an opposition, and, gaining the young emperor on their side, formed a plan of power, at once the most merciful and wise. The beginning of this monarch's reign, while he continued to act by their counsels, has always been considered as a model for succeeding princes to govern by. The famous emperor Trajan used to say, "that, for the first five years of this prince, all other governments came short of his." In fact, the young monarch knew so well how to conceal his innate depravity, that his nearest friends could scarce perceive his virtues to be assumed. He appeared just, liberal, and humane. When a warrant for the execution of a criminal was brought him to be signed, he was heard to cry out, with seeming concern, "Would to heaven that I had never learned to write." The senate, upon a certain occasion, giving him their applause for the regularity and justice of his administration, he replied with singular modesty, "that they should defer their thanks till he had deserved them." His condescension and affability were not less than his other virtues; so that the Romans began to think, that Heaven had sent them a prince, whose clemency would compensate for the tyranny of his predecessors.

In the mean time Agrippina, who was excluded from any share in government, attempted, by every possible method, to maintain her declining power. Perceiving that her son had fallen in love with a freedwoman, named Acte, and dreading the influence of a concubine, she tried every art to prevent his growing passion. However, in so corrupt a court, it was no difficult matter for the emperor to find other confidants ready to assist him in his wishes. The gratification of his passion, therefore, in this instance, only served to increase his hatred for the empress. Nor was it long before he gave evident marks of his disobedience, by displacing Pallas, her chief favourite. It was upon this occasion, that she first perceived the total declension of her authority, which threw

her into the most ungovernable fury. In order to give terror to her rage, she proclaimed, that Britannicus, the real heir to the throne, was still living, and in a condition to receive his father's empire, which was now possessed by an usurper. She threatened to go to the camp, and there expose his baseness and her own, invoking all the furies to her assistance. These menaces served to alarm the suspicions of Nero; who, though apparently guided by his governors, yet already began to give way to his natural depravity. He therefore determined upon the death of Britannicus, and contrived to have him poisoned at a public banquet. Agrippina, however, still retained her natural ferocity; she took every opportunity of obliging and flattering the tribunes and centurions; she heaped up treasures, with a rapacity beyond her natural avarice; all her actions seemed calculated to raise a faction, and make herself formidable to the emperor. Whereupon, Nero commanded her German guard to be taken from her, and obliged her to lodge out of the palace. He also forbid particular persons from visiting her, and went himself but rarely and ceremoniously to pay her his respects. She now, therefore, began to find, that, with the emperor's favour, she had lost the assiduity of her friends. She was even accused by Syllana of conspiring against her son, and of designing to marry Plautius, a person descended from Augustus, and of making him emperor. A short time after, Pallas her favourite, together with Burrhus, were arraigned for a similar offence, and intending to set up Cornelius Sylla. These informations being proved void of any foundation, the informers were banished; a punishment which was considered as very inadequate to the greatness of their offences.

As Nero increased in years, his crimes seemed to increase in equal proportion. He now began to find a pleasure in running about the city by night, disguised like a slave. In this vile habit he entered taverns and brothels, attended by the lewd ministers of his pleasures, attempting the lives of such as opposed him, and frequently endangering his own. In imitation of the emperor's example, numbers of profligate young men infested the streets likewise; so that every night the city was filled with tumult and disorder. However, the people bore all these levities, which they ascribed to the emperor's youth, with patience; having occasion every day to

experience his liberality, and having also been gratified by the abolition of many of their taxes. The provinces also were no way affected by these riots; for, except some disturbances on the side of the Parthians, which were soon suppressed, they enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity.

But those sensualities, which, for the first four years of his reign, produced but few disorders, in the fifth became alarming. He first began to transgress the bounds of decency, by publicly abandoning Octavia, his present wife, and then by taking Poppea, the wife of his favourite Otho, a woman more celebrated for her beauty than her virtues. This was another grating circumstance to Agrippina, who vainly used all her interest to disgrace Poppea, and reinstate herself in her son's lost favour. Historians assert, that she even offered to satisfy his passions herself, by an incestuous compliance; and that, had not Seneca interposed, the son would have joined in the mother's crime. This, however, does not seem probable, since we find Poppea victorious soon after in the contention of interests; and at last impelling Nero to parricide, to satisfy her revenge. She began her arts by urging him to divorce his present wife, and marry her: she reproached him as a pupil, who wanted not only power over others, but liberty to direct himself. She insinuated the dangerous designs of Agrippina; and, by degrees, accustomed his mind to reflect upon parricide without horror. His cruelties against his mother began rather by several circumstances of petty malice, than by any downright injury. He encouraged several persons to tease her with litigious suits: he employed some of the meanest of the people to sing satirical songs against her under her windows. At last, finding these ineffectual in breaking her spirit, he resolved on putting her to death. His first attempt was by poison; but this, though twice repeated, proved ineffectual, as she had fortified her constitution against it by antidotes. This failing, a ship was contrived in so artificial a manner as to fall to pieces in the water, on board of which she was invited to sail to the coasts of Calabria. However, this plot was as ineffectual as the former: the mariners, not being all apprised of the secret, disturbed each other's operations; so that the ship not sinking as readily as was expected, Agrippina found means to continue swimming, till she was taken up by some trading vessels passing that way. Nero, thus finding

that all his machinations were discovered, resolved to throw off the mask, and put her openly to death without further delay. He therefore caused a report to be spread, that she had conspired against him; and a poignard was dropped at his feet, by one who pretended a command from Agrippina to assassinate him. In consequence of this, he applied to his governors, Seneca and Burrhus, for their advice how to act, and their assistance in ridding him of the object of his fears. Things were now come to such a crisis, that no middle way could be taken, and either Nero or Agrippina was to fall. Seneca, therefore, kept a profound silence; while Burrhus, with more resolution, refused to be the perpetrator of so great a crime; alleging, that the army was entirely devoted to all the descendants of Cæsar, and would never be brought to imbrue their hands in the blood of any of his family. In this embarrassment, Anicetus, the contriver of the ship above-mentioned, offered his services, which Nero accepted with the greatest joy, crying out, "that this was the first moment he ever found himself an emperor." This freedman, therefore, taking with him a body of soldiers, surrounded the house of Agrippina, and then forced open her doors. He next seized upon every slave he met, until he came near the chamber where Agrippina lay. In the mean time, Agrippina, who strove to conceal her consciousness of Nero's designs, continued anxiously expecting the return of a messenger, whom she had sent with an account of her escape. However, perceiving a sudden stillness without among the crowds, that had, but a few moments before, been loud in their congratulations, she asked the cause, and demanded of the slave who attended her, if her emissary were returned? While she yet continued speaking, the slave disappeared, and Anicetus entered the apartment, accompanied by two soldiers, in whose looks she read her fate. She still, however, preserved presence of mind sufficient to ask the cause of their coming. "If," cried she, "you come to inquire after my health, you may inform the emperor that I am better; but if you come with any worse intention, you alone, and not my son, must be guilty." To this the executioners made no reply, but one of them dashed his club at her head, which, nevertheless, did not dispatch her. Now, therefore, finding that she was to expect no mercy, and seeing Anicetus draw his sword to stab her,

she presented her bosom, crying out, "Strike here, for this place gave birth to a monster." The executioners having dispatched her with several wounds, left her dead on the couch, and went to inform Nero of what they had done. Some historians say, that Nero came immediately to view the body; that he continued to gaze upon it with pleasure, commending some parts, and dispraising others; and ended his horrid survey by coolly observing, that he never thought his mother had been so handsome. However this be, he vindicated his conduct next day to the senate, who not only excused, but applauded his impiety.

All the mounds of virtue being thus broken down, Nero now gave a loose to his appetites, that were not only sordid, but inhuman. There seemed an odd contrast in his disposition; for while he practised cruelties, which were sufficient to make the mind shudder with horror, he was fond of those amusing arts that soften and refine the heart. He was particularly addicted, even from childhood, to music, and not totally ignorant of poetry. But chariot-driving was his favourite pursuit. He never missed the circus, when chariot-races were to be exhibited there; appearing at first privately, and soon after publicly; till at last, his passion increasing by indulgence, he was not content with being merely a spectator, but resolved to become one of the principal performers. His governors, however, did all in their power to restrain this perverted ambition; but finding him resolute, they enclosed a space of ground in the valley of the Vatican, where he first exhibited only to some chosen spectators, but shortly after invited the whole town. The praises of his flattering subjects only stimulated him still more to these unbecoming pursuits; so that he now resolved to assume a new character, and to appear as a singer upon the stage.

His passion for music, as was observed, was no less natural to him than the former; but as it was less manly, so he endeavoured to defend it by the example of some of the most celebrated men, who practised it with the same fondness. He had been instructed in the principles of this art from his childhood; and, upon his advancement to the empire, he had put himself under the most celebrated masters. He patiently submitted to their instructions, and used all those methods which singers practise, either to mend the voice, or improve

its volubility. Yet, notwithstanding all his assiduity, his voice was but a wretched one, being both feeble and unpleasant. However, he was resolved to produce it to the public, such as it was; for flattery, he knew, would supply every deficiency. His first public appearance was at games of his own institution, called *Juveniles*, where he advanced upon the stage, tuning his instrument to his voice, with great appearance of skill. A group of tribunes and centurions attended behind him, while his old governor, *Barrhus*, stood near his hopeful pupil, with indignation in his countenance, and praises on his lips.

He was desirous, also, of becoming a poet, but he was unwilling to undergo the pain of study, which a proficiency in that art requires; he was desirous of being a poet ready-made. For this purpose he got together several persons, who were considered as great wits at court, though but very little known as such to the public. These attended him with verses which they had composed at home, or which they babbled out extemporaneously; and the whole of their compositions being tacked together, by his direction, was called a poem. Nor was he without his philosophers also; he took a pleasure in hearing their debates after supper; but he heard them merely for his amusement.

Furnished with such talents as these for giving pleasure, he was resolved to make the tour of his empire, and give the most public display of his abilities wherever he came. The place of his first exhibition, upon leaving Rome, was at Naples. The crowds there were so great, and the curiosity of the people so earnest in hearing him, that they did not perceive an earthquake that happened while he was singing. His desire of gaining the superiority over the other actors was truly ridiculous: he made interest with his judges, reviled his competitors, formed private factions to support him, all in imitation of those who got their livelihood upon the stage. While he continued to perform, no man was permitted to depart from the theatre, upon any pretence whatsoever. Some were so fatigued with hearing him, that they leaped privately from the walls, or pretended to fall into fainting fits, in order to be carried out. Nay, it is said, that several women were delivered in the theatre. Soldiers were placed in several parts, to observe the looks and gestures of the spectators, either to di-

rect them where to point their applause, or to restrain their displeasure. An old senator, named Vespasian, happening to fall asleep upon one of these occasions, very narrowly escaped with his life.

After being fatigued with the praises of his countrymen, Nero resolved upon going over into Greece to receive new theatrical honours. The occasion was this. The cities of Greece had made a law to send him musical crowns from all the games; and deputies were accordingly dispatched with this (to him) important embassy. As he one day entertained the deputies at his table in the most sumptuous manner, and conversed with them with the utmost familiarity, they entreated to hear him sing. Upon his complying, the artful Greeks knew how to satisfy his vanity, by the exaggerations of their praise. They testified all the marks of extasy and rapture. Applauses so warm were peculiarly pleasing to Nero; he could not refrain from crying out, that the Greeks alone were worthy to hear him; and accordingly prepared, without delay, to go into Greece, where he spent the whole year ensuing. In this journey, his retinue resembled an army in number; but it was only composed of singers, dancers, tailors, and other attendants upon the theatre. He passed over all Greece, and exhibited at all their games, which he ordered to be celebrated in one year. At the Olympic games he resolved to show the people something extraordinary; wherefore, he drove a chariot with ten horses; but he succeeded most wretchedly; for, being unable to sustain the violence of the motion, he was thrown from his seat. The spectators, however, gave him their unanimous applause, and he was crowned as conqueror. In this manner he obtained the prize at the Isthmian, Pythian, and Nemean games. The Greeks were not sparing of their crowns; he obtained eighteen hundred of them. An unfortunate singer happened to oppose him on one of these occasions: and exerted all the powers of his art, which it appears was prodigious; but he seems to have been a better singer than a politician, for Nero ordered him to be killed on the spot. Upon his return from Greece, he entered Naples through a breach in the walls of the city, as was customary with those who were conquerors in the Olympic games. But all the splendour of his return was reserved for his entry into Rome. There he appeared seated in the

chariot of Augustus, dressed in robes of purple, and crowned with wild olive, which was the Olympic garland. He bore in his hand the Pythian crown; and had eighteen hundred more carried before him. Beside him sat one Diodorus, a musician; and behind him followed a band of singers, as numerous as a legion, who sung in honour of his victories. The senate, the knights, and the people, attended this puerile pageant, filling the air with their acclamations. The whole city was illuminated; every street smoked with incense; wherever he passed, victims were slain; the pavement was strewed with saffron; while garlands of flowers, ribands, fowls, and pasties (for so we are told) were showered down upon him from the windows as he passed along. So many honours only inflamed his desire of acquiring new; he at last began to take lessons in wrestling, willing to imitate Hercules in strength, as he had rivalled Apollo in activity. He also caused a lion of pasteboard to be made with great art, against which he undauntedly appeared in the theatre, and struck it down with a blow of his club.

But it had been happy for mankind had he confined himself to these puerilities; and, contented with being contemptible, sought not to become formidable also. His cruelties even outdid all his other extravagancies. A complete list of those would exceed the limits of the present work, and would present the reader with a hideous repetition of suspicions without cause, and punishments without mercy. Soon after the death of Agrippina, he ordered Domitia, his aunt, to be poisoned. Some say, that Burrhus, who died shortly after, was served in the same manner. Rebellius Plancus, together with Pallas, Agrippina's favourite, were about this time put to death; the former, for being of the *Cæsarean* family; the latter, for being rich. Octavia, his wife, was divorced, and likewise put to death; and Poppea made empress in her place. Sylla, and Torquatus Syllanus, with many others, either fell by the executioner, or gave themselves a voluntary death.

He seemed even studious of finding out pleasures as well as crimes against nature. Being attired in the habit of a woman, and covered with a yellow veil like a bride, he was wedded to one of his abominable companions, called Pytha-

goras, and again to his freedman Dociphorus. On the other hand, that he might be every way detestable, he became the husband of a youth named Sporus, whom he had previously deprived of the marks of virility. With this preposterous bride, decked out in all the ornaments of an empress, he went to all public places: they always rode together in his chariot; and he scrupled not to treat him as a woman, in the sight of the wondering multitude. However, though he escaped their anger, he did not fail to incur their ridicule. It was observed, upon one of these occasions, that the world had been happy if the emperor's father had been married only to such a spouse. But he little regarded what the wiser part of mankind thought of him. He was often heard to observe, that he had rather be hated than loved. When one happened to say in his presence, that the world might be burnt when he was dead: "Nay," replied Nero, "let it be burnt while I am living." In fact, a great part of the city of Rome was consumed by fire shortly after: and most historians ascribe the conflagration to him. It is said, that he stood upon a high tower, during the continuance of the flames, enjoying the sight, and repeating, in a player's habit, and in a theatrical manner, some verses upon the destruction of Troy. As a proof of his guilt upon this occasion, none were permitted to lend any assistance towards extinguishing the flames; and several persons were seen setting fire to the houses, alleging, that they had orders for so doing. However this be, the emperor used every art to throw the odium of so detestable an action from himself, and to fix it upon the Christians, who were at that time gaining ground in Rome. Nothing could be more dreadful than the persecution raised against them upon this false accusation. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts; and, in that figure, devoured by dogs. Some were crucified; and others burnt alive. "When the day was not sufficient for their tortures, the flames in which they perished," says Tacitus, "served to illuminate the night;" while Nero, dressed in the habit of a charioteer, regaled himself with their tortures from his gardens; and entertained the people, at one time with their sufferings, at another with the games of the circus. In this persecution St. Paul was beheaded; and St. Peter was crucified with his head downwards; which death

he chose as being more dishonourable than that of his Divine Master. The inhuman monster, conscious of being suspected of burning the city, in order to free himself from the scandal, took great care to re-edify it with even greater beauty than before. But he set no bounds to the magnificence with which his own palace, which had shared in the conflagration, was rebuilt. It now received the name of the golden palace, from the rich materials of which it was composed; as all the apartments were adorned with the richest metals and the most precious jewels. The principal hall was circular, and the ceiling moveable, and went round in imitation of the heavenly motions. The extent of the palace was not less amazing than its beauty. It was so large as to contain within its walls, lakes, parks, and vineyards. The entrance was spacious enough to receive a colossal statue of the emperor, a hundred and twenty feet high. In short, nothing, either before or since, ever equalled the magnificence or richness of this structure. Nero, however, when it was finished, only said coolly, that he was now lodged like a man. But he did not seem to regard the extortions and exactions in all the provinces, which were made to support this style of expense. The oppression and the misery of mankind seemed to be his pleasure, and he was every day contented to feast upon the desolation of a province at a single meal.

Hitherto, however, the citizens of Rome seemed comparatively exempt from his cruelties, which chiefly fell upon strangers, and his nearest connections. A conspiracy formed against him by Piso, a man of great power and integrity, which was prematurely discovered, opened a new train of suspicions, that destroyed many of the principal families in Rome. This conspiracy, in which several of the chief men of the city were concerned, was first discovered by the indiscreet zeal of a woman, named Epicharis, who, by some means, now unknown, had been let into the plot, which she revealed to Volusius, a tribune, in order to prevail upon him to be an accomplice. Volusius, instead of coming into her design, went and discovered what he had learned to Nero, who immediately put Epicharis into prison. Soon after, a freedman belonging to Scaevinus, one of the accomplices, made a farther discovery. The conspirators were examined apart, and as their testimonies

differed, they were put to the torture. Natalis was the first who made a confession of his own guilt, and that of many others. Scævinius gave a list of the conspirators still more ample. Lucan, the poet, was amongst the number, and he, like the rest, in order to save himself, still farther enlarged the catalogue, naming, among others, Attilia, his own mother. Epicharis was now, therefore, again called upon and put to the torture; but her fortitude was proof against all the tyrant's cruelty; neither scourging, nor burning, nor all the malicious methods used by the executioners, could extort the smallest confession. She was, therefore, remanded to prison, with orders to have her tortures renewed the day following. In the mean time she found an opportunity of strangling herself with her handkerchief, by hanging it against the back of her chair. It need scarcely be asked, whether the rest of the conspirators were put to death under such a prince, as Nero, whose daily custom was to condemn even the innocent. Piso, Lateranus, Fennius Rufus, Subrius Flavius, Sulpicius Asper, Vestinus the consul, and numberless others, were all executed without mercy. But the two most remarkable personages who fell on this occasion were Seneca the philosopher, and Lucan the poet, who was his nephew. It is not certainly known, whether Seneca was really concerned in this conspiracy or not. This great man had for some time perceived the outrageous conduct of his pupil, and, finding himself incapable of controlling his savage disposition, had retired from court into solitude and privacy. However, his retreat did not now protect him; for Nero, either having real testimony against him, or else hating him for his virtues, sent a tribune, informing him, that he was suspected as an accomplice. The tribune found the philosopher at table with Paulina, his wife; and informing him of his business, Seneca replied, without any emotion, that his welfare depended upon no man; that he had never been accustomed to indulge the errors of the emperor, and would not do it now. When this answer was brought back to Nero, he demanded whether Seneca seemed afraid to die; the tribune replying, that he did not appear in the least terrified, "Then go to him again," cried the emperor, "and give him my orders to die." This tribune was himself one of the conspirators; so that, instead of immediately returning, he went to ask the opi-

nion of Fennius Rufus, his commander, whether he should obey. Upon Fennius's advising him to do it, he sent a centurion to Seneca, signifying that it was the emperor's pleasure that he should die. Upon receiving this fatal command, Seneca seemed no way discomposed, but called for his will, in order to make some additions to it in favour of some friends, that were then with him. This favour, however, the centurion refused to grant him; upon which Seneca, turning to his friends, "Since then," cried he, "I am not permitted to leave you any other marks of my affection, at least I leave you one legacy more precious than all the rest—my example." Then comforting their distress, and embracing his wife, the memory of her past affection seemed to melt him into tears. However, no way unmindful of his constancy, he endeavoured to console her for his loss, and exhort her to a life of persevering virtue. But she seemed resolved on not surviving him, and pressed her request to die with him so earnestly, that Seneca, who had long looked upon death as a benefit, at last gave his consent, and the veins of both their arms were opened at the same time. As Seneca was old, and much enfeebled by the austerities of his life, the blood flowed but slowly, so that he caused the veins of his legs and thighs to be opened also. His pains were long and violent, but they were not capable of repressing his fortitude or his eloquence. He dictated a discourse to two secretaries, which was read with great avidity after his death by the people, but which has since perished in the wreck of time. His agonies being now drawn out to a great length, he at last demanded poison from his physician; but this also failed of its effect, his body being already exhausted, and incapable of exciting its operation. He was from this carried into a warm bath, which only served to prolong his end; at length, therefore, he was put into a dry stove, the vapour of which quickly dispatched him. In the mean time, his wife Paulina, having falling into a swoon with the loss of blood, had her arms bound up by her domestics, and by this means survived her husband for some years; but by her conduct, during the rest of her life, she seemed always mindful of her own love and his example.

The death of Lucan was not less remarkable. The veins of his arms being opened, after he had lost a great quantity of blood, perceiving his hands and legs already dead, while the

vital parts still continued warm and vigorous, he called to mind a description, in his own poem of the Pharaalia, of a person dying in similar circumstances, and expired while he was repeating that beautiful passage :—

— Nec sicut vulnere sanguis
 Emicuit lentus. Ruptis cadit undique venis
 — pars ultima trunci.
 Tradidit in cetum vacuos vitalibus artus ;
 At tumidus qua pulmo jacet, qua viscera fervent,
 Hæserunt ibi fata diu : luctataque multum
 Hac cum parte, viri vix omnia membra tulerunt.

In this manner was the whole city filled with slaughter and frightful instances of treachery. No master was secure from the vengeance of his slaves, nor even parents from the baser attempts of their children. Not only throughout Rome, but the whole country round, bodies of soldiers were seen in pursuit of the suspected and the guilty. Whole crowds of wretches, loaded with chains, were led every day to the gates of the palace, to wait their sentence from the tyrant's own lips. He always presided at the torture in person, attended by Tigellinus, captain of the guard, who, from being the most abandoned man in Rome, was now become his principal minister and favourite.

Nor were the Roman provinces in a better situation than the capital city. The example of the tyrant seemed to influence his governors, who gave instances, not only of their rapacity, but their cruelty, in every part of the empire. In the seventh year of his reign, the Britons revolted under the conduct of their queen Boadicea. Paulinus, the Roman general, being at that time employed with part of the legions in expelling the Druids from the isle of Anglesey, his lieutenants, in his absence, committed such barbarities as were intolerable to the inhabitants. Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, was treated with peculiar indignity, being condemned to be scourged, and her daughters deflowered by the soldiery. In revenge, therefore, at the head of a numerous army, she fell upon the Romans wherever they were unprovided, took their castles, destroyed the chief seats of their power at London and Verulam ; and so great was her fury, that seventy thousand Romans perished in this revolt. But the Roman general soon after

revenge his countrymen by a great and decisive battle, in which eighty thousand Britons are said to have perished; and Boadicea herself, rather than fall into the hands of the enraged victor, put an end to her life by poison. By this remarkable defeat, the Britons ever after, during the continuance of the Romans among them, lost not only all hopes, but even all desire of freedom.

A war was also carried on against the Parthians, for the greatest part of this reign, conducted by Corbulo; who, after many successes, had dispossessed Tiridates, and settled Tigranes in Armenia in his room. Tiridates, however, was soon after restored by an invasion of the Parthians into that country; but being once more opposed by Corbulo, the Romans and Parthians came to an agreement, that Tiridates should continue to govern Armenia, upon condition that he should lay down his crown at the feet of the emperor's statue, and receive it as coming from him; all which he shortly after performed; a ceremony, however, which Nero desired to have repeated to his person: wherefore, by letters and promises, he invited Tiridates to Rome, granting him the most magnificent supplies for his journey. Nero attended his arrival with very sumptuous preparations. He received him seated on a throne, accompanied by the senate standing round him, and the whole army drawn out with all imaginable splendour. Tiridates ascended the throne with great reverence, and, approaching the emperor, fell down at his feet, and, in the most abject terms, acknowledged himself his slave. Nero raised him up, telling him, with equal arrogance, that he did well, and that by his submission he had gained a kingdom which his ancestors could never acquire by their arms. He then placed the crown on his head; and, after the most costly ceremonies and entertainments, he was sent back to Armenia, with incredible sums of money to defray the expenses of his return.

In the twelfth year of this emperor's reign the Jews also revolted, having been severely oppressed by the Roman governors. It is said that Florus, in particular, was arrived at that degree of tyranny, that by public proclamation he gave permission to plunder the country, provided he received half the spoil. These oppressions drew such a train of calamities after them, that the sufferings of all other nations were slight, in comparison to what this devoted people afterwards endured.

I shall mention them more at length in the reign of *Vespasian*, in which, as *Christ* had prophesied, they came to a completion.

In the mean time, *Nero* proceeded in his cruelties at *Rome* with unabated severity. *Rufius Crispinus*, and *Anneus Mella*, the brother of *Seneca*, were destroyed upon slight suspicions.

U.C. 817. The death of *Petronius* about this time is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. This person, whom many modern historians suppose to be the author of a work of no great merit, entitled *Satyricon*, which is still remaining, was an *Epicurean*, both in principle and practice. In so luxurious a court as that of *Nero*, he was particularly noted for his refinements in luxury. He was by no means a low, sensual debauchee, but chiefly remarkable for giving the most studied attempts in wit an air of the most elegant simplicity. *Nero* had chosen him among the number of his dependents, as the arbiter of his pleasures; an office, which *Tigellinus* resolved to enjoy solely to himself, and therefore resolved upon his destruction. He was accused accordingly of being privy to *Piso's* conspiracy, and committed to prison. *Petronius* could not endure the anxiety of suspense; wherefore he resolved upon putting himself to death, which he performed in a manner entirely similar to that in which he had lived. He caused his veins to be opened, and then closed, and again opened at intervals; and with the utmost cheerfulness and tranquillity conversed with his friends, not upon maxims of philosophy or grave subjects, but upon such topics as had amused his gayest revels. He listened while they recited the lightest poems: and by no action, no word, nor circumstance, showed the perplexity of a dying person. Shortly after him, *Numicius Thrasas* was put to death, as likewise *Barea Soranus*, and *Peteus Thrasea*. The destroying the two last, *Tacitus* calls an attack upon virtue itself. *Thrasea* died in the midst of his friends and philosophers, conversing and reasoning on the nature of the soul. His wife, who was the daughter of the celebrated *Arria*, was desirous of following her mother's example, but he dissuaded her from it. The death of the valiant *Corbulo*, who had gained *Nero* so many victories over the *Parthians*, followed next. Nor did the empress *Poppea* herself escape, whom, in a fit of anger, he kicked when she was pregnant, by which she

misarranged and died. At length human nature grew weary of bearing her persecutor; and the whole world seemed to rouse, as if by common consent, to rid the earth of a monster.

The inbred distempers of the empire, which had been contracted under the detestable government of four succeeding princes, now began to discover themselves in their furious effects, and there appeared a general revolution in all the provinces.

The first appeared in Gaul, under Julius Vindex, who commanded the legions there, and publicly protested against the tyrannical government of Nero. He appeared to have no other motive for this revolt than that of freeing the world from an oppressor; for when it was told him, that Nero had set a reward upon his head of ten millions of sesterces, he made this gallant answer: "Whoever brings me Nero's head, shall, if he pleases, have mine." But, still more to show that he was not actuated by motives of private ambition, he proclaimed Sergius Galba emperor, and invited him to join in the revolt. Sergius Galba, who was at that time governor of Spain, was equally remarkable for his wisdom in peace and his courage in war. But as all talents under corrupt princes are dangerous, he for some years had seemed willing to court obscurity, giving himself up to an inactive life, and avoiding all opportunities of signalizing his valour. He now, therefore, either through the caution attending old age, or from a total want of ambition, appeared little inclined to join with Vindex, and continued for some time to deliberate with his friends on the part he should take.

In the mean time, Nero, who had been apprised of the proceedings against him in Gaul, appeared totally regardless of the danger, privately flattering himself, that the suppression of this revolt would give him an opportunity of fresh confiscations. He appeared, therefore, at the theatre as usual, and seemed to interest himself as warmly in the contests there as if he had totally forgotten that there was a contention for his empire. Being then at Naples, he excused himself in his letters to the senate for not immediately coming to Rome, as he was detained by a hoarseness, which he was afraid to increase. The care of his voice was still uppermost in his mind; and nothing seemed to give him greater uneasiness than that Vindex in his manifestoes should call him a

miserable musician. He frequently asked those about him, whether it was possible one, who had studied the art so long and carefully as he had done, should be the bungler he was represented by Vindex.

The circumstances of the revolt growing more formidable every hour, Nero returned to Rome with a mixture of hope, exultation, and revenge. Observing an ancient monument by the way side, on which were the statues of a Roman knight overcoming a Gaulish soldier, he looked upon this as a favourable omen, and was transported with pleasure at the adventure. Upon entering the city, he convened a few of his creatures among the senate, and entertained them, not by deliberations upon the state of his affairs, but by showing them some musical instruments, that were to be played upon by water. He explained to them their mechanism, their advantages, and defects; adding, with an ironical air, "that he hoped, with Vindex's permission, to exhibit this instrument upon the theatre."

The actual revolt of Galba, the news of which arrived soon after, affected him in a very different manner. The reputation of that general was such, that from the moment he declared against him, Nero considered himself as undone. He received the account as he was at supper, and, instantly struck with terror, overturned the table with his foot, breaking two crystal vases of immense value. He then fell into a swoon, from which when he recovered he tore his clothes and struck his head, crying out, "that he was utterly undone." It was then that he began to meditate slaughters more extensive than he yet had committed, and tortures yet untried. He was resolved to massacre all the governors of provinces; to destroy all exiles, and to murder all the Gauls in Rome, as a punishment for the treachery of their countrymen. In short, in the wildness of his rage, he thought of poisoning the whole senate, of burning the city, and turning the lions, kept for the purposes of the theatre, out upon the people. These designs being impracticable, he resolved at last to face the danger in person. But his very preparations served to mark the insatiation of his mind. His principal care was to provide waggons for the convenient carriage of his musical instruments, and to dress out his concubines like Amazons, with whom he intended to face the enemy. He also made a resolution,

that, if he came off with safety and empire, he would appear again upon the theatre with the lute and the water music, and would equip himself as a pantomime.

While Nero was thus frivolously employed, the revolt became general. Not only the armies in Spain and Gaul, but also the legions in Germany, Africa, and Lusitania, declared against him. Virginius Rufus alone, who commanded an army on the Upper Rhine, for a while continued in suspense, during which his force, without his permission, falling upon the Gauls, routed them with great slaughter, and Vindex slew himself.

But this ill success no way advanced the interests of Nero: he was so detested by the whole empire, that he could find none of the armies faithful to each other. He therefore called for Locustus to furnish him with poison; and thus prepared for the worst, he retired to the Servilian gardens, with a resolution of flying into Egypt. He accordingly dispatched the freedmen, in whom he had the most confidence, to prepare a fleet at Ostia; and, in the mean while, sounded in person the tribunes and centurions of the guard, to know if they were willing to share his fortunes. These all excused themselves, under divers pretexts. One of them had the boldness to answer him by part of a line from Virgil: *Usque adeo mori miserum est*: "Is death then such a misfortune?" Thus destitute of every resource, all the expedients that cowardice, revenge, or terror could produce, took place in his mind by turns. He at one time resolved to take refuge among the Parthians; at another, to deliver himself up to the mercy of the insurgents. One while he determined to mount the rostrum, to ask pardon for what was past, and to conclude with a promise of amendment for the future. With these gloomy deliberations he went to bed, but waking about midnight, he was surprised to find his guards had left him. The pretorian soldiers, in fact, having been corrupted by their commander, had retired to their camp, and proclaimed Galba emperor. Nero immediately sent for his friends, to deliberate upon his present exigence, but his friends also forsook him; even Tigellinus himself, the creature of his benefits and the partaker of his guilt, had gone over to Galba. He went in person from house to house, but all the doors were shut against him, and none were found to answer his inquiries. While he was

pursuing this inquiry, his very domestics followed the general defection; and, having plundered his apartment, escaped different ways. Being now reduced to a state of desperation, he desired that one of his favourite gladiators might come and dispatch him; but even in this request there was none found to obey. "Alas!" cried he, "have I neither friend nor enemy?" and then, running desperately forth, seemed resolved to plunge headlong into the Tiber. But just then, his courage beginning to fail him, he made a sudden stop, as if willing to recollect his reason, and ask for some secret place, where he might re-assume his courage, and meet death with becoming fortitude. In this distress, Phaon, one of his freedmen, offered him his country-house, about four miles distant, where he might for some time remain concealed. Nero accepted his offer; and, half dressed as he was, with his head covered, and hiding his face with his handkerchief, he mounted on horseback, attended by four of his domestics, of whom the wretched Sporus was one. His journey, though short, was crowded with adventures. An earthquake gave him the first alarm. The lightning from heaven next flashed in his face. Round him he heard nothing but confused noises from the camp, and the cries of the soldiers, imprecating a thousand evils upon his head. A passenger meeting him on the way, cried, "There go men in pursuit of Nero." Another asked him, if there was any news of Nero in the city. His horse taking fright at a dead body that lay near the road, he dropped his handkerchief, and a soldier, who was near, addressed him by name. He now, therefore, quitted his horse, and, forsaking the highway, entered a thicket, that led towards the back part of Phaon's house, through which he crept, making the best of his way among the reeds and brambles with which the place was overgrown. When he was arrived at the back part of the house, while he was waiting till there should be a breach made in the wall, he took up some water in the hollow of his hands from a pool to drink, saying, "These are the delicacies of Nero." When the hole was made large enough to admit him, he crept in upon all fours, and took a short repose upon a wretched pallet that had been prepared for his reception. Being pressed by hunger, he demanded somewhat to eat; they brought him a piece of brown bread, which he refused, but drank a little water.

During this interval, the senate finding the prætorian guards had taken part with Galba, declared him emperor, and condemned Nero to die *more majorem*: that is, according to the rigour of the ancient laws. These dreadful tidings were quickly brought by one of Phaon's slaves from the city, while Nero yet continued lingering between his hopes and his fears. At one time, this most wretched of all mankind was employed in providing stones for his tomb; at another, in preparing wood and water for his funeral: now repeating verses expressive of the horrors of his mind; again giving vent to his tears, and crying out, "What an artist is the world likely to lose!" When he was told of the resolution of the senate against him, he asked the messenger what was meant by being punished according to the rigour of the ancient laws? To this he was answered, that the criminal was to be stripped naked, his head was to be fixed in a pillory, and in that posture he was to be scourged to death. Nero was so terrified at this, that he seized two poignards which he had brought with him, and, examining their points, returned them to their sheaths, pretending that the fatal moment was not yet arrived. He then desired Sporus to begin the lamentations which were used at funerals; he next entreated that some one of his attendants would die, to give him courage by his example; and afterwards began to reproach his own cowardice, crying out, "Does this become Nero? Is this trifling well timed? No, no, let me be courageous." In fact, he had no time to spare, for the soldiers, who had been sent in pursuit of him, were just then approaching the house: wherefore, hearing the sound of the horses' feet, he set a dagger to his throat, with which, by the assistance of Epaphroditus, his freedman and secretary, he gave himself a mortal wound. However, he was not yet quite dead, when one of the centurions entering the room, and pretending he came to his relief, attempted to stop the blood with his cloak. But Nero, regarding him with a stern countenance, said, "It is now too late. Is this your fidelity?" Upon which, with his eyes fixed, and frightfully staring, he expired, even in death a ghastly spectacle of innoxious tyranny.

Little need be said concerning the character of a monarch, whose very name is become a term of reproach to all bad princes. His natural disposition was extremely bad, but it

was rendered still more detestable by flattery. All orders of men were at this time so depraved, that each seemed eager to contend which should be most instrumental in pushing him on to his excesses, and applauding him when he had committed them. It must be a strong mind, that, being assaulted thus on every side, can stand unshaken, and trace out for itself the track of undeviating virtue. Thus much, I think, we may say of this most wretched man, notwithstanding the concurrent reproach of all historians, that, through the greatest part of his reign, he himself seemed ignorant of his being a tyrant.

He reigned thirteen years, seven months, and twenty-eight days, and died in the thirty-second year of his age.

CHAPTER XXIX.

SERGIUS GALBA, THE SEVENTH EMPEROR.

U.C. 821. THE rejoicings at Rome upon Nero's death
A. D. 69. were as great as those upon his accession. All persons came running into the streets to congratulate each other upon the death of the tyrant, dressed in the manner of slaves who had been just set free.

Galba was seventy-two years old when he was declared emperor, and was then in Spain with his legions. However, he soon found that his being raised to the throne was but an inlet to new disquietudes. His first embarrassment arose from a disorder in his own army; for, upon his approaching the camp, one of the wings of his horse, repenting of their choice; prepared to revolt, and he found it no easy matter to reconcile them to their duty. He also narrowly escaped assassination from some slaves, who were presented to him by one of Nero's freedmen with that intent. The death of Vindex also served not a little to add to his disquietudes; so that, upon his very entrance into empire, he had some thoughts of putting an end to his own life. But hearing from Rome that Nero was dead, and the empire transferred to him, he immediately assumed the title and ensigns of command. In his journey towards Rome he was met by Rufus Virginius, who, finding the senate had decreed him the government, came to

yield him obedience. This general had more than once refused the empire himself, which was offered him by the soldiers, alleging, that the senate alone had the disposal of it, and from them only he would accept the honour. Shortly after this, many of those who were most notorious during the last reign, and who attempted to disturb the present, were cut off. Among these were Nymphidius Sabinus, præfect of the prætorian guards at Rome; Fonteius Capito, lieutenant in Germany; and Clodius Macer, proconsul in Africa.

Galba, having been brought to the empire by means of his army, was, at the same time, willing to suppress their power to commit any future disturbance. His first approach to Rome was attended with one of those rigorous strokes of justice, which ought rather to be defended than imitated. A body of mariners, whom Nero had taken from the oar and enlisted among the legions, went to meet Galba three miles from the city, and with loud importunities demanded a confirmation of what his predecessor had done in their favour. Galba, who was rigidly attached to the ancient discipline, deferred their request to another time. But they, considering this delay as equivalent to an absolute denial, insisted upon their request in a very disrespectful manner; and even some of them had recourse to arms: whereupon Galba ordered a body of horse attending him to ride in among them, and thus killed seven thousand of them; but not content with this punishment, he afterwards ordered them to be decimated. Their insolence demanded correction, but such extensive punishments deviated into cruelty. His next step to curb the insolence of the soldiers was his discharging the German cohort, which had been established by the former emperors as a guard to their persons. Those he sent home to their own country unrewarded, pretending they were disaffected to his person.

He seemed to have two other objects also in view: namely, to punish those vices which had come to an enormous height in the last reign, with the strictest severity; and to replenish the exchequer, which had been quite drained by the prodigality of his predecessors. These attempts only brought on him the imputation of severity and avarice; the state was too much corrupted to admit of such an immediate transition from vice to virtue as this worthy but weak politician attempted to

effect. The people had long been maintained in sloth and luxury by the prodigality of the former emperors, and could not think of being obliged to seek for new means of subsistence, or retrench their superfluities. They began, therefore, to satirize the old man, and turn the simplicity of his manners into ridicule. Among the marks of avarice recorded of him, he is said to have groaned upon having an expensive soup served up to his table; he is said to have presented to his steward, for his fidelity, a plate of beans; a famous player upon the flute, named Canus, having greatly delighted him, it is reported, that he drew out his purse, and gave him five pence, telling him that it was private and not public money. By such ill-judged frugalities, at such a time, Galba began to lose his popularity; and he, who before his accession was esteemed by all, now, being become emperor, was considered with ridicule and contempt.

But there are some circumstances of avarice alleged against him, less equivocal than those trifling ones already mentioned. Shortly after his coming to Rome, the people were presented with a most grateful spectacle; which was that of Locustus, Elius, Polyclethus, Patronius, and Petinus, all the bloody ministers of Nero's cruelty, drawn in fetters through the city and publicly executed. But Tigellinus, the most notorious offender of all, was not there. This crafty villain had taken care for his own safety by the largeness of his bribes; and though the people cried out for vengeance against him at the theatre and the circus, yet the emperor granted him his life and pardon. Helotus the eunuch, also, who had been the instrument of poisoning Claudius, escaped, and owed his safety to the proper application of his wealth.

This collusion, however, was owing rather to the avarice of Galba's favourites than to his; for, whether from the infirmity of age, or the multiplicity of business, he now suffered himself to be entirely governed by three favourites; who, being continually in his presence, were commonly styled his masters. These were, Titus Vinius, who had been his lieutenant in Spain, a man of insatiable avarice; Caius Laco, whom he had made præfect of the prætorian bands; and Icelus, his freedman, who aspired at the highest command in the equestrian order. These three, very different in their dispositions, influenced the emperor to opposite pursuits; and

only agreed in one point, that of abusing his confidence. Thus, by the inequality of his conduct, he became despicable to his subjects; at one time showing himself severe and frugal: at another, remiss and prodigal: condemning some illustrious persons without any hearing, and pardoning others though guilty; in short, nothing was done but by the mediation of these favourites; all offices were venal, and all punishments redeemable by money.

Affairs were in this unsettled posture at Rome, while the provinces were yet in a worse condition. The success of the army in Spain, in choosing an emperor, induced the legions in other parts to wish for a similar opportunity. Accordingly, many seditions were kindled, and several factions promoted in different parts of the empire, but particularly in Germany. There were then, in that province, two Roman armies; the one which had lately attempted to make Rufus Virginus emperor, as has been already mentioned, and which was commanded by his lieutenant; the other, commanded by Vitellius, who long had an ambition to obtain the empire for himself. The former of these armies, despising their present general, and considering themselves as suspected by the emperor for having been the last to acknowledge his title, resolved now to be foremost in denying it. Accordingly, when they were summoned to take the oaths of homage and fidelity, they refused to acknowledge any other commands but those of the senate. This refusal they backed by a message to the prætorian bands, importing, that they were resolved not to acquiesce in the election of an emperor created in Spain, and desiring that the senate should proceed to a new choice.

Galba being informed of these commotions was sensible, that, besides his age, he was less respected for want of an heir. He resolved, therefore, to put what he had formerly designed in execution, and to adopt some person, whose virtues might deserve such advancement, and protect his declining age from danger. His favourites understanding his determination, instantly resolved on giving him an heir of their own choosing; so that there arose a great contention among them upon this occasion. Otho made warm application for himself, alleging the great services he had done the emperor, as being the first man of note who came to his assistance when he had declared against Nero. However, Galba, being fully

resolved to consult the public good alone, rejected his suit: and, on a day appointed, ordered Piso Lucinianus to attend him. The character given by historians of Piso is, that he was every way worthy of the honour designed him. He was no way related to Galba; and had no other interest but merit to recommend him to his favour. Taking this youth, therefore, by the hand, in the presence of his friends, he adopted him to succeed in the empire, giving him the most wholesome lessons for guiding his future conduct. Piso's conduct showed that he was highly deserving this distinction: in all his deportment there appeared such modesty, firmness, and equality of mind, as bespoke him rather capable of discharging, than ambitious of obtaining, his present dignity. But the army and the senate did not seem equally disinterested upon this occasion; they had been so long used to bribery and corruption, that they could now bear no emperor, who was not in a capacity of satisfying their avarice. The adoption, therefore, of Piso was but coldly received; for his virtues were no recommendation in a nation of universal depravity.

Otho, now finding his hopes of adoption wholly frustrated, and still further stimulated by the immense load of debt which he had contracted by his riotous way of living, resolved upon obtaining the empire by force, since he could not by peaceable succession. In fact, his circumstances were so very desperate, that he was heard to say, that it was equal to him whether he fell by his enemies in the field, or by his creditors in the city. He, therefore, raised a moderate sum of money, by selling his interest to a person who wanted a place; and with this bribed two subaltern officers in the prætorian bands; supplying the deficiency of his largesses by promises and plausible pretences. Having in this manner, in less than eight days, corrupted the fidelity of the soldiers, he stole secretly from the emperor while he was sacrificing; and, assembling the soldiers, in a short speech urged the cruelties and the avarice of Galba. Finding these his invectives received with universal shouts by the whole army, he entirely threw off the mask, and avowed his intentions of dethroning him. The soldiers, being ripe for sedition, immediately seconded his views, and, taking Otho upon their shoulders, immediately declared him emperor; and, to strike the citizens with terror, carried him, with their swords drawn, into the camp.

Galba, in the mean time, being informed of the revolt of an army, seemed utterly confounded, and in want of sufficient resolution to face an event which he should have long foreseen. In this manner the poor old man continued wavering and doubtful; till, at last, being deluded by a false report of Otho's being slain, he rode into the forum in complete armour, and attended by many of his followers. Just at the same instant, a body of horse, sent from the camp to destroy him, entered on the opposite side, and each party prepared for the encounter. For some time hostilities were suspended on each side; Galba being confused and irresolute, and his antagonists struck with horror at the baseness of their enterprise. At length, however, finding the emperor in some measure deserted by his adherents, they rushed in upon him, trampling the crowds of people that then filled the forum under foot. Galba, seeing them approach, seemed to recollect all his former fortitude; and, bending his head forward, bid the assassins strike it off, if it were for the good of the people. This was quickly performed; and his head, being set upon the point of a lance, was presented to Otho, who ordered it to be contemptuously carried round the camp; his body remaining unburied in the streets, till it was buried by one of his slaves. He died in the seventy-third year of his age, after a short reign of seven months; as
A. D. 69.
illustrious by his own virtues, as it was contaminated by the vices of his favourites, who shared in his downfall.

CHAPTER XXX.

OTHO, THE EIGHTH EMPEROR.

No sooner was Galba thus murdered, than the senate and people ran in crowds to the camp, contending who should be foremost in extolling the virtues of the new emperor, and depressing the character of him they had so unjustly destroyed. Each laboured to excel the rest in his instances of homage; and the less his affections were for him, the more did he indulge all the vehemence of exaggerated praise. Otho, finding himself surrounded by congratulating multitudes, im-

mediately repaired to the senate, where he received the titles usually given to the emperors; and from thence returned to the palace, seemingly resolved to reform his life, and assume manners becoming the greatness of his station.

He began his reign by a signal instance of clemency, in pardoning Marius Celsus, who had been highly favoured by Galba; and, not contented with barely forgiving, he advanced him to the highest honours, asserting, that "Fidelity deserved every reward." This act of clemency was followed by another of justice, equally agreeable to the people. Tigellinus, Nero's favourite, he who had been the promoter of all his cruelties, was now put to death: and all such as had been unjustly banished or stripped, at his instigation, during Nero's reign, were restored to their country and fortunes.

In the mean time, the legions in Lower Germany, having been purchased by the large gifts and specious promises of Vitellius their general, were at length induced to proclaim him emperor; and, regardless of the senate, they declared that they had an equal right to appoint to that high station with the cohorts at Rome. The news of this conduct in the army soon spread consternation throughout Rome; but Otho was particularly struck with the account, as being apprehensive that nothing but the blood of his countrymen could decide a contest, of which his own ambition only was the cause. Of all characters in history, Otho's seems the only one which was mended by advancement; for we now find Otho, the emperor, very different from himself when in a private station: he was, in the former period, weak, vicious, and debauched; but, upon the present occasion, he appears courageous, benevolent, and humane. He now, therefore, sought to come to an agreement with Vitellius; but this not succeeding, both sides began their preparations for war. However, all things seemed to be unfavourable to Otho. The chief of the senate were grown old and impotent: the rich men of Rome were indolent and slothful; the knights had long been dissolved in ease and luxury; and the cohorts themselves were relaxed from the military discipline of their ancestors. News being received, that Vitellius was upon his march to Italy, Otho departed from Rome with a vast army to oppose him. But though he was very powerful with regard to numbers, his men, being but little used to war, could not be relied on. He

seemed, by his behaviour, sensible of the disproportion of his forces; and he is said to have been tortured with frightful dreams, and the most boding apprehensions. It is also reported by some, that one night, fetching many profound sighs in his sleep, his servants ran hastily to his bed-side, and found him stretched on the ground. He alleged, he had seen the ghost of Galba, which had, in a threatening manner, beat and pushed him rudely from the bed; and he afterwards used many expiations to appease it. However this be, he proceeded with a great show of courage till he arrived at the city of Brixellum, on the river Po, where he remained, sending his forces before him, under the conduct of his generals Suetonius and Celsus, who made what haste they could to give the enemy battle. The army of Vitellius, which consisted of seventy thousand men, was commanded by his generals Valens and Cecinna, he himself remaining in Gaul, in order to bring up the rest of his forces. Thus both sides hastened to meet each other with so much animosity and precipitation, that three considerable battles were fought in the space of three days: one near Placentia, another near Cremona, and a third at a place called Castor; in all which, Otho and the Romans had the advantage. But these successes were but of short-lived continuance; for Valens and Cecinna, who had hitherto acted separately, joining their forces, and reinforcing their armies with fresh supplies, resolved to come to a general engagement.

Otho, who by this time had joined his army at a little village called Bebiacum, finding the enemy, notwithstanding their late losses, inclined to come to a battle, resolved to call a council of war, to determine upon the proper measures to be taken. His generals were of opinion to protract the war; but others, whose inexperience had given them causeless confidence, declared that nothing but a battle could relieve the miseries of the state; protesting, that fortune, and all the gods, with the divinity of the emperor himself, favoured the design, and would undoubtedly prosper the enterprise. In this advice Otho acquiesced: he had been for some time so uneasy under the war, that he seemed willing to exchange suspense for danger. However, he was so surrounded by flatterers, that he was prohibited from being personally present

in the engagement, but prevailed upon to reserve himself for the fortune of the empire, and wait the event at Brixellum.

The affairs of both armies being thus adjusted, they came to an engagement at Bebricum; where, in the beginning, those on the side of Otho seemed to have the advantage; and, at the first onset, slew all the first rank, and won the eagle, which was considered as a certain presage of victory. Both armies were extremely encumbered with trees and hedges, so that they were obliged to fight with very little regularity, and the engagement seemed a tumultuary opposition of forces, without a plan, and without a commander. At length, however, the superior discipline of the legions of Vitellius turned the scale of victory. They, after some time, formed themselves from a state of apparent confusion, and, attacking the enemy in flank, gained a signal and decisive victory. Otho's army fled in great confusion towards Bebricum, being pursued with miserable slaughter all the way.

In the mean time, Otho waited for the news of the battle with great impatience, and seemed to tax his messengers with delay. The first account of his defeat was brought him by a common soldier, who had escaped from the field of battle. However, Otho, who was still surrounded by flatterers, was desirous to give no credit to a base fugitive, who was guilty of falsehood only to cover his own cowardice. The soldier, however, still persisted in the veracity of his report; and, finding none inclined to believe him, immediately fell upon his sword, and expired at the emperor's feet. Otho was so much struck with the death of this faithful sentinel, that he cried out, that he would cause the ruin of no more such valiant and worthy soldiers, but would end the contest the shortest way. It was in vain therefore that his followers gathered round him, endeavouring to revive his hopes and inspire him with fresh ambition: in vain did those who were too distant to be heard lift up their hands to beseech him: he was deaf to all their entreaties; he had formed a resolution to die, as the only means of ridding himself of his cares, and his country of its calamities. Having, therefore, given the signal for speaking, he addressed the shattered remains of his army with great intrepidity. "I esteem," cried he, "this day as far more glorious than that of my election, since it has convinced me of

your fidelity and affection. I must, however, entreat for one favour more, which is, to die, in order to procure your safety. I can never so much advance the interests of my country by war and blood as by sacrificing myself for its peace. Others have purchased fame by governing well: let it be my boast to leave an empire, rather than by my ambition to weaken or destroy it."

After speaking to this effect, he entreated his followers to yield themselves to Vitellius, and not provoke him by obstinacy or delay. Then rebuking the unreasonable fears of those about him, without any signs of fear, either in his looks or words, he retired to his chamber: there he wrote two consulatory letters to his sister, and a third to Messalina, whom he had designed for his wife. He next burnt such letters and papers as might be prejudicial to his friends, and distributed some money and jewels among his friends and domestics. He then prepared to die; but perceiving a tumult among the soldiers, who were about to punish some that were going privately away, he cried out, "Let me then add one day more to my life." Upon which he ordered his chamber door to be thrown open, and employed the remaining part of the day in hindering the violence of his soldiers, and giving advice to all such as desired admittance. Having thus performed the duties of his station, and having quenched his thirst with a draught of cold water, he ordered the doors to be secured. He then took two daggers, and having tried and chosen the sharpest, he laid it under his pillow, and fell into a profound sleep. Awaking by break of day, he perceived one of his servants remaining in the room, whom he commanded to retire. Then taking the dagger, he gave himself a mortal blow on the left side, and with a single groan ended his life, after a short reign of three months and five days. There is something in the conclusion of this prince's reign, that seems to atone for the vile methods by which he acquired dominion. His clemency and justice while he continued on the throne, and the calm manner in which he resigned it, makes us almost regret his wanting an opportunity to display his newly-acquired virtues with more permanent lustre.

CHAPTER XXXI.

VITELLIUS, THE NINTH EMPEROR.

A. D. 70. IT was no sooner known, that Otho had killed himself, than all the soldiers repaired to Virginianus, the commander of the German legions, earnestly entreating him to take upon him the reins of government; or, at least, entreating his mediation with the generals of Vitellius in their favour. Upon his declining their request, Rabrius Gallus, a person of considerable note, immediately undertook their embassy to the generals of the conquering army, and soon after obtained pardon for all the adherents of Otho.

Vitellius was immediately after declared emperor by the senate, and received the marks of distinction, which were now accustomed to follow the appointments of the strongest side. At the same time, Italy was severely embarrassed by the soldiers, who committed such outrages as exceeded all the oppressions of the most calamitous war. Vitellius, who was yet in Gaul, resolved, before he set out for Rome, to punish the prætorian cohorts, who had been the instruments of all the late disturbances in the state. He, therefore, caused them to be disarmed, and deprived of the name and honour of soldiers. He ordered also a hundred and fifty of those who were most guilty to be put to death.

These bright beginnings, however, were soon shaded by his vices and extravagance. As he approached towards Rome, he passed through the towns with all imaginable splendour; his passage by water was in painted galleys adorned with garlands of flowers, and profusely furnished with the greatest delicacies. In this journey, there neither was order nor discipline among his soldiers: they plundered wherever they came with impunity, and he seemed no way displeased at the licentiousness of their behaviour. Upon his arrival on the field where the battle was fought, which put him in possession of the empire, observing the great number of dead bodies scattered over the plain, men and horses confusedly intermixed, putrefying, and tainting the air with their stench, he

seemed no way shocked at the spectacle; but observed to those about him, that a dead enemy smelt well; and then calling for wine, he drank upon the field, and ordered large quantities to be distributed among his soldiers.

Upon his arrival at Rome, he entered the city, not as a place he came to govern with justice, but as a town that was become his own by the laws of conquest. He marched through the streets, mounted on horseback, all in armour, the senate and people going before him as if the captives of his late victory. He the next day made the senate a speech, in which he magnified his own actions, and promised them extraordinary advantages from his administration. He next harangued the people, who being now long accustomed to flatter all in authority, highly applauded and blessed their new emperor.

In the mean time, his soldiers being permitted to satiate themselves in the debaucheries of the city, grew totally unfit for war. The principal affairs of the state were managed by the lowest wretches, whom fortune, in her capricious moments, seemed pleased with exalting. Asiaticus, his freedman, attended by a group of players and charioteers, governed all things, and brought virtue into disrepute by their vicious example. Vitellius, more abandoned than they, gave himself up to all kinds of luxury and profuseness; but gluttony was his favourite vice; so that he brought himself to a habit of vomiting, in order to renew his meals at pleasure. His entertainments, though seldom at his own cost, were prodigiously expensive; he frequently invited himself to the tables of his subjects, breakfasting with one, dining with another, and supping with a third, all in the same day. The most memorable of these entertainments was that made for him by his brother, on his arrival at Rome. In this were served up two thousand several dishes of fish, and seven thousand fowl of the most valuable kinds. But in one particular dish he seemed to have outdone all the former profusion of the most luxurious Romans. This dish, which was of such magnitude as to be called the shield of Minerva, was filled with an olio made from the sounds of the fish called scari, the brains of pheasants and woodcocks, the tongues of the most costly birds, and the spawn of lampreys brought from the Carpathian sea. In order to cook this dish properly, a furnace was built in the fields, as it was too large for any kitchen to contain it.

In this manner did this beastly creature proceed, spending his time in the most gross sensualities; so that Josephus tells us, that, if he had reigned long, the whole empire would not have been sufficient to have maintained his gluttony. All the attendants of his court sought to raise themselves, not by their virtue or abilities, but the sumptuousness of their entertainments. This prodigality produced its attendant, want; and that, in turn, gave rise to cruelty.

Those, who had formerly been his associates, were now destroyed without mercy. Going to visit one of them in a violent fever, he mingled poison with his water, and delivered it to him with his own hands. He never pardoned those money lenders who came to demand payment of his former debts. One of the number coming to salute him, he immediately ordered him to be carried off to execution; but shortly after, commanding him to be brought back, when all his attendants thought it was to pardon the unhappy creditor, Vitellius soon gave them to understand, that it was merely to have the pleasure of feeding his eyes with his torments. Having condemned another to death, he executed his two sons with him, only for their presuming to intercede for their father. A Roman knight being dragged away to execution, and crying out that he had made the emperor his heir, Vitellius demanded to see the will, where finding himself joint heir with another, he ordered both to be executed, that he might enjoy the legacy without a partner.

By the continuance of such vices and cruelties as these, he became, not only a burthen to himself, but odious to all mankind. The astrologers, a set of people who seldom fail to foretel the ruin of one, whose whole study it is to become inimical to the world, began by prognosticating his downfall. A writing was set up in the forum to this effect: "We, in the name of the ancient Chaldeans, give Vitellius warning to depart this life by the calends of October." Vitellius, on his part, received their information with terror, and ordered all the astrologers to be banished from Rome. An old woman having foretold, that if he survived his mother he should reign many years in happiness and security, this gave him a desire of putting her to death; which he did, by refusing her sustenance, under pretence of its being prejudicial to her health. But he soon saw the futility of relying upon such vain prog-

molestations; for his soldiers, by their cruelty and rapine, having become insupportable to the inhabitants of Rome, the legions of the East, who had at first acquiesced in his dominion, began to revolt; and, shortly after, unanimously resolved to make Vespasian emperor.

Vespasian, who was appointed commander against the rebellious Jews, had reduced most of their country, except Jerusalem, to subjection. The death of Nero, however, had at first interrupted the progress of his arms; and the succession of Galba gave a temporary check to his conquests, as he was obliged to send his son Titus to Rome, to receive that emperor's commands. Titus, however, was so long detained by contrary winds, that he received news of Galba's death before he set sail. He then resolved to continue neuter, during the civil wars between Otho and Vitellius; and when the latter prevailed, he gave him his homage with reluctance. But being desirous of acquiring reputation, though he disliked the government, he determined to lay siege to Jerusalem, and actually made preparations for that great undertaking, when he was given to understand, that Vitellius was detested by all ranks in the empire. These murmurings increased every day; while Vespasian secretly endeavoured to advance the discontents of his army. By these means they began at length to fix their eyes upon him as a person the most capable and willing to terminate the miseries of his country, and put a period to the injuries it suffered. Not only the legions under his command, but those in Mæsia and Pannonia came to the same resolution, so that they declared themselves for Vespasian. He was also, without his own consent, proclaimed emperor at Alexandria, the army there confirming their suffrages with extraordinary applause, and paying their accustomed homage. Still, however, Vespasian seemed to decline the honours done him; till, at length, his soldiers compelled him, with their threats of immediate death, to accept a title, which, in all probability, he wished to enjoy. He now, therefore, called a council of war, where it was resolved, that his son Titus should carry on the war against the Jews; and that Mucianus, one of his generals, should, with the greatest part of his legions, enter Italy: while Vespasian himself should levy forces in all parts of the East, in order to reinforce them, in case of necessity.

During these preparations, Vitellius, though buried in sloth and luxury, was resolved to make an effort to defend the empire; wherefore his chief commanders, Valens and Cecinna, were ordered to make all possible preparations to resist the invaders. The first army that entered Italy with a hostile intention was under the command of Antonius Primus, who was met by Cecinna near Cremona. A battle was expected to ensue; but, a negotiation taking place, Cecinna was prevailed upon to change sides, and declare for Vespasian. His army, however, quickly repented of what they had done; and, imprisoning their general, attacked Antonius, though without a leader. The engagement continued during the whole night; and, in the morning, after a short repast, both armies engaged a second time; when the soldiers of Antonius saluting the rising sun, according to custom, the Vitellians, supposing that they had received new reinforcements, betook themselves to flight, with the loss of thirty thousand men. Shortly after, freeing their general Cecinna from prison, they prevailed upon him to intercede with the conquerors for pardon, which they obtained; though not without the most horrid barbarities committed upon the citizens of Cremona, whither they had retired for shelter.

In the mean time, Vitellius was wallowing in all kinds of luxury and excess. However, when informed of the defeat of his army, his former insolence was converted into an extreme of timidity and irresolution. At length, rousing from his lethargy of protracted vice, he commanded Julius Priscus and Alphenus Varus, with some forces that were in readiness, to guard the passes of the Apennines, to prevent the enemy's march to Rome; reserving the principal body of his army to secure the city, under the command of his brother Lucius. But, being persuaded to repair to his army in person, his presence only served to increase the contempt of his soldiers. He there appeared irresolute, and still luxurious; without counsel or conduct; ignorant of war; and demanding from others those instructions which it was his duty to give. After a short continuance in the camp, and understanding the revolt of his fleet, he returned once more to Rome, ever fearful of the last blow, and always careless as to the principal object of his concern. Every day, however, only served to render his affairs still more desperate; till, at last, he made offers to

Vespasian of resigning the empire, provided his life were spared, and a sufficient revenue allotted for his support. In order to enforce this request, he issued from his palace in deep mourning, with all his domestics weeping round him. He then went to offer the sword of justice to Cecilius, the consul; which he refusing, the abject emperor prepared to lay down the ensigns of empire in the temple of Concord. But being interrupted by some, who cried out, that he himself was Concord, he resolved, upon so weak an encouragement, still to maintain his power, and immediately prepared for his defence.

During this fluctuation of counsels, one Sabinus, who had advised Vitellius to resign, perceiving his desperate situation, resolved, by a bold step, to oblige Vespasian; and accordingly seized upon the capitol. But he was premature in his attempt; for the soldiers of Vitellius attacked him with great fury; and prevailing by their numbers, soon laid that beautiful building in ashes. During this dreadful conflagration, Vitellius was feasting in the palace of Tiberius, and beholding all the horrors of the assault with great satisfaction. Sabinus was taken prisoner, and shortly after executed by the emperor's command. Young Domitian, his nephew, who was afterwards emperor, escaped by flight, in the habit of a priest; and all the rest who survived the fire were put to the sword.

But this transient gleam of success served little to improve the affairs of Vitellius; he vainly sent messenger after messenger, to bring Vespasian's general, Antonius, to a composition: this commander gave no answer to his requests, but still continued his march towards Rome. Being arrived before the walls of the city, the forces of Vitellius were resolved upon defending it to the utmost extremity. It was attacked on three sides with the utmost fury; while the army within, sallying upon the besiegers, defended it with equal obstinacy. The battle lasted a whole day; till, at last, the besieged were driven into the city, and a dreadful slaughter made of them in all the streets, which they vainly attempted to defend. In the mean time the citizens stood by, looking on as both sides fought; and, as if they had been in a theatre, clapped their hands; at one time encouraging one party, and again the other. As either turned their backs, the citizens would then

fall upon them in their places of refuge, and so kill and plunder them without mercy. But what was still more remarkable, during these dreadful slaughters, both within and without the city, the people could not be prevented from celebrating one of the most riotous feasts, called the Saturnalia; so that at one time might have been seen a strange mixture of mirth and misery, of cruelty and lewdness; in one place, burials and slaughters; in another, drunkenness and feasting: here streams of blood and heaps of mangled bodies; there lewd debaucheries and shameless strumpets: in a word, all the horrors of a civil war, and all the licentiousness of the most abandoned security.

During this complicated scene of misery, Vitellius, who had been the cause of it all, retired privately to his wife's house, upon mount Aventine, designing that night to fly to the army commanded by his brother at Tarracina: but quite incapable, through fear, of forming any resolution, he changed his mind, and returned again to his palace, now void and desolate; all his slaves now forsaking him in his distress, and purposely avoiding his presence. There, after wandering for some time, quite disconsolate, and fearing the face of every creature, he hid himself in an obscure corner; from whence he was soon taken by a party of the conquering soldiers. Still, however, willing to add a few hours more to his miserable life, he begged to be kept in prison till the arrival of Vespasian at Rome, pretending that he had secrets of importance to discover. But his entreaties were vain: the soldiers, binding his hands behind him, and throwing a halter round his neck, led him along, half naked, into the public forum, upbraiding him as they proceeded, with all those bitter reproaches their malice could suggest, or his own cruelty might deserve. They also tied his hair backwards, as was usual with the most infamous malefactors; and held the point of a sword under his chin, to prevent his hiding his face from the public. Some cast dirt and filth upon him as he passed; others struck him with their hands; some ridiculed the defects of his person, his red fiery face, and the enormous greatness of his belly. At length, being come to the place of punishment, they killed him with many blows; and then dragging the dead body through the streets with a hook, they threw it with all possible ignominy into the river Tiber. Such was the merited end of this brutal

emperor, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, after a short reign of eight months and five days; so that Plutarch compares this emperor and his two predecessors to the kings in tragedies, who just appear upon the stage, and then are destroyed. Vitellius seemed the only tyrant who entered upon his command with cruelty: Nero and Caligula gave the beginnings of their reign to mercy and justice: but this monster was first advanced for his vices; began his government with cruelty; continued it with universal detestation; and died to the satisfaction of all mankind.

CHAPTER XXXII.

VEASPASIAN, THE TENTH EMPEROR.

VITELLIUS being now no more, the conquering army pursued the enemy throughout the whole A. D. 70. city, while neither houses nor temples afforded refuge to the fugitives. The streets and public places were all strewed with dead; each man lying slain where it was his misfortune to be overtaken by his unmerciful pursuers. But not only the enemy suffered in this manner, but many of the citizens, who were obnoxious to the soldiers, were dragged from their houses, and killed without any form of trial. The heat of their resentment being somewhat abated, they next began to seek for plunder; and, under pretence of searching for the enemy, left no place without marks of their rage or rapacity. Besides the soldiers, the lower rabble joined in these detestable outrages; some of the basest slaves came and discovered the riches of their masters; some were detected by their nearest friends; the whole city was filled with outcry and lamentation; insomuch that the former ravages of Otho and Vitellius were now considered as slight evils in comparison.

At length, however, upon the arrival of Mutianus, general to Vespasian, these slaughters ceased, and the state began to wear an appearance of former tranquillity. Vespasian was declared emperor, by the unanimous consent both of the senate and the army; and dignified with all those titles, which now followed rather the power than the merit of those who were

appointed to govern. Messengers were dispatched to him into Egypt, desiring his return, and testifying the utmost desire for his government. But, the winter being dangerous for sailing, he deferred his voyage to a more convenient season. Perhaps, also, the dissensions in other parts of the empire retarded his return to Rome; for Claudius Civilis, in Lower Germany, excited his countrymen to revolt, and destroyed the Roman garrisons which were placed in different parts of that province. Yet, to give his rebellion an air of justice, he caused his army to swear allégiance to Vespasian, until he found himself in a condition to throw off the mask. When he thought himself sufficiently powerful, he disclaimed all submission to the Roman government, and having overcome one or two of the lieutenants of the empire, and being joined by such of the Romans as refused obedience to the new emperor, he boldly advanced to give Cerealis, Vespasian's general, battle. In the beginning of this engagement he seemed successful, breaking the Roman legions, and putting their cavalry to flight. But, at length, Cerealis, by his conduct, turned the fate of the day; and not only routed the enemy, but took and destroyed their camp. This engagement, however, was not decisive; several others ensued with doubtful success. An accommodation, at length, determined what arms could not effect. Civilis obtained peace for his countrymen and pardon for himself; for the Roman empire was, at this time, so torn by its own divisions, that the barbarous nations around made incursions with impunity, and were sure of obtaining peace, whenever they thought proper to demand it.

During the time of these commotions in Germany, the Sarmatians, a barbarous nation to the north-east of the empire, suddenly passed the river Ister, and marching into the Roman dominions with celerity and fury, destroyed several garrisons, and an army under the command of Fonteius Agrippa. However, they were driven back with some slaughter, by Rubrius Gallus, Vespasian's lieutenant, into their native forests; where several attempts were made to confine them by garrisons and forts placed along the confines of their country. But these hardy nations, having once found the way into the empire, never after desisted from invading it at every opportunity; till at length they overran and destroyed the glory of Rome.

Vespasian continued some months at Alexandria in Egypt, where, it is said, he cured a blind and lame man by touching them. Before he set out for Rome, he gave his son Titus the command of the army that was to lay siege to Jerusalem; while he himself went forward, and was met many miles from Rome by all the senate, and near half the inhabitants, who gave the sincerest testimonies of their joy, in having an emperor of such great and experienced virtues. Nor did he in the least disappoint their expectations; being equally assiduous in rewarding merit, and pardoning his adversaries; in reforming the manners of the citizens, and setting them the best example in his own.

In the mean time, Titus carried on the war against the Jews with vigour. This obstinate and infatuated people had long resolved to resist the Roman power, vainly hoping to find protection from Heaven, which their impieties had utterly offended. Their own historian represents them as arrived at the highest pitch of iniquity; while famines, earthquakes, and prodigies, all conspired to forewarn their approaching ruin. Nor was it sufficient that heaven and earth seemed combined against them; they had the most bitter dissensions amongst themselves, and were split into two parties, that robbed and destroyed each other with impunity; still pillaging, and, at the same time, boasting their zeal for the religion of their ancestors.

At the head of one of those parties was an incendiary, whose name was John. This fanatic affected sovereign power, and filled the whole city of Jerusalem, and all the towns around, with tumult and pillage. In a short time a new faction arose, headed by one Simon, who, gathering together multitudes of robbers and murderers, who had fled to the mountains, attacked many cities and towns, and reduced all Idumea into his power. Jerusalem, at length, became the theatre in which these two demagogues began to exercise their mutual animosity; John was possessed of the temple, while Simon was admitted into the city; both equally enraged against each other; while slaughter and devastation followed their pretensions. Thus did a city, formerly celebrated for peace and unity, become the seat of tumult and confusion.

It was in this miserable situation that Titus came to sit down before it with his conquering army, and began his

operations within about six furlongs of the place. It was at the feast of the passover, when the place was filled with an infinite multitude of people, who had come from all parts to celebrate that great solemnity, that Titus undertook to besiege it. His presence produced a temporary reconciliation between the contending factions within; so that they unanimously resolved to oppose the common enemy first, and then decide their domestic quarrels at a more convenient season. Their first sally, which was made with much fury and resolution, put the Romans into great disorder, and obliged them to abandon their camp, and fly to the mountains. However, rallying immediately after, the Jews were forced back into the city; while Titus, in person, showed surprising instances of valour and conduct.

These advantages over the Romans only renewed in the besieged their desires of private vengeance. A tumult ensued in the temple, in which several of both parties were slain: and in this manner, upon every remission from without, the factions of John and Simon violently raged against each other within; agreeing only in their resolution to defend the city against the Romans.

Jerusalem was strongly fortified by three walls on every side, except where it was fenced by deep vallies. Titus began by battering down the outward wall, which, after much fatigue and danger, he effected; all the time showing the greatest clemency to the Jews, and offering them repeated assurances of pardon. But this infatuated people refused his proffered kindness with contempt, and imputed his humanity to his fears. Five days after the commencement of the siege, Titus broke through the second wall, and, though driven back by the besieged, he recovered his ground, and made preparations for battering the third wall, which was their last defence. But first he sent Josephus, their countryman, into the city, to exhort them to yield, who, using all his eloquence to persuade them, was only reviled with scoffs and reproaches. The siege was now, therefore, carried on with greater vigour than before; several batteries for engines were raised, which were no sooner built than destroyed by the enemy. At length, it was resolved in council, to surround the whole city with a trench, and thus prevent all relief and succours from abroad. This, which was quickly executed, seemed no way to intimidate

the Jews. Though famine and pestilence, its necessary attendants, began now to make the most horrid ravages within the walls, yet this desperate people still resolved to hold out. Though obliged to live upon the most scanty and unwholesome food, though a bushel of corn was sold for six hundred crowns, and the holes and the sewers were ransacked for carcases that had long since grown putrid, yet they were not to be moved. The famine raged at last to such an excess, that a woman of distinction in the city boiled her own child to eat it; which horrid account coming to the ears of Titus, he declared, that he would bury so abominable a crime in the ruins of their state. He now, therefore, cut down all the woods within a considerable distance of the city, and causing more batteries to be raised, he at length battered down the wall, and in five days entered the citadel by force. Thus reduced to the very verge of ruin, the remaining Jews still deceived themselves with absurd and false expectations, while many false prophets deluded the multitude, declaring, they should soon have assistance from God. The heat of the battle was now, therefore, gathered round the inner wall of the temple, while the defendants desperately combated from the top. Titus was willing to save this beautiful structure, but a soldier casting a brand into some adjacent buildings, the fire communicated to the temple, and, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours on both sides, the whole edifice was quickly consumed. The sight of the temple in ruins effectually served to damp the ardour of the Jews. They now began to perceive that Heaven had forsaken them, while their cries and lamentations echoed from the adjacent mountains. Even those, who were almost expiring, lifted up their dying eyes to bewail the loss of their temple, which they valued more than life itself. The most resolute, however, still endeavoured to defend the upper and stronger part of the city, named Sion; but Titus, with his battering engines, soon made himself entire master of the place. John and Simon were taken from the vaults where they had concealed themselves; the former was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the latter reserved to grace the conqueror's triumph. The greatest part of the populace were put to the sword, and the city was entirely razed by the plough; so that, according to our Saviour's prophecy, not one stone remained upon another. Thus, after a siege of six months, this noble city was totally destroyed,

having flourished, under the peculiar protection of Heaven, about two thousand years. The numbers, who perished in this siege, according to Josephus, amounted to above a million of souls, and the captives to almost a hundred thousand. The temporal state of the Jews ended with their city, while the wretched survivors were banished, sold, and dispersed into all parts of the world.

Upon the taking of Jerusalem, his soldiers would have crowned Titus as conqueror, but he modestly refused the honour, alleging, that he was only an instrument in the hand of Heaven, that manifestly declared its wrath against the Jews. At Rome, however, all men's mouths were filled with the praises of the conqueror, who had not only shown himself an excellent general, but a courageous combatant; his return, therefore, in triumph, which he did with his father, was marked with all the magnificence and joy that was in the power of men to express. All things, that were esteemed valuable or beautiful among men, were brought to adorn this great occasion. Among the rich spoils were exposed vast quantities of gold, taken out of the temple; but the Book of the Holy Law was not the least remarkable among the magnificent profusion. This was the first time that ever Rome saw the father and the son triumph together. A triumphal arch was erected upon this occasion, on which were described all the victories of Titus over the Jews, which remains almost entire to this very day. Vespasian likewise built a temple to Peace, wherein were deposited most of the Jewish spoils; and having now calmed all commotions in every part of the empire, he shut up the temple of Janus, which had been open about five or six years.

Vespasian, having thus given security and peace to the empire, resolved to correct numberless abuses, which had grown up under the tyranny of his predecessors. To effect this with greater ease, he joined Titus with him in the consulship and tribunitial power; and, in some measure, admitted him a partner in all the highest offices of the state. He began with restraining the licentiousness of the army, and forcing them back to their pristine discipline. He ordered a young officer to be broke for being perfumed, declaring he had rather he had stunk of garlick. Some military messengers desiring money to buy shoes, he ordered them for the future to perform their journies barefoot. He was not less strict with regard to

the senators and the knights. He turned out such as were a disgrace to their station, and supplied their places with the most worthy men he could find. He abridged the processes that had been carried to an unreasonable length in the courts of justice. He took care to re-edify such parts of the city as had suffered in the late commotions; particularly the capitol, which had been lately burnt; and which he now restored to more than former magnificence. He likewise built a famous amphitheatre, the ruins of which are to this day an evidence of its ancient grandeur. The other ruinous cities in the empire also shared his paternal care; he improved such as were declining, adorned others, and built many anew. In such acts as these he passed a long reign of clemency and moderation; so that it is said no man suffered by an unjust or a severe decree during his administration.

Julius Sabinus seems to be the only person who was treated with greater rigour than was usual with this emperor. Sabinus, as was just mentioned before, was commander of a small army in Gaul, and had declared himself emperor upon the death of Vitellius. However, his army was shortly after overcome by Vespasian's general, and he himself compelled to seek safety by flight. He for some time wandered through the Roman provinces without being discovered; but finding the pursuit every day become closer, he was obliged to hide himself in a cave, in which he remained concealed for no less than nine years, attended all the time by his faithful wife Epponina, who provided provisions for his support by day, and repaired to him in the night. She was at length discovered in the performance of this pious office, and Sabinus was taken prisoner and carried to Rome. Several intercessions were made to the emperor in his behalf; Epponina herself appearing, with her two children, and imploring her husband's pardon. However, neither her tears nor entreaties could prevail; Sabinus had been too dangerous a rival to obtain mercy; so that, though she and her children were spared, her husband suffered by the executioner.

But this seems to be the only instance in which he repented past offences. He caused the daughter of Vitellius, his avowed enemy, to be married into a noble family; and he himself provided her a suitable fortune. One of Nero's servants coming to entreat pardon for having once rudely thrust him out of the

palace, and insulting him when in office, Vespasian only took his revenge by serving him just in the same manner. When any plots or conspiracies were formed against him, he disdained to punish the guilty; saying, that they deserved rather his contempt for their ignorance, than his resentment, as they seemed to envy him a dignity of which he daily experienced the uneasiness. When he was seriously advised to beware of Metius Pomposianus, against whom there was strong cause of suspicion, he raised him to the dignity of consul; adding, that the time would come when he must be sensible of so great a benefit.

His liberality in the encouragement of arts and learning was not less than his clemency. He settled a constant salary of a hundred thousand sesterces upon the teachers of rhetoric. He was particularly favourable to Josephus, the Jewish historian. Quintilian, the orator, and Pliny, the naturalist, flourished in his reign, and were highly esteemed by him. He was no less an encourager of all other excellences in art, and invited the greatest masters and artificers from all parts of the world, making them considerable presents as he found occasion.

Yet all his numerous acts of generosity and magnificence could not preserve his character from the imputation of rapacity and avarice. He revived many obsolete methods of taxation, and even bought and sold commodities himself, in order to increase his fortune. He is charged with advancing the most avaricious governors to the provinces, in order to share their plunder on their return to Rome. He descended to some very unusual and dishonourable imposts, even to the laying a tax upon urine. When his son Titus remonstrated against the meanness of such a tax, Vespasian, taking a piece of money, demanded if the smell offended him; adding, that this very money was produced by urine. But the avarice of princes is generally a virtue when their own expenses are but few. The exchequer, when Vespasian came to the throne, was so much exhausted, that he informed the senate, that it would require a supply of three hundred millions (of our money) to re-establish the commonwealth. This necessity must naturally produce more numerous and heavy taxations than the empire had hitherto experienced: but while the provinces were thus obliged to contribute to the support of

his power, he took every precaution to provide for their safety; so that we find but two insurrections in his reign.

In the fourth year of his reign, Antiochus, king of Comagena, holding a private correspondence with the Parthians, the declared enemies of Rome, was taken prisoner in Cilicia, by Pectus, the governor, and sent bound to Rome. But Vespasian generously prevented all ill treatment towards him, by giving him a residence at Lacedæmon, and allowing him a revenue suitable to his dignity.

About the same time also the Alani, a barbarous A. D. 73. people, inhabiting along the river Tanais, abandoned their barren wilds, and invaded the kingdom of Media. From thence passing like a torrent into Armenia, after great ravages, they overthrew Tiridates, the king of that country, with prodigious slaughter. Titus was at length sent to chastise their insolence, and relieve a king that was in alliance with Rome. However, the barbarians retired at the approach of the Roman army, laden with plunder; being in some measure compelled to wait a more favourable opportunity of renewing their irruptions.

But these incursions were as a transient storm, the effects of which were soon repaired by the emperor's moderation and assiduity. We are told, that he new-formed and established a thousand nations, which had scarcely before amounted to two hundred. No provinces in the empire lay out of his view and protection. He had, during his whole reign, a particular regard to Britain; his generals, Petilius Cerelis and Julius Frontinus, brought the greatest part of the island into subjection; and Agricola, who succeeded soon after, completed what they had begun.

Such long and uninterrupted success no way increased this emperor's vanity. He ever seemed averse to those swelling titles, which the senate and people were constantly offering him. When the king of Parthia, in one of his letters, styled himself king of kings, Vespasian, in his answer, only called himself simply Flavius Vespasian. He was so far from attempting to hide the meanness of his original, that he frequently mentioned it in company; and when some flatterers were for deriving his pedigree from Hercules, he despised and derided the meanness of their adulation. In this manner, having reigned ten years, loved by his subjects and deserving

their affection, he was surprised with an indisposition at Campania, which from the beginning he declared would be fatal, crying out, in the spirit of paganism, "Methinks I am going to be a god." Removing from thence to the city, and afterwards to a country-seat near Rome, he was there taken with a flux, which brought him to the last extremity. However, perceiving his end approaching, and as he was just going to expire, he cried out, that an emperor ought to die standing; wherefore, raising himself upon his feet, he expired in the hands of those that sustained him.

"He was a man," says Pliny, "in whom power made no alteration, except in giving him the opportunity of doing good equal to his will." He was the second Roman emperor that died a natural death; and he was peaceably succeeded by Titus his son. <

CHAPTER XXXIII.

TITUS, THE ELEVENTH EMPEROR.

A. D. 79. **TITUS** being joyfully received as emperor, notwithstanding a slight opposition from his brother Domitian, who maintained that he himself was appointed, and that Titus had falsified the will, began to reign with the practice of every virtue that became an emperor and a man. During the life of his father, there had been many imputations against him, both for cruelty, lust, and prodigality; but, upon his exaltation to the throne, he seemed entirely to take leave of his former vices, and become an example of the greatest moderation and humanity. His first step towards gaining the affections of his subjects was his moderating his passions, and bridling his strong inclinations. He had long loved Berenice, sister to Agrippa, king of Judæa, a woman of the greatest beauty and refined allurements. But knowing that the connection with her was entirely disagreeable to the people of Rome, he gained a victory over his affections, and sent her away, notwithstanding their mutual passion, and the many arts she used to induce him to change his resolutions. He next discarded all those who had been the former minis-

ters of his pleasures, and forbore to countenance the companions of his looser recreations, though he had formerly taken great pains in the selection. This moderation, added to his justice and generosity, procured him the love of all the good men, and the appellation of "The Delight of Mankind," which all his actions seemed calculated to ensure.

As he came to the throne with all the advantage of his father's popularity, he was resolved to use every method to increase it. He therefore took particular care to punish all informers, false witnesses, and promoters of dissension. Those wretches, who had their rise in the licentiousness and impunity of former reigns, were now become so numerous, that their crimes called loudly for punishment. Of these, therefore, he daily made public examples; condemning them to be scourged in the most public streets; next to be dragged through the theatre, and then to be banished into the uninhabited parts of the empire, or sold as slaves. He exhibited also many shows, which were very sumptuous and magnificent. He, in one day, caused five thousand wild beasts to be baited in the amphitheatre, for the entertainment of the people. These public rejoicings were continued for a hundred days together, during which he permitted the people to dictate the manner in which they should choose to be entertained. His courtesy and readiness to do good have been celebrated even by Christian writers, his principal rule being never to send any petitioner dissatisfied away. One night, recollecting that he had done nothing beneficial to mankind the day preceding, he cried out among his friends, "I have lost a day;" a sentence too remarkable not to be universally known.

He was so tender of the lives of his subjects, that he took upon him the office of pontifex maximus, or high priest, to keep his hands undefiled with blood. He so little regarded such as censured or abused him, that he was heard to say, "When I do nothing worthy of censure, why should I be displeased at it?" He was even heard to affirm, that he had rather die himself than put another to death. Learning that two noblemen had conspired against him, he readily forgave them; and the next day placing them next himself in the theatre, he put the swords with which the gladiators fought into their hands, demanding their judgment and approbation, whether they were of sufficient shortness. He pardoned his

brother Domitian in the same manner, who had actually prepared all things for an open rebellion.

In this reign an eruption of mount Vesuvius did considerable damage, overwhelming many towns, and sending its ashes into countries more than a hundred miles distant. Upon this memorable occasion, Pliny, the naturalist, lost his life; for, being impelled by too eager a curiosity to observe the eruption, he was suffocated in the flames. There happened also about this time a fire at Rome, which continued three days and nights successively, being followed by a plague, in which ten thousand men were buried in a day. The emperor, however, did all that lay in his power to repair the damages sustained by the public, and, with respect to the city, declared that he would take the whole loss of that upon himself.

These disasters were, in some measure, counterbalanced by the successes in Britain, under Agricola. This excellent general, having been sent into that country towards the latter end of Vespasian's reign, shewed himself equally expert in quelling the refractory, and civilizing those who had formerly submitted to the Roman power. The Ordovices, or inhabitants of North Wales, were the first that were subdued. He then made a descent upon Mona, or the island of Anglesey, which surrendered at discretion. Having thus rendered himself master of the whole country, he took every method to restore discipline to his own army, and to introduce some share of politeness among those whom he had conquered. He exhorted them, both by advice and example, to build temples, theatres, and stately houses. He caused the sons of their nobility to be instructed in the liberal arts; he had them taught the Latin language, and induced them to imitate the Roman modes of dress and living. Thus, by degrees, this barbarous people began to assume the luxurious manners of their conquerors, and in some time even to outdo them, in all the refinements of sensual pleasure. For these successes in Britain, Titus was saluted emperor the fifteenth time; but he did not long survive this honour, being surprised by a violent fever at a little distance from Rome. Perceiving his death approach, he declared, that during the whole course of his life he knew but one action of which he repented, and that action he did not think proper to express. He expired shortly after, but not without suspicion of treachery from his brother

Domitian, who had long wished to govern. His death was in the forty-first year of his age, having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

DOMITIAN, THE TWELFTH EMPEROR.

THE love which all ranks of people bore to Titus A. D. 81. facilitated the election of his brother Domitian, notwithstanding the ill opinion many had already conceived of him. His ambition was already but too well known, and his pride soon appeared upon his coming to the throne; having been heard to declare, that he had given the empire to his father and brother, and now received it again as his due.

The beginning of his reign was universally acceptable to the people, as he appeared equally remarkable for his clemency, liberality, and justice. He carried his abhorrence of cruelty so far, as at one time to forbid the sacrificing of oxen. His liberality was such, that he would not accept of the legacies that were left him by such as had children of their own. His justice was such, that he would sit whole days, and reverse the partial sentences of the ordinary judges. He appeared very careful and liberal in repairing the libraries that had been burnt, and recovering copies of such books as had been lost, sending purposely to Alexandria to transcribe and correct them.

But he soon began to show the natural deformity of his mind. Instead of cultivating literature, as his father and brother had done, he neglected all kinds of study, addicting himself wholly to meaner pursuits, particularly archery and gaming. He was so very expert an archer, that he would frequently cause one of his slaves to stand at a great distance, with his hands spread as a mark, and would shoot his arrows with such exactness as to stick them all between his fingers. He instituted three sorts of contests to be observed every five years; in music, horsemanship, and wrestling; but at the same time he banished all philosophers and mathematicians from Rome. No emperor before him entertained the people

with such various and expensive shows. During these diversions he distributed great rewards, sitting as president himself, adorned with a purple robe and crown, with the priests of Jupiter and the college of Flavian priests about him. The meanness of his occupations in solitude was a just contrast to his exhibitions of public ostentation. He usually spent his hours of retirement in catching flies, and sticking them through with a bodkin; so that one of his servants being asked if the emperor were alone, answered, that he had not so much as a fly to bear him company.

His vices seemed every day to increase with the duration of his reign; and as he thus became more odious to the people, all their murmurs only served to add strength to his suspicions, and malice to his cruelty. His ungrateful treatment of Agricola seemed the first symptom of his natural malevolence. Domitian was always particularly fond of obtaining a military reputation, and therefore jealous of it in others. He had marched some time before into Gaul, upon a pretended expedition against the Catti, a people of Germany; and, without ever seeing the enemy, resolved to have the honour of a triumph upon his return to Rome. For that purpose he purchased a number of slaves, whom he dressed in German habits, and at the head of this miserable procession entered the city, amidst the apparent acclamations, and concealed contempt of all his subjects. The successes, therefore, of Agricola in Britain, affected him with an extreme degree of envy. This admirable general, who is scarce mentioned by any other writer except Tacitus, pursued the advantages which he had already obtained. He subdued the Caledonians; and overcame Galgacus, the British chief, at the head of thirty thousand men; and afterwards, sending out a fleet to scour the coast, first discovered Great Britain to be an island. He likewise discovered and subdued the Orkneys, and thus reduced the whole into a civilized province of the Roman empire. When the account of these successes was brought to Domitian, he received it with a seeming pleasure, but real uneasiness. He thought Agricola's rising reputation a tacit reproach of his own inactivity; and instead of attempting to emulate, he resolved to suppress the merit of his services. He ordered him, therefore, external marks of approbation; and took care that triumphant ornaments, statues,

and other honours, should be decreed him : but at the same time he removed him from his command, under a pretence of appointing him to the government of Syria. By these means, Agricola surrendered up his province to Salustius Lucullus, but soon found that Syria was otherwise disposed of. Upon his return to Rome, which was privately, and by night, he was coolly received by the emperor; and, dying some time after in retirement, it was supposed by some, that his end was hastened by Domitian's direction.

Domitian soon after found the want of so experienced a commander, in the many irruptions of the barbarous nations that surrounded the empire. The Sarmatians in Europe, joined with those of Asia, made a formidable invasion, at once destroying a whole legion, and a general of the Romans. The Dacians, under the conduct of Decebalus their king, made an irruption, and overthrew the Romans in several engagements. The contests now were not for the limits of the empire and the banks of the Danube, but the provinces themselves were in danger. Losses were followed by losses; so that every season became memorable for some remarkable overthrow. At last, however, the state making a vigorous exertion of its internal power, the barbarians were repelled, partly by force, and partly by the assistance of money; which only served to enable them to make future invasions with greater advantage. But, in whatever manner the enemy might have been repelled, Domitian was resolved not to lose the honours of a triumph. He returned in great splendour to Rome; and not contented with thus triumphing twice without a victory, he resolved to take the surname of Germanicus, for his conquest over a people with whom he never contended.

In proportion as the ridicule increased against him, his pride seemed every day to demand greater homage. He would permit his statues to be made only of gold and silver: he assumed to himself divine honours; and ordered that all men should treat him with the same appellations which they gave to the Divinity. His cruelty was not behind his arrogance; he caused numbers of the most illustrious senators, and others, to be put to death upon the most trifling pretences. One *Ælius Lama* was condemned and executed only for jesting, though there was neither novelty nor poignancy in his humour. *Coccanus* was murdered only for celebrating the

nativity of Otho. Pomposianus shared the same fate, because it was foretold by an astrologer that he should be emperor. Salustius Lucullus, his lieutenant in Britain, was destroyed only for having given his name to a new sort of lances of his own invention. Junius Rusticus died for publishing a book, in which he commended Thrasea and Priscus, two philosophers, who opposed Vespasian's coming to the throne.

Such cruelties as these, that seem almost without a motive, must have consequently produced rebellion. Lucius Antonius, governor of Upper Germany, knowing how much the emperor was detested at home, resolved upon striking for the throne; and, accordingly, assumed the ensigns of imperial dignity. As he was at the head of a formidable army, his success remained a long time doubtful; but a sudden overflowing of the Rhine dividing his army, he was set upon at that juncture by Normandus, the emperor's general, and totally routed. The news of this victory, we are told, was brought to Rome by supernatural means, on the same day that the battle was fought. Domitian's severity was greatly increased by this short-lived success. In order to discover those who were accomplices with the adverse party, he invented new tortures; sometimes cutting off the hands, at other times thrusting fire into the privities of those whom he suspected of being his enemies. During these severities, he aggravated their guilt by hypocrisy, never pronouncing sentence without a preamble full of gentleness and mercy. The night before he crucified the comptroller of his household, he treated him with the most seeming friendship, and ordered him a dish of meat from his own table. He carried Aretinus Clemens with him in his own litter the day he had concluded upon his death. He was particularly terrible to the senate and nobility; the whole body of whom he frequently threatened to extirpate entirely. At one time he surrounded the senate house with his troops, to the great consternation of the senators. At another, he resolved to amuse himself with their terrors in a different manner. Having invited them to a public entertainment, he received them all very formally at the entrance of his palace, and conducted them into a spacious hall, hung round with black, and illuminated by a few melancholy lamps, that diffused light only sufficient to show the horrors of the place. All around were to be seen nothing but coffins, with the names of

each of the senators written upon them, together with other objects of terror, and instruments of execution. While the company beheld all these preparations with silent agony, several men having their bodies blackened, each with a drawn sword in one hand, and a flaming torch in the other, entered the hall, and danced round them. After some time, when the guests expected nothing less than the most instant death, well knowing Domitian's capricious cruelty, the doors were set open, and one of the servants came to inform them, that the emperor gave all the company leave to withdraw.

These cruelties were rendered still more odious by his lust and avarice. Frequently, after presiding at an execution, he would retire with the lowdest prostitutes, and use the same baths which they did. His avarice, which was the consequence of his profusion, had no bounds. He seized upon the estates of all against whom he could find the smallest pretensions; the most trifling action or word against the majesty of the prince was sufficient to ruin the possessor. He particularly exacted large sums from the rich Jews, who even then began to practise the arts of money-getting, for which they are at present so remarkable. He was excited against them, not only by avarice, but by jealousy. A prophecy had been long current in the East, that a person from the line of David should rule the world. Whereupon this suspicious tyrant, willing to evade the prediction, commanded all the Jews of the lineage of David to be diligently sought out and put to death. Two Christians, grandsons of St. Jude the apostle, of that line, were brought before him; but finding them poor, and no way ambitious of temporal power, he dismissed them, considering them as objects too mean for his jealousy. However, his persecution of the Christians was more severe than that of any of his predecessors. By his letters and edicts they were banished in several parts of the empire, and put to death with all the tortures of ingenious cruelty.

The predictions of the Chaldeans and astrologers, also, concerning his death, gave him violent apprehensions, and kept him in the most tormenting disquietude. As he approached the end of his reign, he would permit no criminal, or prisoner to be brought into his presence till they were bound in such a manner as to be incapable of injuring him; and he generally secured their chains in his own hands. His jea-

lousies increased to such a degree, that he ordered the gallery in which he walked to be set round with a pellucid stone, which served as a mirror to reflect the persons of all such as approached him from behind. Every omen and prodigy gave him fresh anxiety. Ascleterion, the astrologer, was brought before him for publishing predictions concerning his death. As he did not attempt to deny the charge, the emperor demanded if he knew his own fortune? To which the astrologer replied, that he should be devoured by dogs. Upon which, Domitian immediately ordered him to be slain, and, to frustrate his prediction, to be burnt immediately after. But we are told, that, during the execution, a furious tempest arose, which blew down the body and dispersed the executioners, and in the mean time the body was devoured by dogs, as the poor astrologer had foretold. An accident like this was a sufficient pretext for the death of hundreds. The last part of the tyrant's reign was more insupportable than any of the preceding. Nero exercised his cruelties without being a spectator; but a principal part of the Roman miseries during this reign was to see and be seen; to behold the stern air and fiery visage of the tyrant, which he had armed against blushing by continued intemperance, directing the tortures, and maliciously pleased with adding poignancy to every agony.

But a period was soon to be put to this monster's cruelties. Rome had now, by horrid experience, learned the art of ridding herself of her tyrants. Among the number of those, whom he at once caressed and suspected, was his wife Domitia, whom he had taken from Ælius Lama, her former husband. This woman, however, was become obnoxious to him for having placed her affections upon one Paris, a player; and he resolved to dispatch her, with several others, that he either hated or suspected. It was the tyrant's method to put down the names of all such as he intended to destroy, in his tablets, which he kept about him with great circumspection. Domitia, fortunately happening to get a sight of them, was struck at finding her own name in the catalogue of those fated to destruction. She showed the fatal list to Norbanus and Petronius, præfects of the prætorian bands, who found themselves set down; as likewise to Stephanus, the comptroller of the household, who came into the conspiracy with alacrity. Parthenius also, the chief chamberlain, was of the number; and

these, after many consultations, determined to take the first opportunity of putting their design into execution: they at length fixed upon the eighteenth day of September for the completion of their great attempt.

Domitian, whose death was every day foretold by the astrologers (who, of consequence, must at last be right in their predictions), was in some measure apprehensive of that particular day; and, as he had been ever timorous, so was he now more particularly upon his guard. He had for some time before secluded himself in the most secret recesses of his palace, and at midnight was so affrighted as to leap out of his bed, inquiring of his attendants what hour of the night it was. Upon their falsely assuring him, that it was an hour later than that which he was taught to apprehend, quite transported, as if all danger were past, he prepared to go to the bath. Just then Petronius, his chamberlain, came to inform him, that Stephanus, the comptroller of the household, desired to speak to him upon an affair of the utmost importance. The emperor having given orders that his attendants should retire, Stephanus entered with his hand in a scarf, which he had worn thus for some days, the better to conceal a dagger, as none were permitted to approach the emperor with arms. He began by giving information of a pretended conspiracy, and exhibited a paper, in which the particulars were specified. While Domitian was reading the contents with an eager curiosity, Stephanus drew his dagger, and struck him in the groin. The wound not being mortal, Domitian caught hold of the assassin, and threw him upon the ground, calling out for assistance. He demanded also his sword, that was usually placed under his pillow, and a boy who attended in the apartment, running to fetch it, found only the scabbard, for Parthenius had previously removed the blade. The struggle with Stephanus still continued, Domitian still keeping him under, at one time attempting to wrest the dagger from his hand, at another to tear out his eyes with his fingers. But Parthenius, with his freedman, a gladiator, and two subaltern officers, now coming in, they ran all furiously upon the emperor, and dispatched him with seven wounds. In the mean time, some of the officers of the guard being alarmed came to his assistance, but too late to save him; however, they slew Stephanus on the spot.

It is almost incredible what some writers relate concerning Apollonius Tyanæus, who was then at Ephesus. This person, whom some call a magician, and some a philosopher, but who more probably was nothing more than an impostor, was, just at the minute in which Domitian was slain, lecturing in one of the public gardens of the city. But, stopping short, all of a sudden he cried out, "Courage, Stephanus, strike the tyrant!" And then, after a pause, "Rejoice, my friends, the tyrant dies this day. This day do I say; the very moment in which I kept silence he suffers for his crimes, he dies!"

Many more prodigies were said to have portended his death; but the fate of such a monster seemed to produce more preternatural disturbances and more predictions than it deserved. The truth seems to be, that a belief in omens and prodigies were again become prevalent; the people were again relapsing into pristine barbarity; a country of ignorance is ever the proper soil for a harvest of imposture.

CHAPTER XXXV.

NERVA, THE THIRTEENTH EMPEROR.

A. D. 96. WHEN it was publicly known that Domitian was slain, the joy of the senate was so great, that, being assembled with the utmost haste, they began to load his memory with every reproach. His statues were commanded to be taken down; and a decree was made, that all his inscriptions should be erased, his name struck out of the registers of fame, and his funeral omitted. The people, who now took little part in the affairs of government, looked on his death with indifference; the soldiers alone, whom he had loaded with favours, and enriched by largesses, sincerely regretted their benefactor.

The senate, therefore, resolved to provide a successor, before the army could have an opportunity of taking the appointment upon themselves, and Cocceius Nerva was chosen to the empire the very day on which the tyrant was slain.

Nerva was of an illustrious family, as most say, by birth a Spaniard, and above sixty-five years old when he was called

to the throne. He was at that time the most remarkable man in Rome for his virtues, moderation, and respect to the laws; and he owed his exaltation to the blameless conduct of his former life. When the senate went to pay him their submissions, he received them with his accustomed humility, while Arius Antonius, his most intimate friend, having embraced him with great familiarity, addressed him in a language very different from that which the former emperors were accustomed to hear. "I come," cried he, "with others, to congratulate, not your good fortune, but that of the Roman empire. You have long escaped the malice of your enemies, and the cruelty of tyrants. Now, at the decline of life, to be plunged into new troubles and surrounding dangers, to be exposed, not only to the hatred of enemies, but to the dangerous requests of friendship, is not a state to be wished for: your enemies will naturally envy you; and your friends, presuming upon your former favour, if their suits be denied, will become enemies; so that you must either injure the public, or lose their favour." Such candid advice was received with proper gratitude; and, indeed, no emperor seemed to want such advice more than he, as the easy indulgence of his disposition made him the prey of his insidious courtiers.

However, an excess of indulgence and humanity were faults that Rome could easily pardon, after the cruelties of such an emperor as Domitian. Being long accustomed to tyranny, they regarded Nerva's gentle reign with rapture, and even gave his imbecility the name of benevolence. Upon coming to the throne he solemnly swore, that no senator of Rome should be put to death by his command during his reign, though they gave ever so just a cause. This oath he so religiously observed, that when two senators had conspired his death, he used no kind of severity against them; but, sending for them, to let them see he was not ignorant of their designs, he carried them with him to the public theatre; there, presenting each a dagger, he desired them to strike, as he was determined not to ward off the blow. Such acts of clemency appeared to the multitude as virtues, but others saw them in a different light, and considered them as encouragements to dissolution. One of the principal men in Rome was heard to declare, that it was indeed a misfortune to live under a prince who considered innocence as a crime, but a greater still to live

under one who regarded crimes as innocent. Having one night invited Veiento, one of Domitian's most vicious favourites, to supper, the conversation ran upon the vices of Catullus Messalinus, whose memory was detested for his cruelties during the former reign. As each of the guests mentioned him with horror, Nerva was induced to ask one Mauricus, who sat at table, "What do you think, Mauricus, would become of such a man now?" "I think," replied Mauricus, pointing to Veiento, "that he would have been invited, as some of us are, to supper."

However true such sarcasms might have been, Nerva bore them with the utmost good humour. Ever desirous of being rather loved than feared by his subjects, he conferred great favours, and bestowed large gifts upon his particular friends. His liberality was so extensive, that, upon his first promotion to the empire, he was constrained to sell his gold and silver plate, with his other rich moveables, to enable him to continue his liberalities. He released the cities of the empire from many severe duties, which had been imposed by Vespasian: he took off a rigorous tribute which had been laid upon carriages, and restored those to their property who had been unjustly dispossessed by Domitian.

During his short reign he made several good laws. He particularly prohibited the castration of male children, which had been likewise condemned by his predecessor, but not wholly removed. He put all those slaves to death who had, during the last reign, informed against their masters. He permitted no statues to be erected in his honour, and converted such of Domitian's, as had been spared by the senate, into money. He sold many rich robes, and much of the splendid furniture of the palace, and retrenched several unreasonable expenses at court. At the same time, he had so little regard for money, that when one of his subjects found a large treasure, and wrote to the emperor how to dispose of it, he received for answer, that he might *use it*: but the finder still informing the emperor, that it was a fortune too large for a private person, Nerva, admiring his honesty, wrote him word, that then he might *abuse it*.

A life of such generosity and mildness was not, however, without its enemies. Virgilius Rufus, who had opposed him, was not only pardoned, but made his colleague in the consul-

ship. Calpurnius Crassus, also, with some others, formed a dangerous conspiracy to destroy him, but Nerva would use no severity; he rested satisfied with banishing those who were culpable, though the senate were for inflicting more rigorous punishments. But the most dangerous insurrection against his interests was from the prætorian bands, who, headed by Casparius Ollianus, insisted upon revenging the late emperor's death, whose memory was still dear to them, from his frequent liberalities. Nerva, whose kindness to good men rendered him more obnoxious to the vicious, did all in his power to stop the progress of this insurrection; he presented himself to the mutinous soldiers, and, opening his bosom, desired them to strike there, rather than be guilty of so much injustice. The soldiers, however, paid no regard to his remonstrances, but, seizing upon Petronius and Parthenius, slew them in the most ignominious manner. Not content with this, they even compelled the emperor to approve of their sedition, and to make a speech to the people, in which he thanked the cohorts for their fidelity.

So disagreeable a constraint upon the emperor's inclinations was, in the end, attended with the most happy effects, as it caused the adoption of Trajan to succeed him. Nerva perceived, that, in the present turbulent disposition of the times, he stood in need of an assistant in the empire, who might share the fatigues of government, and contribute to keep the licentious in awe. For this purpose, setting aside all his own relations, he fixed upon Ulpian Trajan, an utter stranger to his family, who was then governor in Upper Germany, as his successor. Having put his determination in execution, and performed the accustomed solemnities, he instantly sent off ambassadors to Cologne, where Trajan then resided, entreating his assistance in punishing those from whom he had received such an insult.

The adoption of this admirable man proved so great a curb to the licentiousness of the soldiery, that they continued in perfect obedience during the rest of this reign; and Casparius, being sent to him, was, by his command, either banished or put to death.

The adopting Trajan was the last public act of Nerva. In about three months after, having put himself in a violent passion with one Regulus, a senator, he was seized with a fever,

of which he died, after a short reign of one year, four months, and nine days.

He was the first foreign emperor who reigned in Rome, and justly reputed a prince of great generosity and moderation. He is also celebrated for his wisdom, though with less reason, the greatest instance he gave of it during his reign being the choice of his successor.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

TRAJAN, THE FOURTEENTH EMPEROR.

U.C. 851. A.D. 98. **TRAJAN'S** family was originally from Italy, but he himself was born at Seville in Spain. He very early accompanied his father, who was a general of the Romans, in his expeditions along the Euphrates and the Rhine, and, while yet very young, acquired a considerable reputation for military accomplishments. He inured his body to fatigue; he made long marches on foot; and laboured to acquire all that skill in war which was necessary for a commander. When he was made general of the army in Lower Germany, which was one of the most considerable employments in the empire, it caused no alteration in his manners or way of living, and the commander was seen no way differing from the private tribune, except in his superior wisdom and virtues. The great qualities of his mind were accompanied with all the advantages of person. His body was majestic and vigorous; he was at that middle time of life, which is happily tempered with the warmth of youth and the caution of age, being forty-two years old. To these qualities were added a modesty that seemed peculiar to himself alone, so that mankind found a pleasure in praising those accomplishments, of which the possessor seemed no way conscious. Upon the whole, Trajan is distinguished as the greatest and the best emperor of Rome. Others might have equalled him in war, and some might have been his rivals in clemency and goodness, but he seems the only prince who united these talents in the greatest perfection, and who appears equally to engage our admiration and our regard.

Upon being informed of the death of Nerva, he prepared to return to Rome, whither he was invited by the united entreaties of the state. He therefore began to march with a discipline, that was for a long time unknown in the armies of the empire. The countries through which he passed were neither ravaged nor taxed, and he entered the city, not in a triumphant manner, though he had deserved many, but on foot, attended with the civil officers of the state, and followed by his soldiers, who marched silently forward with modesty and respect.

One of the first lectures he received, respecting his conduct in governing the empire, was from Plutarch, the philosopher, who had the honour of being his master. Upon his arrival at Rome, he is said to have written him a letter to the following purpose: "Since your merits and not your importunities have advanced you to the empire, permit me to congratulate your virtues, and my own good fortune. If your future government proves answerable to your former worth, I shall be happy. But if you become worse for power, yours will be the danger, and mine the ignominy of your conduct. The errors of the pupil will be charged upon his instructor. Seneca is reproached for the enormities of Nero; and Socrates and Quintilian have not escaped censure for the misconduct of their respective scholars. But you have it in your power to make me the most honoured of men, by continuing what you are. Continue the command of your passions, and make virtue the scope of all your actions. If you follow these instructions, then will I glory in having presumed to give them; if you neglect what I offer, then will this letter be my testimony, that you have not erred through the counsel and authority of Plutarch." I have inserted this letter, whether genuine or not, because it seems to me well written, and a striking picture of this great philosopher's manner of addressing the best of princes.

It would be tedious and unnecessary to enter into a detail of this good monarch's labours for the state. His application to business, his moderation to his enemies, his modesty in exaltation, his liberality to the deserving, and his frugality in his own expenses; these have all been the subjects of panegyric among his contemporaries, and they continue to be the admiration of posterity,

Upon giving the præfect of the prætorian bands the sword, according to custom, he made use of this remarkable expression: "Take this sword, and use it; if I have merit, for me; if otherwise, against me." After which he added, that he who gave laws was the first who was bound to observe them.

If he had any failings, they were his love of women, which, however, never hurried him beyond the bounds of decency; and his immoderate passion for war, to which he had been bred up from his childhood. The first war he was engaged in after his coming to the throne was with the Dacians, who, during the reign of Domitian, had committed numberless ravages upon the provinces of the empire. He therefore raised a powerful army, and with great expedition marched into those barbarous countries, where he was vigorously opposed by Decebalus, the Dacian king, who, for a long time, withstood his boldest efforts. At length, however, this monarch being constrained to come to a general battle, and no longer able to protract the war, he was routed with great slaughter, though not without great loss to the conqueror. The Roman soldiers, upon this occasion, wanting linen to bind up their wounds, the emperor tore his own robes to supply them. This victory compelled the enemy to sue for peace, which they obtained on very disadvantageous terms; their king coming into the Roman camp, and acknowledging himself a vassal of the Roman empire.

Upon Trajan's return, after the usual triumphs and rejoicings upon such an occasion were over, he was surprised with an account, that the Dacians had renewed hostilities. Decebalus, their king, was now, therefore, a second time, judged an enemy to the Roman state, and Trajan invaded his dominions with an army equal to that with which he had before subdued him. But Decebalus, now grown more cautious by his former defeat, used every art to avoid coming to an engagement. He also put various stratagems in practice, to distress the enemy; and, at one time, Trajan himself was in danger of being slain or taken. He also took Longinus, one of the Roman generals, prisoner, and threatened to kill him, in case Trajan refused granting him terms of peace. But the emperor replied, that peace and war had not their dependence upon the safety of one subject only; wherefore Longinus, some time after, destroyed himself by a voluntary death.

The fate of this general seemed to give new vigour to Trajan's operations. In order to be better enabled to invade the enemy's territories at pleasure, he undertook a most stupendous work, which was no less than building a bridge across the Danube. This amazing structure, which was built over a deep, broad, and rapid river, consisted of more than twenty-two arches, a hundred and fifty feet high, and a hundred and seventy broad: the ruins of this structure, which remain to this day, shew modern architects how far they were surpassed by the ancients, both in the greatness and the boldness of their designs. Upon finishing this work, Trajan continued the war with great vigour, sharing with the meanest of his soldiers the fatigues of the campaign, and continually encouraging them to their duty by his own example. By these means, notwithstanding the country was spacious and uncultivated, and the inhabitants brave and hardy, he subdued the whole, and added the kingdom of Dacia as a province to the Roman empire. Decebalus made some attempts to escape, but, being surrounded on every side, he at last slew himself, and his head was sent immediately to Rome; to certify his misfortune there. These successes seemed to advance the empire to a greater degree of splendour than it had hitherto acquired. Ambassadors were seen to come from the interior parts of India, to congratulate Trajan's success, and bespeak his friendship. At his return to Rome, he entered the city in triumph; and the rejoicings for his victories lasted for the space of a hundred and twenty days.

Having thus given peace and prosperity to the empire, Trajan continued his reign, loved, honoured, and almost adored, by his subjects. He adorned the city with public buildings; he freed it from such men as lived by their vices; he entertained persons of merit with the utmost familiarity; and so little feared his enemies, that he could scarcely be induced to suppose he had any. Being one day told by some, that his friend and favourite, Sura, was false to him; Trajan, to show how much he relied on his fidelity, went in his ordinary manner to sup with him. There he commanded Sura's surgeon to be brought, whom he ordered to take off the hair about his eye-brows. He then made the barber shave his beard, and after went unconcerned into the bath as usual. The next day, when Sura's accusers were renewing their ob-

loquy, Trajan informing them how he had spent the night, "If," cried he, "Sara had any designs against my life, he then had the fairest opportunity."

It had been happy for this great prince's memory, if he had shown equal clemency to all his subjects; but, about the ninth year of his reign, he was persuaded to look upon the Christians with a suspicious eye. The extreme veneration which he professed for the religion of the empire set him sedulously to oppose every innovation, and the progress of Christianity seemed to alarm him. A law had some time before been passed, in which all Heretics, or societies dissenting from the established religion, were considered as illegal, being reputed nurseries of imposture and sedition. Under the sanction of this law, the Christians were persecuted in all parts of the empire. Great numbers of them were put to death, as well by popular tumults as by edicts and judicial proceedings. In this persecution, St. Clement, bishop of Rome, was condemned to be thrown into the sea, with an anchor about his neck; St. Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, at the age of a hundred and twenty, was scourged and crucified; and St. Ignatius, who had a particular dispute with Trajan, at Antioch, was condemned to be thrown to wild beasts, in the amphitheatre at Rome. However, the persecution ceased for some time; for the emperor having advice from Pliny, the proconsul in Bithynia, of the innocence and simplicity of the Christians, and of their inoffensive and moral way of living, he suspended their punishments. But a total stop was put to them upon Tiberianus, the governor of Palestine, sending him word, that he was wearied out with executing the laws against the Galileans, who crowded to execution in such multitudes, that he was at a loss how to proceed. Upon this information, the emperor gave orders, that the Christians should not be sought after; but if any offered themselves that they should suffer. In this manner the rage of persecution ceased, and the emperor found leisure to turn the force of his arms against the Armenians and Parthians, who now began to throw off all submission to Rome.

While he was employed in these wars, there was a dreadful insurrection of the Jews in all parts of the empire. This wretched people, still infatuated, and ever expecting some signal deliverer, took the advantage of Trajan's absence in

the East, to massacre all the Greeks and Romans which they got into their power, without reluctance or mercy. This rebellion first began in Cyrene, a Roman province in Africa; from thence the flame extended to Egypt, and next to the island of Cyprus. These places, they, in a manner, dispeopled with ungovernable fury. Their barbarities were such, that they eat the flesh of their enemies, wore their skins, sawed them asunder, cast them to wild beasts, made them kill each other; and studied new torments by which to destroy them. However, these cruelties were of no long duration; the governors of the respective provinces, making head against their tumultuous fury, soon treated them with retaliation of cruelty, and put them to death, not as human beings, but as outrageous pests to society. As the Jews had practised their cruelties in Cyprus particularly, a law was publicly enacted, by which it was made capital for any Jew to set foot on the island.

During these bloody transactions, Trajan was prosecuting his successes in the East. His first march was into Armenia, the king of which country had disclaimed all alliance with Rome, and received the ensigns of royalty and dominion from the monarch of Parthia. However, upon the news of Trajan's expedition, his fears were so great, that he abandoned his country to the invader; while the greatest part of his governors and nobility came submissively to the emperor, acknowledging themselves his subjects, and making him the most costly presents. Having, in this manner, taken possession of the whole country, and gotten the king into his power, he marched into the dominions of the king of Parthia. There, entering the opulent kingdom of Mesopotamia, he reduced it into the form of a Roman province. From thence he went against the Parthians, marching on foot at the head of his army; in this manner crossing rivers, and conforming to all the severities of discipline which were imposed upon the meanest soldier. His successes against the Parthians were great and numerous. He conquered Syria and Chaldaea; and took the famous city of Babylon. There, attempting to cross the Euphrates, he was opposed by the enemy, who were resolved to stop his passage; but he secretly caused boats to be made upon the adjoining mountains; and, bringing them to

the water side, passed his army with great expedition; not, however, without great slaughter on both sides. From thence he traversed large tracts of country, which had never before been invaded by a Roman army; and seemed to take a pleasure in pursuing the same march which Alexander the Great had marked out before him. Having passed the rapid stream of the Tigris, he advanced to the city Ctesiphon, which he took, and opened himself a passage into Persia; where he made many conquests that were rather splendid than serviceable. After subduing all the country bordering on the Tigris, he marched southward to the Persian gulph, where he subdued a monarch, who possessed a considerable island, made by the divided streams of that river. Here winter coming on, he was in danger of losing the greatest part of his army by the inclemency of the climate and the inundations of the river. He, therefore, with indefatigable pains, fitted out a fleet, and, sailing down the Persian gulph, entered the Indian ocean, conquering even to the Indies, and subduing a part of them to the Roman empire. He was prevented from pursuing further conquests in this distant country, both by the revolt of many of the provinces he had already subdued, and by the scarcity of provisions, which seemed to contradict the reports of the fertility of the countries he was induced to invade. The inconveniences of increasing age also contributed to damp the ardour of this enterprise, which at one time he intended to pursue to the confines of the earth. Returning, therefore, along the Persian gulph, and sending the senate a particular account of all the nations he had conquered, the names of which alone composed a long catalogue, he prepared to punish those countries which had revolted from him. He began by laying the famous city of Edessa, in Mesopotamia, in ashes; and, in a short space of time, not only retook all those places which had before acknowledged subjection, but conquered many other provinces, so as to make himself master of the most fertile kingdoms of all Asia. In this train of successes he scarce met with a repulse, except before the city Atræ, in the deserts of Arabia. Wherefore, judging that it was a proper time for bounding his conquests, he resolved to give a master to the countries he had subdued. With this resolution he repaired to the city Ctesiphon, in

Persia; and there, with great ceremony, crowned Parthaspates king of Parthia, to the great joy of all his subjects. He established another king also over the kingdom of Albania, near the Caspian sea. Then placing governors and lieutenants in other provinces, he resolved to return to his capital in a more magnificent manner than any of his predecessors had done before him. He accordingly left Adrian general of all his forces in the East, and continued his journey towards Rome, where the most magnificent preparations were made for his arrival. However, he had not got farther than the province of Cilicia, when he found himself too weak to proceed in his usual manner. He therefore ordered himself to be carried on ship-board to the city of Selucia, where he died of the apoplexy, having been attacked by that disorder once before. During the time of his indisposition, his wife Plotina constantly attended near him; and, knowing the emperor's dislike to Adrian, it is thought forged the will, by which he was adopted to succeed.

Trajan died in the sixty-third year of his age, after a reign of nineteen years, six months, and A. D. 117. fifteen days. How highly he was esteemed by his subjects appears from their manner of blessing his successors, always wishing them the fortune of Augustus, and the goodness of Trajan. His military virtues, however, upon which he chiefly valued himself, produced no real advantage to his country; and all his conquests disappeared, when the power was withdrawn that enforced them.

But still it may be asserted, that the Roman empire was never so large as when he left it, nor so formidable to the rest of the world. And yet its strength was much impaired; for being spread over so vast an extent of territory, as it wanted the invigorating principle of patriotism among its subjects to inspire them in its defence, its bulk seemed rather a symptom of its disease than its vigour.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ADRIAN, THE FIFTEENTH EMPEROR.

ADRIAN was by descent a Spaniard, and of the same city where Trajan was born. He was nephew to Trajan, and married to Sabina, his grand-niece. When Trajan was adopted to the empire, Adrian was a tribune of the army in *Moesia*, and sent by the troops to congratulate the emperor on his advancement. But his brother-in-law, who desired to have an opportunity of congratulating Trajan himself, supplied Adrian with a carriage, that broke down on the way. Adrian, however, was resolved to lose no time, and performed the rest of the journey on foot. This assiduity was very pleasing to the emperor; but he disliked Adrian from several more prevailing motives. He was expensive and involved in debt. He was, besides, inconstant, capricious, and apt to envy another's reputation. These faults, in Trajan's opinion, could not be compensated either by Adrian's learning or his talents. His great skill in the Greek and Latin languages, his intimate acquaintance with the laws of his country and the philosophy of the times, were no inducements to Trajan, who, being bred himself a soldier, desired to have a military man to succeed him. For this reason it was, that the dying emperor would by no means appoint a successor; fearful, perhaps, of injuring his great reputation, by adopting a person that was unworthy. His death, therefore, was concealed for some time by Plotina, his wife, till Adrian had sounded the inclinations of the army, and found them firm in his interests. They then produced a forged instrument, importing that Adrian was adopted to succeed in the empire. By this artifice he was elected by all orders of the state, though absent from Rome, being then at Antioch, as general of the forces in the East.

Upon Adrian's election, his first care was to write to the senate, excusing himself for assuming the empire without their previous approbation; imputing it to the hasty zeal of the army, who rightly judged, that the senate ought not long to remain without a head. He then began to pursue a course

quite opposite to that of his predecessor, taking every method of declining war, and promoting the arts of peace. He was quite satisfied with preserving the ancient limits of the empire, and seemed no way ambitious of extensive conquest. For this reason he abandoned all the conquests which Trajan had made, judging them to be rather an inconvenience than an advantage to the empire. He made the river Euphrates the boundary of the empire, and placed the legions along its banks to prevent the incursions of the enemy.

Having thus settled the affairs of the East, and leaving Severus governor of Syria, he took his journey by land to Rome, sending the ashes of Trajan thither by sea. Upon his approach to the city, he was informed that a magnificent triumph was preparing for him, but this he modestly declined, desiring that these honours might be paid to Trajan's memory, which they had designed for him. In consequence of this command, a most superb triumph was decreed, in which Trajan's statue was carried as the principal figure in the procession, it being remarked, that he was the only man that ever triumphed after he was dead. Not content with paying him these extraordinary honours, his ashes were placed in a golden urn, upon the top of a column a hundred and forty feet high. On this were engraven the particulars of all his exploits in *basso relievo*, a work of great labour, and which is still remaining.

It was not an easy task to appear with any lustre, after an emperor so loved and admired as Trajan; and yet the merits of his successor seemed, in some measure, to console the people for their loss. Adrian was one of the most remarkable of the Roman emperors for the variety of his endowments. He was highly skilful in all the exercises both of body and mind. He composed with great beauty, both in prose and verse; he pleaded at the bar, and was one of the best orators of his time. He was deeply versed in the mathematics, and no less skilful in physic. In drawing and painting he was equal to the greatest masters; an excellent musician, and sang to admiration. Besides these qualifications, he had an astonishing memory; he knew the names of all his soldiers, though never so long absent. He could dictate to one, confer with another, and write himself, all at the same time. He was remarkably expert in military discipline; he was strong

and very skilful in arms, both on horseback and on foot, and frequently with his own hand killed wild boars, and even lions, in hunting.

His moral virtues were not less than his accomplishments. Upon his first exaltation, he forgave an infinite number of debts due to the exchequer, remitting the large arrears to which the provinces were liable, and burning the bonds and registers of them in the public forum. He refused to take the confiscated estates of condemned persons into his private coffers, but ordered them to be placed in the public treasury. His moderation and clemency appeared by pardoning the injuries which he had received when he was yet but a private man. One day meeting a person, who had formerly been his most inveterate enemy, "My good friend," cried he, "you have escaped, for I am made emperor." He had so great a veneration for the senate, and was so careful of not introducing unworthy persons into it, that he told the captain of his guard, when he made him senator, that he had no honours in his gift, equal to what he then bestowed. He was affable to his friends, and gentle to persons of meaner stations; he relieved their wants, and visited them in sickness; it being his constant maxim, that he was an emperor, not for his own good, but for the benefit of mankind.

These were his virtues, which were contrasted by a strange mixture of vices; or, to say the truth, he wanted strength of mind to preserve his general rectitude of character without deviation. Thus he is represented as proud and vain-glorious, envious and detraction, hasty and revengeful, inquisitive into other men's affairs, and often induced by sycophants and informers to acts of cruelty and injustice. He permitted the revival of the persecution against the Christians, and showed many instances of a bad disposition, which it was the whole study of his life to correct or to conceal.

But, however Adrian might have been, as to his private character, his conduct as an emperor appears most admirable, as all his public transactions seem dictated by the soundest policy and the most disinterested wisdom. He was scarce settled on the throne, when several of the northern barbarians, the Alani, the Sarmatians, and the Dacians, began to make devastations on the empire. These hardy nations, who now found the way to conquer, by issuing from their forests and

then retiring upon the approach of a superior force opposing them, began to be truly formidable to Rome. Adrian had thoughts of contracting the limits of the empire, by giving up some of the most remote and the least defensible provinces; but in this he was over-ruled by his friends, who wrongly imagined, that an extensive frontier would intimidate an invading enemy. But, though he complied with their remonstrances, he broke down the bridge over the Danube, which his predecessor had built, sensible that the same passage which was open to him was equally convenient to the incursions of his barbarous neighbours.

While he was employed in compelling these nations to submission, a conspiracy was discovered, carried on among four persons of consular dignity at home. These had agreed to kill him, either while he was offering sacrifice, or while he was hunting. Their designs, however, were timely discovered, and the conspirators put to death, by order of the senate. Adrian took great pains to clear himself from the imputation of having had any hand in their execution; he had sworn, upon his advancement, to put no senator to death, and he now declared that the delinquents died without his permission. But in order entirely to suppress the murmurs of the people upon this head, he distributed large sums of money among them, and called off their attention from this act of severity to magnificent shows, and the various diversions of the amphitheatre.

Having staid a short time at Rome, so as to see that all things were regulated and established for the safety of the public, he prepared to visit and take a view of his whole empire. It was one of his maxims, that an emperor ought to imitate the sun, which diffuseth warmth and vigour over all parts of the earth. He therefore took with him a splendid court and a considerable force, and entered the province of Gaul, where he numbered all the inhabitants. From Gaul he went into Germany, from thence to Holland, and then passed over into Britain, there reforming many abuses, and reconciling the natives to the Romans. For the better security of the southern parts of the kingdom, he built a wall of wood and earth, extending from the river Eder in Cumberland, to the Tyne in Northumberland, to prevent the incursions of the

Picts, and the other barbarous nations to the north. From Britain, returning through Gaul, he directed his journey to Spain, where he was received with great joy, as being a native of that country. There, wintering in the city of Tarragona, he called a meeting of the deputies from all the provinces, and ordained many things for the benefit of the nation. Happening, while he was in Spain, to walk in his garden, one of the servants of the house ran furiously at him, with a drawn sword, to kill him; but the emperor warding off the blow, and closing with him, quickly disarmed him; then delivering him to his guards, he ordered that he might have a physician to bleed him; considering the poor creature (which in fact he was) as a madman. From Spain, returning to Rome, he continued there for some time, in order to prepare for his journey into the East, which was hastened by a new invasion of the Parthians. His approach compelling the enemy to peace, he pursued his travels without molestation. Arriving in Asia Minor, he turned out of his way to visit the famous city of Athens. There making a considerable stay, he was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, which were accounted the most sacred in the pagan mythology; and took upon him the office of archon, or chief magistrate of the place. In this place also he remitted the severity of the Christian persecution, at the representation of Gracianus, the proconsul of Asia, who represented the people of that persuasion as no way culpable. He was even so far reconciled to them as to think of receiving Christ among the number of the gods. After a winter's continuance at Athens he went over into Sicily, and visited *Ætna*, and the other curiosities of the place. Returning from thence once more to Rome, after a short stay he prepared ships, and crossed over into Africa. There he spent much time in regulating abuses and reforming the government; in deciding controversies, and erecting magnificent buildings. Among the rest, he ordered Carthage to be rebuilt; calling it, after his own name, *Adrianople*. Again returning to Rome, where he staid but a very little time, he travelled a second time into Greece; passed over into Asia Minor; from thence went into Syria, gave laws and instructions to all the neighbouring kings, whom he invited to come and consult with him; he then entered Palestine, Ara-

bia, and Egypt, where he caused Pompey's tomb, that had been long neglected and almost covered with sand, to be renewed and beautified. He also gave orders for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, which was performed with great expedition by the assistance of the Jews, who now began to conceive hopes of being restored to their long-lost kingdom. But these expectations only served to aggravate their calamities; for, being incensed at the privileges which were granted the pagan worshippers in their new city, they fell upon the Romans and Christians that were dispersed throughout Judea, and unmercifully put them all to the sword. In this cruel and desperate undertaking they were chiefly incited by one Barcocab, an impostor; who, willing to be thought the Messiah, or perhaps believing himself to be so, declared, that he himself was the star foretold by Balaam; and that he was come down as a light from heaven to rescue them from bondage. Adrian was at Athens when this dangerous insurrection began; wherefore sending a powerful body of men, under the command of Julius Severus, against them, this general obtained many signal though bloody victories over the insurgents. The war was concluded in two years, by the demolition of above a thousand of their best towns, and the destruction of near six hundred thousand men in battle.

He then banished all those who remained, out of Judea; and, by a public decree, forbade any to come within view of their native soil. This insurrection was soon after followed by a dangerous irruption of the barbarous nations to the northward of the empire; who entering Media with great fury, and passing through Armenia, carried their devastations as far as Cappadocia. Adrian preferring peace, upon any terms, to an unprofitable war, bought them off by large sums of money; so that they returned peaceably into their native wilds, to enjoy their plunder, and meditate fresh invasions.

Adrian having now spent thirteen years in travelling through his dominions, and reforming the abuses of the empire, resolved at length to return and end all his fatigues at Rome. Nothing could be more grateful to the people than his present resolution of coming to reside, for the rest of his days, among them: they received him with the loudest demonstrations of joy; and though he now began to grow old and unwieldy, he

remitted not the least of his former assiduity and application to the public welfare. His chief amusement was in conversing with the most celebrated men in every art and science, frequently boasting, that he thought no kind of knowledge inconsiderable or to be neglected, either in his private or public capacity. This desire of knowing was laudable, if kept within bounds: but he seemed to affect universal excellence; and even envied all, who aspired at an equal reputation in any of the arts with himself. It is said, that he ordered Apollodorus, the architect, to be put to death, only for too freely remarking upon the errors of some structure erected from the emperor's designs. But, be this as it may, he took great delight in disputing among the learned men and the philosophers who attended him; nor were they less careful in granting him that superiority he seemed so eagerly to affect. Favorinus, a man of great reputation at court for philosophy, happening one day to dispute with him upon some philosophical subject, acknowledged himself to be overcome. His friends blamed him for thus giving up the argument, when he might easily have pursued it with success. "How," replied Favorinus, who was probably a better courtier than philosopher, "would you have me contend with a man who is master of thirty legions?"

Adrian was so fond of literary fame, that we are told he wrote his own life, and afterwards gave it to his servants to publish under their names. But whatever might have been his weakness in aiming at universal reputation, he was in no part of his reign remiss in attending the duties of his exalted station. He ordered the knights and senators never to appear in public, but in the proper habits of their orders. He forbade masters to kill their slaves, as had been before allowed; but ordained that they should be tried by the laws enacted against capital offences. A law so just, had he done nothing more, deserved to have ensured his reputation with posterity, and to have made him dear to mankind. He still further extended the lenity of the laws to those unhappy men, who had been long thought too mean for justice. If a master was found killed in his house, he would not allow all his slaves to be put to the torture, as formerly, but only such as might have perceived or prevented the murder.

In such cares he consumed the greatest part of his time; but, at last, finding the duties of his station daily increasing, and his own strength proportionally upon the decline, he resolved upon adopting a successor, whose merits might deserve, and whose courage secure, his exaltation. After many deliberations he made choice of Lucius Commodus, whose bodily infirmities rendered him unfit for a trust of such importance. Of this, after some time, Adrian seemed sensible, declaring, that he repented of having chosen so feeble a successor, and saying, "that he had leaned against a mouldering wall." However, Commodus soon after dying, the emperor immediately adopted Marcus Antoninus, afterwards surnamed the Pious; but previously obliged him to adopt two others, namely, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, all of whom afterwards succeeded in the empire.

While he was thus careful in appointing a successor, his bodily infirmities daily increased; and, at length, his pains becoming insupportable, he vehemently desired that some of his attendants would dispatch him. Antoninus, however, would by no means permit any of his domestics to be guilty of so great an impiety, but used all the arts in his power to reconcile the emperor to sustain life. At one time he produced a woman, who pretended that she was warned in a dream that he should recover his health; at another, a man was brought from Paannonia, who gave him the same assurances. Nevertheless, Adrian's pains increased every day. He frequently cried out, "How miserable a thing it is to seek death, and not to find it!" He engaged one Mastor, partly by threats and partly by intreaties, to promise to dispatch him; but Mastor, instead of obeying, consulted his own safety by flight; so that he, who was master of the lives of millions, was not able to dispose of his own. In this deplorable exigence he resolved on going to Baïæ, where the tortures of his disease increasing, they affected his understanding, so that he gave orders that several persons should be put to death; which Antoninus, according to his usual wisdom, never meant to obey. Continuing, for some time, in these excruciating circumstances, the emperor was at last resolved to observe no regimen, often saying, that kings died merely by the multitude of their physicians. This conduct served to hasten that death he seemed so ardently to desire, and it was probably joy upon

its approach, which dictated the celebrated stanzas, which are so well known, in repeating which he expired*.

In this manner died Adrian, in the sixty-second year of his age, after a prosperous reign of twenty-one years and eleven months. His private character seems to be a mixture of virtues and vices; but as a prince, perhaps, none of his predecessors showed more wisdom, or such laudable assiduity. He was the first emperor who reduced the laws of the empire into one standing code. Government received the greatest stability from his councils, and a tranquillity more lasting than could be expected from such fierce neighbours abroad, and such a degenerate race of citizens at home.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ANTONINUS PIUS, THE SIXTEENTH EMPEROR.

U.C. 891. **TITUS ANTONINUS**, whom Adrian had appointed as his successor, was born in the city of Nismes, in A.D. 138. Gaul. His father was a nobleman of an ancient family, that had enjoyed the highest honours of the state. At the time of his succeeding to the throne he was above fifty years old, and had passed through many of the most important offices of the state with great integrity and application. His virtues in private life were no way impaired by exaltation, as he showed himself one of the most excellent princes for

* *Animula vagula blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis;
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula rigida nudula,
Nec ut soles dabis jocos?*

Thus translated by Mr. Pope:—

Oh fleeting spirit, wandering fire,
That long hast warm'd my tender breast;
Wilt thou no more my frame inspire;
No more a pleasing, cheerful guest?
Whither, ah! whither art thou flying?
To what dark, undiscover'd shore?
Thou seem'st all trembling, shivering, dying,
And wit, and humour, are no more.

justice, clemency, and moderation. His morals were so pure, that he was usually compared to Numa, and was surnamed the Pious, both for his tenderness to his predecessor Adrian when dying, and his particular attachment to the religion of his country.

In the beginning of his reign he made it his particular study to promote only the most deserving to employments; he moderated many imposts and tributes, and commanded that all should be levied without partiality or oppression. His liberality was such, that he even parted with all his own private fortune, in relieving the distresses of the necessitous. Against which, when Faustina, the empress, seemed to remonstrate, he reprehended her folly, alleging, that as soon as he was possessed of the empire, he quitted all private interests; and having nothing of his own, all properly belonged to the public. He acted differently from his predecessors with regard to travelling, and seldom left Rome, saying, that he was unwilling to burthen his subjects with ostentatious and unnecessary expenses. By this frugal conduct he was the better enabled to suppress all the insurrections that happened during his reign, either in Britain, in Dacia, or in Germany. Thus he was at once revered and loved by mankind, being accounted rather a patron and a father to his subjects, than a master and commander. Ambassadors were sent to him from the remotest parts of Hyrcania, Bactria, and India, all offering him their alliance and friendship; some desiring him to appoint them a king, whom they seemed proud to obey. He showed not less paternal care towards the oppressed Christians; in whose favour he declared, that if any should proceed to disturb them, merely upon the account of their religion, that such should undergo the same punishment, which was intended against the accused.

This clemency was attended with no less affability than freedom; but at the same time he was upon his guard, that his indulgence to his friends should not tempt them into insolence or oppression. He therefore took care that his courtiers should not sell their favours, nor take any gratuity from their suitors. In the time of a great famine in Rome, he provided for the wants of the people, and maintained vast numbers with bread and wine all the time of its continuance. When any of his subjects attempted to inflame him with a passion for military

glory, he would answer, that he more desired the preservation of one subject, than the destruction of a thousand enemies.

He was an eminent rewarder of learned men, to whom he gave large pensions and great honours, drawing them from all parts of the world. Among the rest he sent for Apollonius, the famous Stoic philosopher, to instruct his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius, whom he had previously married to his daughter. Apollonius being arrived at Rome, the emperor desired his attendance; but the other arrogantly answered, that it was the scholar's duty to wait upon the master, and not the master's upon the scholar. To this reply, Antoninus only returned with a smile, "That it was surprising how Apollonius, who made no difficulty of coming from Greece to Rome, should think it so hard to walk from one part of Rome to another;" and immediately sent Marcus Aurelius to him. While the good emperor was thus employed in making mankind happy, in directing their conduct by his own example, or reproving their follies with the keenness of rebuke, he was seized with a violent fever at Lorium, a pleasure-house at some distance from Rome; where, finding himself sensibly decaying, he ordered his friends and principal officers to attend him. In their presence, he confirmed the adoption of Marcus Aurelius, without once naming Lælius Verus, who had been joined by Adrian with him in the succession; then commanding the golden statue of Fortune, which was always in the chamber of the emperors, to be removed to that of his successor, he expired, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, after a prosperous reign of twenty-two years and almost eight months.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

MARCUS AURELIUS, OTHERWISE CALLED ANTONINUS
THE PHILOSOPHER, THE SEVENTEENTH EMPEROR.

U.C. 914. THE death of Antoninus was universally lamented
A.D. 161. throughout the empire, and his funeral oration pronounced, as usual, by his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius; who, though left sole successor to the throne, took

Lucius Verus as his associate and equal in governing the state. Thus Rome, for the first time, saw itself governed by two sovereigns of equal power, but of very different merit and pretensions. Aurelius was the son of Annias Verus, of an ancient and illustrious family, which claimed its original from Numa. Lucius Verus was the son of Commedus, who had been adopted by Adrian, but died before he succeeded to the throne. Aurelius was as remarkable for his virtues and accomplishments, as his partner in the empire was for his ungovernable passions and debauched morals. The one was an example of the greatest goodness and wisdom; the other, of ignorance, sloth, and extravagance.

The two emperors had been scarce settled on the throne, when the empire seemed attacked on every side from the barbarous nations by which it was surrounded. The Catti invaded Germany and Rhetia, ravaging all with fire and sword: but were, after some time, repelled by Victorinus. The Britons likewise revolted, but were repressed by Calpurnius. But the Parthians, under their king Vologesus, made an irruption still more dreadful than either of the former; destroying the Roman legions in Armenia; then entering Syria, and driving out the Roman governor, and filling the whole country with terror and confusion. In order to stop the progress of this barbarous irruption, Verus himself went in person, being accompanied by Aurelius part of the way, who did all in his power, both by giving him advice and proper attendants, to correct or restrain his vices.

However, these precautions were fruitless: Verus soon grew weary of all restraint: he neglected every admonition: and, thoughtless of the urgency of his expedition, plunged himself into every kind of debauchery. These excesses brought on a violent fever on his journey, which his constitution was sufficiently strong to get over; but nothing could correct his vicious inclinations. Upon his entering Antioch, he resolved to give an indulgence to every appetite, without attending to the fatigues of war. There, in one of its suburbs, which was called Daphne, which, from the sweetness of the air, the beauty of its groves, the richness of its gardens, and the freshness of its fountains, seemed formed for pleasure, he rioted in excesses unknown even to the voluptuous Greeks; leaving all the glory of the field to his lieutenants, who were

sent to repress the enemy. These, however, fought with great success: Statius Priscus took Artasata; Martius put Vologesus to flight, took Seleucia, plundered and burnt Babylon and Ctesiphon, and demolished the magnificent palace of the kings of Parthia. In the course of four years, during which the war continued, the Romans entered far into the Parthian country, and entirely subdued it; but, upon their return, their army was wasted to less than half its former number by pestilence and famine. However, this was no impediment to the vanity of Verus, who resolved to enjoy the honours of a triumph, so hardly earned by others. Wherefore, having appointed a king over the Armenians, and finding the Parthians entirely subdued, he assumed the titles of Armenicus and Parthicus; and then returned to Rome, to partake of a triumph with Aurelius, which was accordingly solemnized with great pomp and splendour.

During the course of this expedition, which continued for some years, Aurelius was sedulously intent upon distributing justice and happiness to his subjects at home. He first applied himself to the regulation of public affairs, and to the correcting such faults as he found in the laws and policy of the state. In this endeavour he showed a singular respect for the senate, often permitting them to determine without appeal; so that the commonwealth seemed in a manner once more revived under his equitable administration. Besides, such was his application to business, that he often employed ten days together upon the same subject, maturely considering it on all sides, and seldom departing from the senate house till, night coming on, the assembly was dismissed by the consul. But while thus gloriously occupied, he was daily mortified with accounts of the enormities of his colleague, being repeatedly assured of his vanity, lewdness, and extravagance. However, feigning himself ignorant of these excesses, he judged marriage to be the best method of reclaiming him; and therefore sent him his daughter Lucilla, a woman of great beauty, whom Verus married at Antioch. But even this was found ineffectual: Lucilla proved of a disposition very unlike her father; and, instead of correcting her husband's extravagances, only contributed to inflame them. Yet Aurelius still hoped, that, upon the return of Verus to Rome, his presence would keep him in awe, and that happiness would at length be re-

stored to the state. But in this also he was disappointed. His return only seemed fatal to the empire; for his army carried back the plague from Parthia, and disseminated the infection into all the provinces through which it passed.

Nothing could exceed the miserable state of the empire shortly after the return of Verus. In this horrid picture was represented an emperor, unawed by example, or the calamities surrounding him, giving way to unheard-of debaucheries; a raging pestilence spreading terror and desolation through all the parts of the western world; earthquakes, famines, and inundations, such as had never before happened; the products of the earth, throughout all Italy, devoured by locusts; all the barbarous nations surrounding the empire, the Germans, the Sarmatians, the Quadi, and Marcomanni, taking advantage of its various calamities, and making their irruptions even into Italy itself; the priests doing all they could to put a stop to the miseries of the state, by attempting to appease the gods, vowing and offering numberless sacrifices, celebrating all the sacred rites that had ever been known in Rome, and exhibiting the solemnity called *Lectisternia* seven days together: to crown the whole, these enthusiasts, not satisfied with the impending calamities, making new, by ascribing the distresses of the state to the impieties of the Christians alone; so that a violent persecution was seen reigning in all parts of the empire; in which Justin Martyr, St. Polycarp bishop of Smyrna, and an infinite number of others, suffered martyrdom.

In this scene of universal tumult, desolation, and distress, there was nothing left but the virtues and the wisdom of one man alone to restore tranquillity, and bring back happiness to the empire. Aurelius began his endeavours by marching against the Marcomanni and Quadi, taking Verus with him, who reluctantly left the sensual delights of Rome for the fatigues of a camp. They came up with the Marcomanni near the city of Aquileia, and, after a furious engagement, routed their whole army; then, pursuing them across the Alps, overcame them in several contests, and at last, entirely defeating them, returned into Italy without any considerable loss. As the winter was far advanced, Verus was determined upon going from Aquileia to Rome, in which journey he was seized with an apoplexy,

U.C. 922.

A.D. 169.

which put an end to his life, being thirty-nine years old, having reigned in conjunction with Aurelius nine. Suspicion, which ever attends the fate of princes, did not fail to ascribe his death to different causes. Some say that he was poisoned by the empress Faustina, some by his own wife Lucilla, who was jealous of him for the passion he bore his sister Fabia; and others still were found to say, that Aurelius had a hand in it: but the number of these reports ought to destroy the credibility of any.

Aurelius, who had hitherto felt the fatigues of governing, not only an empire, but an emperor, being now left to himself, began to act with greater diligence and more vigour than ever. His first care was to marry his daughter Lucilla once more to Claudius Pompeianus, a man of moderate fortune and humble station, but eminent for his honesty, courage, and wisdom. He then left Rome to finish the war against the Marcomanni, who, joining with the Quadi, the Sarmatians, the Vandals, and other barbarous nations, renewed hostilities with unusual rage and devastation. They had some time before attacked Vindex, præfect of the prætorian bands, and in a general battle near the Danube destroyed no less than twenty thousand of his men. They even pursued the Romans as far as Aquileia, and would have taken the city, had not the emperor led his troops in person to oppose them. Aurelius, having repulsed the enemy, continued his endeavours to repress them from future inroads. He spent in this laborious undertaking no less than five years, harassing these barbarous nations, supporting the most dreadful fatigues, and supplying, by the excess of his courage, the defects of a delicate constitution. The Stoic philosophy, in which he was bred, had taught him simplicity of living, which served as an example to the whole army. The common soldier could not murmur at any hardships he was put upon, when he saw the emperor himself every hour undergoing greater austerities with cheerful resignation. By this conduct Aurelius so wearied out the enemy with repeated attacks, that he at last constrained them to accept of such terms of peace as he thought fit to impose, and thus returned in triumph to Rome.

Upon the emperor's return to Rome, he began his usual endeavours to benefit mankind by a farther reformation of the internal policy of the state. He ordered, that no inquiry

should be made after the fortune of deceased persons, who had been dead five years. He moderated the public expenses, and lessened the number of shows and sports, which were exhibited in the amphitheatre. He particularly took the poor under his protection: he found such pleasure in relieving their wants, that he considered his ability to supply the dictates of his compassion as one of the greatest happinesses of his life. He laboured incessantly to restrain the luxuries of the great, he prohibited the use of chariots and litters to persons of inferior station, and endeavoured by all means to correct the lewdness and disorders of women.

But his good endeavours were soon interrupted by a renewal of the former wars. The barbarians no sooner perceived his army withdrawn, than they took up arms once more, and renewed their ravages with greater fury than before. They had now drawn over to their side all the nations from Illyricum to the farthest parts of Gaul. Aurelius, therefore, again saw himself surrounded with difficulties; his army had before been wasted by the plague and frequent engagements, and his treasures entirely exhausted. In order to remedy these inconveniences, he increased his forces, by enlisting slaves, gladiators, and the banditti of Dalmatia.

To raise money, he sold all the moveables belonging to the empire, and all the rich furniture which had been deposited in the cabinets of Adrian. This sale, which continued for two months, produced so considerable a sum, as to defray all the expenses of the war. His next effort was to march forward, and cross the Danube by a bridge of boats. He then attacked the enemy, gained several advantages, burnt their houses and magazine of corn, and received the submissions of such as had inconsiderately joined in the invasion. The detail of his campaigns is but confusedly related by historians; one battle in particular is mentioned, which might have proved fatal, had not some most surprising incidents interposed. This engagement was begun by the enemy's slingers across a river, which induced the Romans to cross it, and make a great slaughter of those who attempted to defend its banks on the opposite side. The enemy, judging they should be pursued, retired, having previously left some bodies of archers, covered by a squadron of horse, to skirmish with the Romans, as if they designed to stop their progress. The Romans, with in-

considerate valour, attacking this forlorn hope, pursued them among a chain of barren mountains, where they found themselves unexpectedly blocked up on every side. However, they continued fighting, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the place; but the enemy prudently declined engaging, not willing to leave that victory to chance, which they expected from delay. At length, the excessive heat of the enclosed situation, the fatigues of long employment, together with a violent thirst, totally disheartened the Roman legions. They now found, that they could neither fight nor retreat; and that they must run upon certain danger, or become a prey to their barbarous enemies. In this deplorable exigence, while sorrow and despair were their only companions, Aurelius ran through their ranks, and in vain endeavoured to rekindle their hopes and their courage. Nothing was heard but groans and lamentations; nothing seen but marks of terror and desolation. At this dreadful juncture, and just as the barbarians were ready to fall upon them, we are assured, by some writers, that the solemn prayers of a Christian legion which was among them produced such a fall of rain, as instantly refreshed the fainting army. The soldiers were seen holding their mouths and their helmets up to heaven, and receiving the showers which came so wonderfully to their relief. The same clouds also, which served for their rescue, at the same time discharged such a terrible storm of hail, accompanied with thunder, against the enemy, as astonished and confounded them. By this unlooked-for aid, the Romans, recovering strength and courage, once more turned upon their pursuers, and cut them in pieces.

Such are the circumstances of an engagement, acknowledged by pagan as well as Christian writers, only with this difference, that the latter ascribe the victory to their own, the former to the prayers of their emperor. However this be, Aurelius seemed so sensible of miraculous assistance, that he immediately relaxed the persecution against the Christians, and wrote to the senate in favour of their religion. Notwithstanding this victory, the war continued for some months longer; but, after many violent conflicts, the barbarians sent to sue for peace. The emperor imposed conditions upon them, more or less severe, as he found them more or less disposed to revolt; being actually resolved to divide their terri-

tories into provinces, and subject them to the Roman empire. However, a fresh rebellion called him to the defence of his dominions at home.

Avidius Cassius was one of the emperor's most favourite generals, and had been chiefly instrumental in obtaining the Roman successes in Parthia. His principal merit seemed to consist in his restoring the old discipline, and in pretending a violent regard for the commonwealth in its ancient form: But, in fact, all his seeming regard for freedom was only to seize upon the liberties of his country for his own aggrandizement. Wherefore, finding his soldiers (for he was left with an army in the East) willing to support his pretensions, he proclaimed himself emperor in Syria. One of his chief artifices to procure popularity was, his giving out that he was descended from the famous Cassius, who had conspired against Cæsar; and, like him, he pretended, that his aims were for the re-establishment of the commonwealth of Rome. He also caused it to be rumoured, that Aurelius was dead, and he affected to show the greatest respect for his memory. By these pretences he united a large body of men under his command, and, in a short time, brought all the countries from Syria to mount Taurus under his subjection. These prosperous beginnings served to increase the emperor's activity, but not his apprehensions. He prepared to oppose him, without any marks of uneasiness for the event; telling his soldiers, that he could freely yield up his empire to Avidius, if it should be judged conducive to the public good; for, as to his own part, the only fruits he had from exaltation were incessant labour and fatigue. "I am ready," cried he, "to meet Avidius before the senate, and before you; and to yield him up the empire without the effusion of blood, or striking a blow, if it shall be thought good for the people. But Avidius will never submit to such a tribunal; he, who has been faithless to his benefactor, can never rely upon any man's professions. He will not even, in case of being worsted, rely upon me. And yet, my fellow-soldiers, my only fear is, and I speak it with the greatest sincerity, lest he should put an end to his own life; or lest some, thinking to do me a service, should hasten his death. The greatest hope that I have is to prove, that I can pardon the most outrageous offences; to make him my friend, even in spite of his reluctance; and to

show the world, that civil wars themselves can come to a happy issue." In the mean time, Avidius, who well knew that desperate undertakings must have a speedy execution, endeavoured to draw over Greece to his assistance; but the love, which all mankind bore the good emperor, frustrated his expectations; he was unable to bring over a single city to espouse his interests. This repulse seemed to turn the scale of his former fortunes. His officers and soldiers began now to regard him with contempt; so that they at last slew him, in less than four months after their first revolt. His head was brought to the emperor, who received it with regret, and ordered it an honourable interment. The rest of the conspirators were treated with great lenity; some few of them were banished, but recalled soon after. This clemency was admired by some, and condemned by others; but the emperor little regarded the murmurs or the applause of the multitude: guided only by the goodness of his own disposition, he did what to him seemed right; content and happy in self-approbation. When some took the liberty of blaming his conduct, telling him, that Avidius would not have been so generous had he been conqueror; the emperor replied in this sublime manner; "I never served the gods so ill, or reigned so irregularly, as to fear Avidius could ever be conqueror."

Though Avidius was no more, yet Aurelius was sensible that he had still some friends remaining, whom he was willing to win over. He therefore took a journey into the East, where, in all places, he at once charmed them with his affability, raised their admiration by his clemency, instructed them by precept, and improved them by his example. The better to prevent such revolts for the future, he ordained, that as Avidius was a native of the country in which he rebelled, no person, for the time to come, should command in the place where he was born. In this journey, the empress Faustina was unexpectedly seized with a violent distemper, and died. She was a woman, whose wanton life gave great scandal to the dignity of her station; however, her passive husband, either could not, or at least affected not, to see her enormities, but willingly admitted the ill-deserved honours, which the senate importunately decreed to her memory.

In his way to Rome, he visited Athens, where he conferred many honours on the inhabitants, and established professors in

all the sciences, with munificent salaries for their ease. Upon landing in Italy, he quitted his soldier's habit, as also did all his army; and made his entry into Rome in the gown which was worn in peace. As he had been absent almost eight years, he distributed to each citizen eight pieces of gold, and remitted all the debts due to the treasury for sixty years past. At the same time he nominated his son Commodus to succeed him in the empire, and made him a partner in his triumphal entry. He then retired for some time to a country-seat into the arms of philosophy, which delighted his mind, and guided his conduct: he usually called it his mother, in opposition to the court, which he considered as his step-mother. He also was frequently heard to say, "That the people were happy whose philosophers were kings, or whose kings were philosophers." He, in fact, was one of the most considerable men then in being; and though he had been born in the meanest station, his merits, as a writer, would have ensured him immortality. But it was not with him mere speculation, his practice was entirely guided by the principles of stoicism; so that his tranquillity was such, that he was never observed to feel any emotion, or to change countenance, either in joy or in sorrow. His chief masters were, Apollonius of Chalcis, and Sextus Cheronensis, grandson to the famous Plutarch; these shared his bounty, as likewise did all the learned men of his time. He had learned the art of so blending liberality with the most frugal economy, that he seemed rather the equitable guardian of another's wealth, than the possessor of his own. He was so sensible that few understood the art of giving, that he built a temple to the goddess who presided over benefits.

In this manner, having restored prosperity to his subjects and peace to mankind, he expected, in the decline of life, to rest from future toil. But it was his fortune to be ever employed. News was brought him, that the Scythians and barbarous nations of the north were again up in arms, and invading the empire with furious impetuosity. He now, therefore, once more resolved to expose his aged person in the defence of his country, and made speedy preparations to oppose them. He went to the senate, for the first time, and desired to have money out of the public treasury. Though it was in his power to take what sums he thought proper

without their consent, yet he openly declared, that emperors had no private property, not so much as the palace in which they dwelt. The people, whose love to the emperor daily increased, finding him making preparations to leave them, and resolving to expose himself in a dangerous war, assembled themselves before his palace, beseeching him not to depart till he had given them instructions for their future conduct; so that if the gods should take him to themselves, they might, by his assistance, continue in the same paths of virtue, into which he had led them by his example. This was a request which the great emperor was highly pleased in obeying; he spent three whole days in giving them short maxims, by which they might regulate their lives; and having finished his lectures, departed upon his expedition, amidst the prayers and lamentations of all his subjects. The particulars of these campaigns are not related by historians; we can only say, that he fought several bloody battles, where the victory was always owing to his prudence, courage, and example. He was constantly at the head of his men, and always in places the most exposed to danger. He built several forts, and so disposed his garrisons, as to keep all his barbarous neighbours in awe. It was upon going to open his third campaign, that he was seized with the plague at Vienna, which stopped the progress of his success. Nothing, however, could abate his desire of being beneficial to mankind; for, though his submission to the will of Providence made him meet the approaches of death with tranquillity, his fears for the youth and unpromising disposition of Commodus, his son and successor, seemed to give him great uneasiness, and aggravated the pains of nature. Struggling with this apprehension, and fluctuating between hope and fear, he addressed his friends and the principal officers that were gathered round his bed; telling them, that as his son was now going to lose a father, he hoped he should find many fathers in them; that they would direct his youth; and give him such instructions as would be to the public benefit as well as his own. "Make him more particularly sensible," continued the dying emperor, "that not all the riches and honours of this world are sufficient to satisfy the luxury and ambition of a tyrant; nor are the strongest guards and armies able to defend him from the just reward of his crimes. Assure him, that cruel princes never enjoy a long

and peaceful reign; and that all the real delights of power are reserved only for those, whose clemency and mildness have gained the hearts of their people. It must be yours to inform him, that obedience by constraint is never sincere; and that he, who would expect fidelity among mankind, must gain it from their affections, not their fears. Lay before him the difficulty, and yet the necessity, of setting bounds to his passions, as there are none set to his power. These are the truths to which he ought ever to attend; by steadily inculcating these, you will have the satisfaction of forming a good prince, and the pleasure of paying my memory the noblest of all services, since you will thus render it immortal." As he was speaking these last words, he was seized with a weakness which stopped his utterance, and which brought him to his end the day following. He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having reigned nineteen years and some days.

It seemed as if the whole glory and prosperity of the Roman empire died with Aurelius. From thence forward we are to behold a train of emperors either vicious or impotent, either wilfully guilty, or unable to assert the dignity of their station. We are to behold an empire, grown too great, sinking by its own weight, surrounded by barbarous and successful enemies without, and torn by ambitious and cruel factions within; the principles of the times wholly corrupted; philosophy attempting to regulate the minds of men without the aid of religion; and the warmth of patriotism entirely evaporated, by being diffused in too wide a circle. We shall still farther find the people becoming dull, as they grow impotent; their historians cool and spiritless in the most interesting narrations, and the convulsions of the greatest empire upon earth described in childish points, or languid prolixity.

CHAPTER XL.

COMMODUS, THE EIGHTEENTH EMPEROR.

THE merits of Aurelius procured Commodus an easy accession to the throne. He was acknowledged emperor, first by the army, then by the

U.C. 983.
A.D. 180.

senate and people, and shortly after by all the provinces. But though he owed the empire to the adoption of his supposed father, many were of opinion, that he was the spurious issue of a gladiator; his own conduct afterward, and the wanton character of his mother Faustina, having, perhaps, given rise to the report. He was about nineteen years of age when he entered upon the empire: his person was comely and robust; no man was more expert in all bodily exercises; he frequently fought with gladiators, and always came off victorious; he threw the javelin, and shot from the bow, with such wonderful address as almost exceeds credibility. He never missed hitting and killing the fleetest animals, though upon full speed, and this in any part of their bodies he thought fit. He killed, upon a certain occasion, a hundred lions let loose all at once upon the amphitheatre. He shot birds, flying in the air, with unerring aim; and cut off the heads of a hundred ostriches, in their most rapid motion, with his arrows headed in the shape of a half moon.

But it had been happy for himself and mankind, if he had cultivated the mental exercises with as much attention as those of the body. His whole reign is but a tissue of wantonness and folly, cruelty and injustice, rapacity and corruption. There is so strong a similitude between his conduct and that of Domitian, that a reader might be apt to imagine he was going over the same reign.

He was received, upon his entrance into Rome, with a transport of applause from the people, and, for some time, he showed himself worthy of their affection. But soon the levity of his temper, and the corrupt example of his favourite companions, turned him to the basest, meanest pursuits. He went with his associates to taverns and brothels; spent the day in feasting, and the night in the most abominable luxuries, having no less than three hundred females, and as many males, for detestable purposes. He committed incest, as Caligula did, with all his sisters. He sometimes went about the markets in a frolic, with small wares, as a petty chapman; sometimes he imitated a horse-courser; and, at other times, drove his own chariot in a slave's habit.

Those he chiefly promoted resembled himself, being the companions of his pleasures, or the ministers of his cruelty. He took little care of the government, committing all the

conduct of it to one Perennius, a person chiefly remarkable for his avarice and cruelty. In consequence of the enormities of this minister, a conspiracy was formed against Commodus in the beginning of his reign, in which his sister Lucilla, with her husband Pompeianus, were principally concerned. The person employed to kill the emperor was one Quintianus, who coming up to him in a dauntless manner, and holding up his dagger, cried out, "The senate sends thee this." But this unguarded manner of proceeding frustrated his aim: for one of the guards just then seizing his arm, prevented the fatal blow, and he soon after made a discovery of all his accomplices. Lucilla, Pompeianus, and Quintianus, were executed: many other persons, wholly innocent, shared the same fate. In this manner Perennius proceeded, sacrificing numbers of the senate, as pretended accomplices, but in reality with a view of seizing upon their estates and fortunes; so that being thus grown extremely rich, he began to think of gaining the empire for himself, and made some progress in the attempt; but his design becoming apparent, Commodus seemed to rouse from his lethargy, and ordered both him and his sons, who had been seen to draw the legions to revolt, to immediate execution.

Two conspiracies thus discovered and punished, only served to render the emperor still more cruel and suspicious, and these cruelties begot new revolts. One Maturnus, at the head of a numerous banditti, wasted Spain and Gaul, and resolved to attempt the empire itself. In order to effect this, upon a certain festival, he ordered some of his soldiers to mix with the emperor's guards, and then assassinate him. But his own party, in hopes of advantage, betrayed their employer, and he was executed with many others soon after. It was about this time also that Cleander, the emperor's chief favourite, fell a sacrifice to the indignation of the populace, for his haughty carriage towards them. Another favourite, whose name was Julian, was put to death by the emperor's command; and shortly after a third (for this vicious prince could not reign without a favourite), who was called Regilius, was executed in the same manner. To these succeeded the murder of his wife Crispina, and his father's cousin-german, Faustina, and numberless others, whose virtues, or fortunes, rendered them obnoxious to his capricious cruelty. If any

person desired to be revenged on an enemy, by bargaining with Commodus for a sum of money, he was permitted to destroy him in such manner as he thought proper. He commanded a person to be cast to the wild beasts, for reading the life of Caligula in Suetonius. He ordered another to be thrown in a burning furnace, for accidentally overheating his bath. He would sometimes, when he was in a good humour, cut off men's noses, under a pretence of shaving their beards; yet he was himself so jealous of all mankind, that he was obliged to be his own barber.

In the midst of these cruelties, his vanity never forsook him. Instead of being content with numberless titles, which his flattering senate were daily offering; he was rather willing to assume such as were most agreeable to himself. He, at one time, commanded himself to be styled Hercules, the son of Jupiter; and the better to imitate that hero, he carried a club, and dressed himself in a lion's skin. But to drive the imagination as far as possible, and that he might appear to destroy giants and monsters, as the former had done, he dressed up several poor men and cripples, who were found begging in the streets, like monsters, giving them sponges to throw at him instead of stones, till, falling furiously among them with his club, he destroyed them all. When tired of the Herculean habit, he assumed that of an Amazon. He, at last, became so abandoned as to forsake his palace, and live in a fencing school; and, satiated with all his former titles, he assumed the name of a famous gladiator.

During these deplorable irregularities, the barbarians on the frontiers of the empire were daily gaining ground; and though his lieutenants were successful against the Britons, the Moors, the Dacians, the Germans, and Pannonians, yet the empire was daily declining, since their numbers seemed to increase by defeat, so that neither treaties could bind, nor victories repel them. In the mean time, the emperor's actions were become so odious to all mankind, and so contemptible to the citizens of Rome, that his death was ardently desired by all. At length, upon the feast of Janus, resolving to fence naked before the people, as a common gladiator, three of his friends remonstrated to him upon the indecency of such a behaviour. These were Lætus, his general, Electus, his chamberlain, and Marcia, a concubine, of whom he always appeared excessively

found. Their advice was attended with no other effect than that of incensing him against them, and inciting him to resolve upon their destruction. It was his method, like that of Domitian, to set down the names of all such as he intended to put to death, in a roll which he carefully kept by him. However, at this time, happening to lay the roll on his bed, while he was bathing in another room, it was taken up by a little boy, whom he passionately loved. The child, after playing with it for some time, brought it to Marcia, who was instantly alarmed at the contents. She immediately discovered her terrors to Lætas and Electus, who, perceiving their dangerous situation, instantly resolved the tyrant's death. After some deliberation, it was agreed upon to dispatch him by poison. In consequence of this a draught, probably opium, was administered to him by the hands of Marcia, which beginning to operate, cast him into a heavy slumber. In order to conceal the fact, she immediately caused the company to retire, under a pretence of allowing him rest; but finding him awake soon after, and taken with a violent vomiting, she was greatly alarmed with fears of his recovery. In this exigence, consulting with the rest of the conspirators, she hastily introduced a young man, called Narcissus, and showing him his own name among the number of those whom Commodus had destined to destruction, she prevailed upon him to assist in dispatching the tyrant. He boldly undertook the dangerous task, so that the emperor was soon strangled by their united efforts. In this manner died Commodus, in the thirty-first year of his age, after an impious reign of twelve years and nine months; and, as if he gave the example, very few of his successors escaped a violent death.

CHAPTER XII.

PERTINAX, THE NINETEENTH EMPEROR.

THE secrecy and expedition with which Commodus was assassinated were such, that few were at that time acquainted with the real circumstances of his death. His body was wrapped up as a bale of useless furni-

U.C. 945.

A.D. 192.

ture, and carried through the guards, most of whom were either drunk or asleep.

Previous to the assassination, the conspirators had fixed upon a successor. This was Helvius Pertinax, whose virtues and courage rendered him worthy of the most exalted station, and who had passed through many changes of fortune. He was originally the son of an enfranchised slave, called *Ælius*, who only gave him so much learning as would qualify him for keeping a little shop in the city. He then became a school-master; he afterwards studied the law, and after that became a soldier: in the last station his behaviour was such as to raise him to the post of captain of a cohort against the Parthians. Being thus introduced to arms, he went through the usual gradations of military preferment in Britain and *Mæsia*, until he became the commander of a legion under *Aurelius*. In this station he performed such excellent services against the barbarians, that he was made consul, and successively governor of *Dacia*, *Syria*, and *Asia Minor*. In the reign of *Commodus* he was banished, and soon after recalled, and sent into Britain to reform the abuses of the army. In this employment his usual extraordinary fortune attended him: he was opposed by a sedition among the legions, and left for dead among many that were slain. However, he got over this danger, severely punished the mutineers, and established regularity and discipline among the troops he was sent to command. From thence he was removed into Africa, where the sedition of the soldiers had like to have been as fatal to him as in his former government. Removing from Africa, and fatigued with an active life, he betook himself to retirement; but *Commodus*, willing to keep him still in view, made him præfect of the city, which employment he filled when the conspirators fixed upon him as the properest person to succeed to the empire.

His being advanced by *Commodus* only served to increase his fears of falling as an object of his suspicions; when, therefore, the conspirators repaired to his house by night, he considered their arrival as a command from the emperor for his death. Upon *Lætus* entering his apartment, *Pertinax*, without any show of fear, cried out, that for many days he had expected to end his life in that manner, wondering that the emperor had deferred it so long. However, he was not a little surprised when informed of the real cause of their visit;

and being strongly urged to accept of the empire, he at last complied with their offer.

Being carried to the camp, Pertinax was proclaimed emperor, and soon after the citizens and senate consented; their joy at the election of their new sovereign being scarce equal to that for the death of their tyrant. They then pronounced Commodus a parricide; an enemy to the gods, his country, and all mankind, and commanded that his corpse should rot upon a dunghill. In the mean time they saluted Pertinax as emperor and Caesar, with numerous acclamations; and cheerfully took the oaths of obedience. The provinces soon after followed the example of Rome, so that he began his reign with universal satisfaction to the whole empire, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

Nothing could exceed the justice and wisdom of this monarch's reign the short time it continued. He punished all those who had served to corrupt the late emperor, and disposed of his ill-got possessions to public uses. He attempted to restrain the licentiousness of the prætorian bands, and put a stop to the injuries and insolences they committed against the people. He sold most of the buffoons and jesters of Commodus as slaves, particularly such as had obscene names. He continually frequented the senate as often as it sat, and never refused an audience even to the meanest of the people. His success in foreign affairs was equal to his internal policy. When the barbarous nations abroad had certain intelligence that he was emperor, they immediately laid down their arms, well knowing the opposition they were to expect from so experienced a commander. His great error was avarice; and that, in some measure, served to hasten his ruin.

The prætorian soldiers, whose manners he had attempted to reform, having been long corrupted by the indulgence and profusion of their former monarch, began to hate him for the parsimony and discipline he had introduced among them. They therefore resolved to dethrone him; and, for that purpose, declared Maternus, an ancient senator, emperor, and endeavoured to carry him to the camp to proclaim him. Maternus, however, was too just to the merits of Pertinax, and too faithful a subject to concur in their seditious designs; wherefore, escaping out of their hands, he fled; first to the

emperor, and then out of the city. They then nominated one Falco, another senator, whom the senate would have ordered for execution, had not Pertinax interposed; who declared, that during his reign no senator should suffer death.

The prætorian soldiers then resolved unanimously not to use any secret conspiracies or private contrivances, but boldly to seize upon the emperor and empire at once. They accordingly, in a tumultuous manner, marched through the streets of Rome, and entered the palace without opposition. Such was the terror of their approach, that the greatest part of the emperor's attendants forsook him; while those who remained earnestly entreated him to fly to the body of the people, and interest them in his defence. However, he rejected their advice; declaring, that it was unworthy his imperial dignity, and all his past actions, to save himself by flight. Having thus resolved to face the rebels, he had some hopes that his presence alone would terrify and confound them. But what could his former virtues, or the dignity of command, avail against a tumultuous rabble, nursed up in vice, and ministers of former tyranny? One Thraus, a Tungrian, struck him with his lance on the breast, crying out, "The soldiers send you this." Pertinax, finding all was over, covered his head with his robe, and sunk down, mangled with a multitude of wounds, which he received from various assassins. Electus, and some more of his attendants, who attempted to defend him, were also slain: his son and daughter only escaped, who happened to be lodged out of the palace. Thus, after a reign of three months, Pertinax fell a sacrifice to the licentious fury of the prætorian army. From the number of his adventures he was called the Tennis-ball of Fortune; and certainly no man ever experienced such a variety of situations, with so blameless a character.

CHAPTER XLII.

DIDIUS JULIAN, THE TWENTIETH EMPEROR.

U.C. 945. THE soldiers having committed this outrage, retired with great precipitation, and, getting out of the city to the rest of their companions, expeditiously for-

tified their camp, expecting to be attacked by the citizens. Two days having passed without any attempt of that kind, they became more insolent; and, willing to make use of the power of which they found themselves possessed, they made proclamation, "That they would sell the empire to whoever would purchase it at the highest price." In consequence of this proclamation, so odious and unjust in itself, only two bidders were found; namely, Sulpician and Didius; the former a consular person, præfect of the city, and son-in-law to the late emperor Pertinax; the latter a consular person likewise, a great lawyer, and the wealthiest man in the city. He was sitting with some friends at dinner when the proclamation was published; and being charmed with the prospect of unbounded power, immediately rose from the table, and hastened to the camp. Sulpician was got there before him; but as he had rather promises than treasure to bestow, the offers of Didius, who produced immense sums of ready money, prevailed. He was received into the camp by a ladder, and the soldiers instantly swore to obey him as emperor. From the camp he was attended by his new electors into the city; the whole body of his guards, which consisted of ten thousand men, were ranged around him in such order as if they had rather prepared for battle than a peaceable ceremony. The citizens, however, refused to confirm his election, but cursed him as he passed.

Upon being conducted to the senate-house, he addressed the few senators that were present in a very laconic speech. "Fathers, you want an emperor, and I am the fittest person you can choose." But even this, short as it seems, was unnecessary, since the senate had it not in their power to refuse their approbation. His speech being backed by the army, to whom he had given about a million of our money, succeeded; the choice of the soldiers was confirmed by the senate, and Didius was acknowledged emperor, now in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

It should seem by this weak monarch's conduct, when seated on the throne, that he thought the government of an empire rather a pleasure than a toil. Instead of attempting to gain the hearts of his subjects, he gave himself up to ease and inactivity, utterly regardless of the duties of his station. He was mild and gentle indeed, neither injuring any, nor expect-

ing to be injured. But that avarice, by which he became opulent, still followed him in his exaltation ; so that the very soldiers, who elected him, soon began to detest him for those qualities, so very opposite to a military character. The people also, against whose consent he was chosen, were not less his enemies. Whenever he issued from his palace, they openly poured forth their imprecations against him, crying out, " That he was a thief, and had stolen the empire." Didius however, in the true spirit of a trader, patiently bore all their reproach, sometimes beckoning to them, with smiles, to approach him, and testifying his regard by every kind of submission.

While Didius was thus contemptuously treated at home, two valiant generals in different parts of the empire disclaimed his authority, and boldly resolved to strike at the throne for themselves abroad. These were Pescennius Niger, governor of Syria ; and Septimius Severus, commander of the German legions. Niger was beloved by the people for his clemency and valour ; and the report of his proposing Pertinax for his model, and resolving to revenge his death, gained him universal esteem among the people. Being thus apprised of their inclinations, he easily induced his army in Syria to proclaim him emperor ; and his title was shortly after acknowledged by all the kings and potentates in Asia, who sent their ambassadors to him as their lawful prince. The pleasure of thus being treated as a monarch, in some measure retarded his endeavours to secure his title. Entirely satisfied with the homage of those about him, he neglected the opportunities of suppressing his rivals, and gave himself up to feasting and luxury at Antioch.

The conduct of Severus, an African by birth, was very different. Being proclaimed by his army, he began by promising to revenge the death of Pertinax, and took upon him his name. He next secured the fidelity of all the strong places in his province, and then resolved, with the utmost expedition, to march with his whole force directly to Rome.

In the mean time, Didius, who disregarded the attempts of Niger, was greatly alarmed at those of Severus. He first, with many solicitations, procured the senate to proclaim him a traitor. He then applied himself to make the necessary provisions to oppose him, in which he found nothing but disap-

pointment. The cohorts that elected him were enervated by vice and luxury ; the people detested his cause ; and the cities of Italy had long been disused to the arts of war. Some advised him to march forward, and meet Severus as he was crossing the Alps. Others were for sending the generals upon that expedition. The unfortunate Didius, unequal to the task of empire, and quite confounded with the multiplicity of counsels, could take no other resolution but that of awaiting his rival's coming at Rome. Accordingly, being informed of his approach, he obtained the consent of the senate to send him ambassadors, offering to make him a partner in the empire. But Severus rejected this offer, conscious of his own strength, and of the weakness of the proposer. The senate soon appeared of the same sentiments, and, perceiving the timidity and weakness of their present master, began to abandon him. They now began to allege, that he, who could not defend the empire, was not worthy to govern it. Didius vainly endeavoured to reduce them to their duty, first by entreaties, and then by threats, but these only served to hasten his destruction. The senate, being called together, as was formerly practised in the times of the commonwealth, by the consuls, they unanimously decreed, that Didius should be deprived of the empire, and that Severus should be proclaimed in his stead. They then commanded Didius to be slain, and sent messengers for this purpose to the palace, where they found him disarmed, and weeping among a few friends, that still adhered to his interest. When the executioners began to prepare for their fatal errand, he expostulated with them, demanding what crime he had committed. He could not be persuaded to think, that paying his money, and receiving an empire in exchange, deserved so severe a punishment. The executioners, however, were neither able nor willing to enter into the merits of the cause ; they presently led him into the secret baths of the palace, and, obliging him to stretch his neck forward, after the manner of condemned criminals, struck off his head, and placed it up in those courts where he had formerly pleaded with great success.

CHAPTER XLIII.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, THE TWENTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

U.C.948. **A.D.195.** THE senate, having thus dispatched Didius, sent ambassadors to Severus, yielding him obedience, granting him the ensigns and the usual titles of emperor, and informing him of the death of Didius. Severus, who was now about forty-seven years of age, received them with all proper respect, and, entertaining them honourably, continued his march towards Rome. As he came near the city, his first exertion of power was to have all the prætorian soldiers, who had lately sold the empire, come forth unarmed to meet him. These, though sensible of their danger, had no other resource left but compliance, and accordingly came forward, with branches of laurel, as to welcome his approach. Severus, however, soon showed how little their present submission could atone for their past offences: after upbraiding them, in a short speech, with all their crimes, he commanded them to be instantly stripped of their military habits, deprived of the name and honour of soldiers, and banished a hundred miles from Rome. He then entered the city in a military manner, took possession of the palace, and promised the senate to conduct himself with clemency and justice. However, though he united great vigour with the most refined policy, yet his African cunning was considered as a particular defect in him. He is celebrated for his wit, learning, and prudence, but equally blamed for perfidy and cruelty. In short, he seemed equally disposed to the performance of the greatest acts of virtue, and the most bloody severities. He began his command by seizing all the children of such as had employments or authority in the East, and detained them as pledges for the loyalty of their parents. He next supplied the city with corn, and then, with all possible expedition, marched against Niger, who was still considered and honoured as emperor of the East.

One of the chief obstacles to his march was the leaving be-

hind him Clodius Albinus, commander of the legions in Britain, whom he by all means endeavoured to secure to his interests. For this end he endeavoured to prevail upon him, by giving him hopes of succeeding to the empire; insinuating, that he himself was declining, and his children as yet but infants. To deceive him still farther, he wrote in the same style to the senate, gave him the title of Caesar, and ordered money to be coined with his image. These artifices serving to lull Albinus into false security, Severus marched against Niger with all his forces. After some undecisive conflicts, the last great battle that was fought between these two extraordinary men was upon the plains of Issus, on the very spot where Alexander had formerly conquered Darius. Beside the two great armies drawn up on the plain, the neighbouring mountains were covered with infinite numbers of people, who were merely led by curiosity to become spectators of an engagement, that was to determine the empire of the world. The fate of the battle was that which we have almost ever found between European and Asiatic troops of nearly equal numbers. Severus was conqueror; and Niger's head, being struck off by some soldiers of the conquering army, was insultingly carried through the camp on the point of a lance.

This victory secured Severus the possession of the throne. However, the Parthians, Persians, and some other neighbouring nations, took up arms, under a pretence of vindicating Niger's cause. The emperor marched against them in person, had many engagements with them, and obtained such signal victories over them as enlarged the empire, and established peace in the East.

Niger being no more, Severus now turned his views against Albinus, whom he resolved by every means to destroy. For this purpose he sent some assassins into Britain, under a pretence of bringing him letters, but in reality to dispatch him. Albinus, being apprised of their designs, prevented their attempt by recurring to open force, and proclaiming himself emperor. Nor was he without a powerful army to support his pretensions, of which Severus being sensible, he bent his whole force to oppose him. From the East he continued his course across the straits of Byzantium, into the most western parts of Europe, without intermission. Equally regardless of the most parching heats and the most rigorous colds, he led

his soldiers bareheaded over mountains covered with snow. Albinus, being informed of his approach, went over to meet him with his forces into Gaul, so that the campaign on both sides was carried on with great vigour. Fortune seemed for a while variable; but at last a decisive engagement came on, which was one of the most desperate recorded in the Roman history. It lasted from morning till night, without any seeming advantage on either side; at length the troops of Severus began to fly, and he himself happening to fall from his horse, the army of Albinus cried out victory. But the engagement was soon renewed with vigour by Læstus, one of Severus's commanders, who came up with a body of reserve, designing to destroy both parties, and make himself emperor. This attempt, though designed against both, turned out entirely to the advantage of Severus. He, therefore, again charged with such fury and exactness, that he soon plucked the victory from those who but a short time before seemed conquerors, and, pursuing them into the city of Lyons, took Albinus prisoner, and cut off his head, treating his dead body with insults, that could only flow from a mean and revengeful temper. All the senators, who were slain in battle, he ordered to be quartered, and such as were taken alive were immediately executed.

Having thus, by means of his army, secured himself in possession of the empire, upon his return to Rome he loaded his soldiers with rewards and honours, giving them such privileges as strengthened his own power, while they destroyed that of the state. For the soldiers, who had hitherto showed the strongest inclinations to an abuse of power, were now made arbiters of the fate of emperors; and we shall henceforward behold them setting them up and dethroning them at pleasure.

Being thus secure of his army, he resolved to give way to his natural turn for conquests, and to oppose his arms against the Parthians, who were then invading the frontiers of the empire. Having, therefore, previously given the government of domestic policy to one Plautian, a particular favourite, to whose daughter he married his son Caracalla, he set out for the East, and prosecuted the war with his usual expedition and success. He forced submission from the king of Armenia, destroyed several cities in Arabia Felix, landed on the Parthian coasts, took and plundered the famous city Ctesiphon,

marched back through Palestine and Egypt, and at length returned to Rome in triumph.

During this interval, Plautian, who was left to direct the affairs of Rome, began to think of aspiring to the empire himself. He had before been remarkably cruel to the Christians, and now he resolved to increase the number of his crimes by ingratitude and treason. Upon the emperor's return, he employed a tribune of the prætorian cohorts, of which he was the commander, to assassinate him, as likewise his son Caracalla. The tribune seemed cheerfully to undertake this dangerous office; but, instead of going through with it, informed Severus of his favourite's treachery. He at first received it as an improbable story, and as the artifice of one who envied his favourite's fortune. However, he was at last persuaded to permit the tribune to conduct Plautian to the emperor's apartments, to be a testimony against himself. With this intent, the tribune went and amused him with a pretended account of his killing the emperor and his son, desiring him, if he thought fit to see them dead, to go with him to the palace. As Plautian ardently desired their deaths, he readily gave credit to his relation, and, following the tribune, was conducted at midnight into the innermost recesses. But what must have been his disappointment, when, instead of finding the emperor lying dead, as he expected, he beheld the room lighted up with torches, and Severus, surrounded by his friends, prepared in array to receive him. Being asked by the emperor, with a stern countenance, what had brought him there at that unseasonable time, he was at first utterly confounded, and, not knowing what excuse to make, he ingenuously confessed the whole, entreating forgiveness for what he had intended. The emperor seemed in the beginning inclined to pardon; but Caracalla, his son, who from the earliest age showed a disposition to cruelty, spurned him away in the midst of his supplications, and with his sword ran him through the body.

Severus, having escaped this danger, spent a considerable time in visiting some cities in Italy, permitting none of his officers to sell places of trust or dignity, and distributing justice with the strictest impartiality. He took such an exact order in managing his exchequer, that, notwithstanding his great expenses, he left more money behind him than any of his pre-

decepsors. His armies, also, were kept upon the same respectable footing, so that he feared no invasion. Being equally attentive to the preservation of all parts of the empire, he resolved to make an expedition into Britain, where the Romans were in danger of being destroyed, or compelled to fly the province. Wherefore, after appointing his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, joint successors in the empire, and taking them with him, he landed in Britain, to the great terror of such as had drawn down his resentment. Upon his progress into the country he left his son Geta in the southern part of the province, which had continued in obedience, and marched, with his son Caracalla, against the Caledonians. In this expedition, his army suffered prodigious hardships in pursuing the enemy; they were obliged to hew their way through intricate forests, to drain extensive marshes, and form bridges over rapid rivers, so that he lost fifty thousand men by fatigue and sickness. However, he supported all these inconveniences with unrelenting bravery, and prosecuted his successes with such vigour, that he compelled the enemy to beg for peace, which they obtained, not without the surrender of a considerable part of their country, together with all their arms and military preparations. Thus giving peace to Britain, for its better security he built that famous wall which still goes by his name, extending from Solway Firth on the west to the German ocean on the east. It was eight feet broad and twelve feet high, planted with towers at a mile's distance from each other, and communicating by pipes of brass in the wall, which conveyed instructions from one garrison to another with incredible dispatch. Severus, having thus punished his enemies, retired to York, where, partly through age and fatigue, and partly through grief for the irreclaimable life of Caracalla, he found himself daily declining. To add to the distress of his situation, he was informed that the soldiers had revolted, and declared his son emperor. In this exigence, he seemed once more to recal his natural vigour; he got himself immediately into his litter, and commanded the new emperor, with the tribunes and centurions, to be brought before him. Though all were willing to court the favour of the young emperor, such was the authority of Severus, that none dared to disobey. They appeared before him confounded and trembling, and implored pardon upon their knees. Upon which, putting his

hand to his head, he cried out, "Know, that it is the head that governs, and not the feet." However, soon perceiving his disorder to increase, and knowing that he could not outlive it, he could not help observing in his agony, that though he had been all that a man could be, it was of no service to him at that painful hour. Then ordering his urn to be brought, wherein his ashes were to be enclosed, "Little urn," said he; "thou shalt now contain what the world could not contain." Then addressing his friends that stood near him, "When I took the empire upon me," said he; "I found it declining and exhausted: I now leave it strong and lasting to my sons, if they prove virtuous; but feeble and desperate, if otherwise." His pains now increasing, especially in his feet, he called for poison; which being refused him, he loaded his stomach with food, which not being able to digest, it soon brought him to his end, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, after an active, though cruel, reign of about eighteen years.

CHAPTER XLIV.

CARACALLA AND GETA, THE TWENTY-SECOND EMPERORS.

CARACALLA and Geta, being acknowledged as U.C.964.
emperors by the army, began to show a mutual A.D.211,
hatred to each other, even before their arrival at
Rome. Their only agreement was, in resolving to deify Se-
verus, their father; but, soon after, each sought to attach the
senate and army to his own particular interest. They were of
very opposite dispositions: Caracalla was fierce and cruel to
an extreme degree; Geta was mild and merciful; so that the
city soon found the dangerous effects of being governed by
two princes of equal power and contrary inclinations.

But this opposition was of no long continuance; for Caracalla, being resolved to govern alone, furiously entered Geta's apartment, and, followed by ruffians, slew him in his mother's arms. Having committed this detestable murder, he issued, with great haste, from the palace, crying out, that his brother would have slain him, and that he was obliged, in self-defence,

to retaliate the intended injury. He then took refuge among the prætorian cohorts, and, in a pathetic tone, began to implore their assistance, still making the same excuse for his conduct. To this he added a much more prevailing argument, promising to bestow upon them the largesses usually given upon the election of new emperors, and distributing among them almost all the treasures which had been amassed by his father. By such persuasives, the soldiers did not hesitate to proclaim him sole emperor, and to stigmatize the memory of his brother Geta as a traitor, and an enemy to the commonwealth. The senators were soon after induced, either through favour or fear, to approve what had been done by the army. Caracalla began to reign alone, wept for the death of his brother whom he had slain; and, to carry his hypocrisy to the utmost extreme, ordered him to be adored as a god.

Being now emperor, he went on to mark his course with blood. Whatever was done by Domitian or Nero, fell short of this monster's barbarities. Lætus, who first advised him to murder his brother, was the first who fell a sacrifice to his jealousy. His own wife, Plautina, followed. Papinian, the renowned civilian, was beheaded, for refusing to write in vindication of his cruelty; answering the emperor's request by observing, that it was much easier to commit a parricide than to defend it. He commanded all governors to be slain that his brother had appointed, and destroyed not less than two thousand persons who had adhered to his party. Whole nights were spent in the execution of his bloody decrees; and the dead bodies of people, of all ranks, were carried out of the city in carts, where they were burnt in heaps, without any of the ceremonies of a funeral. Upon a certain occasion, he ordered his soldiers to set upon a crowded audience in the theatre, only for discountenancing a charioteer whom he happened to favour. Perceiving himself hated by the people, he publicly said, that he could ensure his own safety, though not their love; so that he neither valued their reproaches nor feared their hatred.

This safety, which he so much built upon, was placed in the protection of his soldiers. He exhausted the treasury, drained the provinces, and committed a thousand acts of rapacity, merely to keep them steadfast in his interests; and being disposed to trust himself with them particularly, he resolved to

lead them upon a visit through all the provinces of the empire. He first went into Germany, where, to oblige the natives, he dressed himself in the habit of their country. From thence he travelled into Macedonia, where he pretended to be a great admirer of Alexander the Great; and, among other extravagances, caused a statue of that monarch to be made with two faces; one of which resembled Alexander, and the other himself. He was so corrupted by flattery, that he called himself Alexander; walked as he was told that monarch had walked, and, like him, bent his head to one shoulder. Shortly after, arriving at Lesser Asia and the ruins of Troy, as he was viewing the tomb of Achilles, he took it into his head to resemble that hero; and one of his freedmen happening to die at that time, he used the same ceremonies that were performed at the tomb of Patroclus. Passing from thence into Egypt, he cut off numbers at once, in the amphitheatre at Alexandria, only for having passed some jests upon his person and vices. The slaughter was so great, that the streams of blood, flowing down, discoloured the mouth of the river Nile.

Going from thence into Syria, he invited Artabanus, king of Parthia, to a conference, desiring his daughter in marriage, and promising him the most honourable protection. In consequence of this, that king met him on a spacious plain, unarmed, and only attended with a vast concourse of his nobles. This was what Caracalla desired. Regardless of his promise, or the law of nations, he instantly surrounded him with armed troops, let in wild beasts among his attendants, and made a most terrible slaughter among them, Artabanus himself escaping with the utmost difficulty. For this vile treachery, he obtained from the senate the surname of Parthicus.

Upon his return towards Rome, it would seem as if his vices were inexhaustible; for, having been guilty of parricide, he now resolved to marry the mother of Geta, whom he had slain. It happened that one day, seeing her drop her veil, which disclosed her naked bosom, which was extremely beautiful, he told her, that he would possess those charms he beheld, if it were lawful. To this unnatural request she hesitated not to answer, that he might enjoy all things, who possessed all. Whereupon, setting aside all duty and respect for his deceased father, he celebrated his nuptials with her in

public, totally disregarding the censures and the sarcasms of mankind.

However, though he disregarded shame, he was not insensible to fear. He was ever uneasy in the consciousness of being universally hated; and was continually consulting astrologers concerning what death he should die. Among others, he sent one of his confidants, named Maternianus, with orders to consult all the astrologers in the city concerning his end. Maternianus considered this as a proper time to get rid of Macrinus, the emperor's principal commander in Mesopotamia, a man who was daily supplanting him in his master's favour. He therefore informed him by letter, as if from the astrologers, that Macrinus had a design against his life; and they consequently advised him to put the conspirator to death. This letter was sent sealed, and made up, amongst many others, to be conveyed with the greater secrecy, and delivered to the emperor, as he was preparing for a chariot race. However, as it never was his custom to interrupt his pleasures for his business, he gave the packet to Macrinus to read over, and to inform him of the contents when more at leisure. In perusing these letters, when Macrinus came to that which regarded himself, he was unable to contain his surprise and terror. His first care was, to reserve the letter in question to himself, and to acquaint the emperor only with the substance of the rest. He then set about the most probable means of compassing his death, by which alone he could expect any safety. At length he determined to apply to one Martial, a man of great strength, and a centurion of the guards, who hated the emperor from various motives, particularly for the death of a brother, whom Caracalla had ordered to be slain. Him, therefore, Macrinus exhorted to revenge his brother's death, by killing the tyrant, which he might easily effect, as being always so near his person. Martial readily undertook the dangerous task, being willing to meet death himself, so he might obtain his desire of seeing the tyrant expire before him. Accordingly, as the emperor was riding out one day, near a little city called Carræ, he happened to withdraw himself privately, upon a natural occasion, with only one page to hold his horse. This was the opportunity Martial had so long and ardently desired; where-

fore, running to him hastily, as if he had been called, he stabbed the emperor in the back, so that he died immediately. Having performed this hardy attempt, Martial, unconcerned, returned to his troop; but retiring, by insensible degrees, he endeavoured to secure himself by flight. But his companions soon missing him, and the page giving information of what had been done, he was pursued by the German horse, and cut in pieces.

During the reign of this execrable tyrant, which continued six years, the empire was every day declining; the soldiers were entirely masters of every election; and as there were various armies in different parts, so there were as many interests, all opposite to each other. Caracalla, by satisfying their most unreasonable appetites, destroyed all discipline among them, and all subordination in the state. However, the constitution of Rome at present pretty much resembled that of ancient Rome; kings or governors were chosen at both times by the people: but in ancient Rome, those people were but occasionally soldiers; in the latter empire, they were soldiers by profession.

CHAPTER XLV.

OPPILLIUS MACRINUS, THE TWENTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

THE soldiers, now without an emperor, after a U.C. 970.
 suspense of two days, fixed upon Macrinus, who A.D. 217.
 took all possible methods to conceal his being
 privy to Caracalla's murder. The senate confirmed their
 choice shortly after; and likewise that of his son Diadumenus,
 whom he took as a partner in the empire. Macrinus was
 fifty-three years old when he entered upon the government of
 the empire. He was of obscure parentage; some say, by
 birth a Moor, who, by the mere rotation of office, being made
 first præfect of the prætorian bands, was now, by treason and
 accident, called to fill the throne. We are told but little of
 this emperor, except his engaging in a bloody though un-
 decided battle with Artabanus, king of Parthia, who came to
 take vengeance for the injury he had sustained in the late

reign:; however, this monarch, finding his real enemy dead, was content to make peace, and returned into Parthia. Something is also said of the severity of this emperor's discipline; for to such a pitch of licentiousness was the Roman army now arrived, that the most severe punishments were unable to restrain the soldiers; and yet the most gentle inflictions were looked upon as severity. It was this rigorous discipline, together with the artifices of *Massa*, grandmother to *Heliogabalus*, the natural son of *Caracalla*, that caused the emperor's ruin. *Heliogabalus* was priest of a temple dedicated to the sun, in *Emesa*, a city of *Phœnicia*; and, though but fourteen years old, was greatly loved by the army, for the beauty of his person, and the memory of his father, whom they still considered as their greatest benefactor. This was soon perceived by the grandmother, who, being very rich in gold and jewels, gave liberal presents among them, while they frequently repaired to her temple, both from the garrison in the city, and the camp of *Macrinus*. This intercourse growing every day more frequent, and the soldiers being disgusted with the severities of their present emperor *Macrinus*, they began to think of placing *Heliogabalus* in his stead. Accordingly, sending for him to their camp, he was immediately proclaimed; and such were the hopes of his virtues, that all men began to affect his interests.

Macrinus, who at this time was pursuing his pleasures at *Antioch*, gave but little attention to the first report, only sending his lieutenant *Julian*, with some legions, to quell the insurrection. However these, like the rest, soon declared for *Heliogabalus*, and slew their general. It was then that *Macrinus* found he had treated the rebellion too slightly; he therefore resolved, with his son, to march directly against the seditious legions, and force them to their duty. Both parties met on the confines of *Syria*; the battle was for some time furious and obstinate; but at last *Macrinus* was overthrown, and obliged to seek safety by flight. His principal aim was to get to *Rome*, where he knew his presence was desired; wherefore, he travelled through the provinces of *Asia Minor* with the utmost expedition and privacy, but unfortunately fell sick at the city of *Chalcedon*. There those, who were sent in pursuit, overtook, and put him to death, together with his son *Diadumenus*, after a short reign of one year and two months.

CHAPTER XLVI.

HELIOGABALUS, THE TWENTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

THE senate and citizens of Rome being obliged to submit to the appointment of the army, as usual, Helio-
gabalus ascended the throne, at the age of fourteen. One at so early an age, invested with unlimited power, and surrounded with flatterers, could be expected to act only as these thought proper to direct. This young emperor was entirely led by them; and being sensible, that it was in his power to indulge all his appetites, he studied only their gratification. As he is described by historians, he appears a monster of sensuality. But little better could be expected from an emperor of fourteen, let loose from every restraint. His short life, therefore, is but a tissue of effeminacy, lust, and extravagance. He married, in the small space of four years, six wives, and divorced them all. This was not the worst; he took upon himself the quality of a woman, and married one of his officers; after that, he took for husband one Hierocles, a slave, whom he suffered to beat him severely when he was guilty of any excess; all which he endured with great patience, saying, that a wife was obliged to submit to her husband. He built a temple to the Sun; and, willing that his god should have a wife as well as himself, he married him to Pallas, and, shortly after, to the Moon. His palace was a place of rendezvous for all the prostitutes of Rome, whom he frequently met naked, calling them his fellow-soldiers and companions in the field. He was so fond of the sex, that he carried his mother with him to the senate-house, and demanded that she should always be present when matters of importance were debated. He even went so far as to build a senate-house for women, with suitable orders, habits, and distinctions, of which his mother was made president. They met several times; all their debates turning upon the fashions of the day, and the different formalities to be used at giving and receiving visits. To these follies he added great cruelty and boundless prodigality; so

that he was heard to say, that such dishes as were cheaply obtained were scarce worth eating. His suppers, therefore, generally cost six thousand crowns, and often sixty thousand. He always dressed in cloth of gold and purple, enriched with precious stones, and yet never wore the same habit twice. His palace, his chambers, and his beds, were all furnished of the richest stuffs, covered with gold and jewels. Whenever he took horse, all the way between his apartment and the place of mounting was covered with gold and silver dust, strewn at his approach. In short, all his government, actions, dress, and furniture, testified the extravagant folly of a vicious boy. Thus he was seen at one time driving elephants yoked to his chariot: at another, mastiff dogs; at one time he was drawn by lions; at another, by four naked women. He was so extravagantly whimsical, that he caused a collection to be made of ten thousand pound weight of spiders, to be a testimony of the magnitude of the city. He would invite guests to supper in the same spirit of absurdity; thus he gave a feast to eight old men, eight bald men, eight blind men of one eye, eight lame with the gout, eight deaf men, eight blacks, and eight so fat that they could scarce sit at the same table. These were the tricks of a child, and might pass for harmless follies, had he not united malevolence with every entertainment. He was often seen to smother his guests in rooms filled with roses; and terrify them by letting loose wild beasts among them, previously deprived of their teeth and claws. It is even said, he strove to foretell what was to happen, by inspecting the entrails of young men sacrificed; and that he chose the most beautiful youths throughout Italy to be slain for that horrid purpose.

These excesses were soon perceived by his grandmother, Mæsa, whose intrigues had first raised him to the throne, so that she thought to lessen his power by dividing it. For this purpose, under a pretence of freeing him from the cares of public business, she persuaded him to adopt his cousin-german Alexander, as his successor; and likewise to make him his partner in the consulship. Heliogabulus, having thus raised his cousin, had scarce given him his power when he wished again to take it away; but the virtues of this young prince had so greatly endeared the people and the army to him, that the attempt had like to have been fatal to the tyrant himself.

The prætorian soldiers mutinying, attempted to kill him, as he was walking in his gardens; but he escaped, by hiding himself from their fury. However, upon returning to their camp, they continued the sedition, requiring that the emperor should remove such persons from about him as oppressed the subject, and contributed to contaminate him. They required also the being permitted to guard the young prince themselves; and that none of the emperor's favourites or familiars should ever be permitted to converse with him. Heliogabalus was reluctantly obliged to comply; and, conscious of the danger he was in, made preparations for death, when it should arrive, in a manner truly whimsical and peculiar. He built a lofty tower, with steps of gold and pearl, from whence to throw himself headlong in case of necessity. He also prepared cords of purple silk and gold to strangle himself with; he provided golden swords and daggers to stab himself with; and poison to be kept in boxes of emerald, in order to obtain what death he chose best. Thus, fearing all things, but particularly suspicious of the designs of the senate, he banished them all out of the city: he next attempted to poison Alexander, and spread a report of his death; but perceiving the soldiers begin to mutiny, he immediately took him in his chariot to the camp, where he only experienced a fresh mortification, by finding all the acclamations of the army directed to his successor. This not a little raised his indignation, and excited his desire of revenge. He returned towards the city, threatening the most severe punishment against those who had displeased him, and meditating fresh cruelties. However, the soldiers were unwilling to give him time to put his designs in execution; they followed him directly to his palace, pursued him from apartment to apartment, till at last he was found concealed in a privy; a situation very different from that in which he expected to die. Having dragged him from thence through the streets, with the most bitter invectives, and having dispatched him, they attempted once more to squeeze his pampered body into a privy; but not easily effecting this, they threw it into the Tiber, with heavy weights, that none might afterwards find or give it burial. This was the miserable and ignominious death of Heliogabalus, in the eighteenth year of his age, after a detestable reign of four years. His mother also was slain at the same time by the

soldiers; as well as many of the opprobrious associates of his criminal pleasures; having stakes drove up their bodies, that their deaths might be conformable to their lives.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ALEXANDER, THE TWENTY-FIFTH EMPEROR.

U.C. 975. **ALEXANDER** being, without opposition, declared emperor, the senate, with their usual adulation, **A.D. 222.** were for conferring new titles upon him; but he modestly declined them all, alleging, that titles were only then honourable when given to virtue, not to station. This outset was a happy omen of his future virtues; and few princes in history have been more commended by his contemporaries, or indeed more deserved commendation. To the most rigid justice he added the greatest humanity. He loved the good, and was a severe reprover of the lewd and infamous. His accomplishments were equal to his virtues. He was an excellent mathematician, geometrician, and musician; he was equally skilful in painting and sculpture; and, in poetry, few of his time could equal him. In short, such were his talents, and such the solidity of his judgment, that, though but sixteen years of age, he was considered as a wise old man.

The first part of his reign was spent in a reformation of the abuses of his predecessor. He restored the senators to their rank; nothing being undertaken without the most sage advisers and most mature deliberation. Among the number of his advisers was his mother Mammæa, a woman eminent for her virtues and accomplishments, and who made use of her power as well to secure her son the affections of his subjects, as to procure them the most just administration. Among his ministers of state, the principal were Ulpian, the celebrated lawyer; and Sabinus, the senator, who was called the Cato of his time. Merit only was the passport of his protection; he would never permit offices or places to be purchased for money; it being a frequent maxim with him, that he who bought an office must consequently be a seller of justice. "I cannot," he would say, "bear to see merchants in authority;

if I first allow them to be such, I cannot after condemn their conduct: for how could I punish the person who sold, when I permitted him to be a buyer?" He was, therefore, a rigid punisher of such magistrates as took bribes, saying, that it was not enough to deprive such of their places; for their trusts being great, their lives, in most cases, ought to pay for a breach of them. On the contrary, he thought he could never sufficiently reward such as had been remarkable for their justice and integrity, keeping a register of their names, and sometimes asking such of them as appeared modest and unwilling to approach him, why they were so backward in demanding their reward? and why they suffered him to be in their debt? In short, he was observed every day to have done some good; in which he had the advantage of Titus, by having a longer reign. His clemency extended even to the Christians, who had been punished in the former reigns with unrelenting barbarity. Upon a contest between them and a company of cooks and vintners, about a piece of public ground, which the one claimed as a place for public worship, and the other for exercising their respective trades, he decided the point by his rescript, in these words: "It is better that God be worshipped there in any manner, than that the place should be put to uses of drunkenness or debauchery."

His abilities in war were not inferior to his assiduity in peace. The empire, which, from the remissness and debauchery of the preceding reigns, now began to be attacked on every side, wanted a person of vigour and conduct to defend it. Alexander faced the enemy wherever the invasion was most formidable, and, for a short time, deferred its ruin. His first expedition, in the tenth year of his reign, was against the Parthians and Persians, whom he opposed with a powerful army. His regularity and discipline were things almost unknown among the debauched soldiery; his camp resembled a well-regulated city, his soldiers were well clothed and armed, and his cavalry properly mounted; so that his army now gave an idea of Rome in its splendour. His manner of living was like that of the meanest sentinel; whenever he dined or supped, he sat with his tent open, that all men might be witnesses of the frugality of his table. Success against the enemy was the reward of so much military virtue. The Persians were routed in a decisive engagement, with great slaughter;

the cities of Otesiphon and Babylon were once more taken, and the Roman empire restored to its former limits. Upon his return to Antioch, his mother, Mammæa, sent for the famous Origen, to be instructed by him in the principles of Christianity; and, after discoursing with him for some time upon the subject, dismissed him, with a proper safeguard, to his native city of Alexandria. About the same time that Alexander was victorious in the East, Furus Celsus, his general, obtained a signal victory over the Mauritanians, in Africa; Varius Macrinus was successful in Germany; and Junius Palmatus returned with conquest from Armenia. However, the number of these victories only hastened the decline of the empire, which was wasted by the exertion of its own strength, and was now becoming little more than a splendid ruin.

About the thirteenth year of his reign, the Upper Germans, and other northern nations, began to pour down immense swarms of people upon the more southern parts of the empire. They passed the Rhine and the Danube with such fury, that all Italy was thrown into the most extreme consternation. The emperor, ever ready to expose his person for the safety of his people, made what levies he could, and went in person to stem the torrent, which he speedily effected. It was in the course of his successes against the enemy that he was cut off by a mutiny among his own soldiers. The legions encamped about Moguntia, having been abominably corrupted during the reign of Heliogabalus, and trained up in all kinds of rapine and disobedience, required the most strict command. Alexander could neither endure their tumultuary obedience, nor they his regular discipline. His own faults, and these of his mother Mammæa, were objected against him. They openly exclaimed, that they were governed by an avaricious woman and a mean-spirited boy, and resolved upon electing an emperor, capable of ruling alone. In this general revolt, Maximin, an old and experienced commander, held frequent conferences with the soldiers, and inflamed the sedition. At length, being determined to dispatch their present emperor, they sent an executioner into his tent, who immediately struck off his head; and, shortly after, that of his mother. He died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a prosperous reign of thirteen years and nine days; his death proving, that neither

virtue nor justice can guard us against the misfortunes of this life, and that good men are to expect their reward in a place of more equitable distribution.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

MAXIMIN, THE TWENTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

THE tumults occasioned by the death of Alex- U.C.988:
ander being appeased, Maximin, who had been A.D.235.
the chief promoter of the sedition, was chosen emperor. This extraordinary man, whose character deserves particular attention, was born of very obscure parentage; being the son of a poor herdsman of Thrace. In the beginning he followed his father's humble profession, and only exercised his personal courage against the robbers who infested that part of the country in which he lived. Soon after, his ambition increasing, he left his poor employment, and enlisted in the Roman army, where he soon became remarkable for his great strength, discipline, and courage. This gigantic man was no less than eight feet and a half high; he had a body and strength corresponding to his size, being not less remarkable for the magnitude than the symmetry of his person. His wife's bracelet usually served him for a thumb-ring; and his strength was so great, that he was able to draw a carriage which two oxen could not move. He could strike out a horse's teeth with a blow of his fist; and break its thigh with a kick. His diet was as extraordinary as the rest of his endowments; he generally eat forty pounds weight of flesh every day, and drank six gallons of wine, without committing any debauch in either. With a frame so athletic, he was possessed of a mind undaunted in danger, and neither fearing or regarding any man. The first time he was made known was to the emperor Severus, who was then celebrating games on the birth-day of his son Geta. Maximin was at that time a rude countryman, and requested the emperor to be permitted to contend for the prizes which were distributed to the best runners, wrestlers, and boxers of the army. Severus, unwilling to infringe the military discipline, would not permit

him at first, as he was a Thracian peasant, to combat, except with slaves, against whom his strength appeared astonishing. He overcame sixteen in running, one after the other; he then kept up with the emperor on horseback; and having fatigued him in the course, he was opposed to seven of the most active soldiers, and overcame them with the greatest ease. From that time he was particularly noticed, and taken into the emperor's body guard, in which his assiduity and prompt obedience were particularly remarkable. In the reign of Caracalla he was made a centurion, and distinguished himself, in that station, by his strict attention to the morals and discipline of those he commanded. When made a tribune, he still retained the hardy simplicity of his life; ate as the meanest sentinel; spent whole days in exercising the troops; and would now and then himself wrestle with eight or ten of the strongest men in the army, whom he threw with scarce any effort. Being thus become one of the most remarkable men in the empire, both for courage, discipline, and personal activity, he gave, shortly after, a very high instance of his unshaken fidelity: for when Maximus was made emperor, he refused to serve under a prince that had betrayed his sovereign; and retired to Thrace, his native country, where he followed commerce, and purchased some lands, content with privacy rather than a guilty dependence. Upon the accession of Heliogabalus to the throne, this bold veteran once more returned to the army, but was, in the very beginning, disgusted at the base effeminacy of the emperor; who, hearing amazing instances of his strength, asked him if he were equally capable in combats of another nature. This low demand was so little suitable to the temper of Maximin, that he instantly left the court. Upon the death of Heliogabalus, he again returned to Rome, and was received with great kindness by Alexander, who particularly recommended him to the senate, and made him commander of the fourth legion, which consisted of new-raised soldiers. Maximin gladly accepted of this charge, and performed his duty with great exactness and success, setting an example of virtue and discipline to all the commanders of the army. Nor was his valour less apparent against the Germans, whither he was sent with his legion; so that he was unanimously considered as the boldest, bravest, most valiant, and most virtuous soldier in the whole empire. He soon,

however, forfeited all these justly-merited titles when he was raised to the throne; and, from being the most loved commander in the army, he became the most cruel tyrant upon earth. The change in his disposition may readily serve to show how dangerous a thing is power, that could transform a person with so many rigid virtues into such a monster of iniquity. Yet, in fact, his former virtues were all of the severe and rigid kind; which, without any education, might very easily degenerate into tyranny; so that he might have mistaken his succeeding cruelty for discipline, and his severity for justice. However this be, Maximin is considered as one of the greatest monsters of cruelty that ever disgraced power; and, fearful of nothing himself, he seemed to sport with the terrors of all mankind.

Maximin, seeing himself advanced to so high a station as the empire, began immediately by endeavouring to force obedience from every rank of people, and by vindicating his authority by violence. The senate and the people of Rome were the first that incurred his resentment. They utterly refusing to confirm the election of the army, he was the first emperor who reigned without their concurrence or approbation. However, he seemed regardless of their opposition, proceeding to secure his election by putting all such to death as had been raised by his predecessor. The Christians also, having found favour in the former reign, felt the weight of his resentment, and were persecuted in several parts of the empire, particularly in those where he himself resided. His cruelty likewise extended to the rich, whose lives and estates became a frequent sacrifice to avarice and suspicion. But what appears a still more extraordinary instance of his cruelty, being ashamed of the meanness of his extraction, he commanded all such as were best acquainted with him and his parentage to be slain, although there were some among the number, that had relieved him in his low condition.

However, his cruelties did not retard his military operations, which were carried on with a spirit becoming a better monarch. He overthrew the Germans in several battles, wasted all their country with fire and sword for four hundred miles together, and set a resolution of subduing all the northern nations as far as the ocean. In these expeditions, in order to attach the soldiers more firmly to him, he increased their pay; and in

every duty of the camp he himself took as much pains as the meanest sentinel in his army, showing incredible courage and assiduity. In every engagement, wherever the conflict was hottest, Maximin was always seen fighting there in person, and destroying all before him: for, being bred a barbarian, he considered it his duty to combat as a common soldier, while he commanded as a general.

In the mean time, his cruelties had so alienated the minds of his subjects, that several conspiracies were secretly aimed against him. Magnus, a consular person, and some others, had plotted to break down a wooden bridge, as soon as the emperor had passed it, and to abandon him to the enemy. But this being discovered, gave Maximin an opportunity of indulging his natural severity, upon this pretext alone causing above four thousand to be slain. Shortly after, some of Alexander's old soldiers withdrawing themselves from the camp, proclaimed one Quarcianus as emperor, who had been lately disgusted at Maximin for being dismissed from employment. The soldiers, in fact, constrained him to accept of the dangerous superiority to which he was exposed; and shortly after, in the spirit of the times, the person who had been the promoter of his advancement murdered him in his bed, and carried his head to Maximin, who received him kindly at first, but soon put him to a cruel death, for his complicated guilt of treason and treachery.

These partial insurrections were soon after followed by a spirit of general discontent throughout all the empire. The provinces of Africa were the first that showed their detestation of the tyrant, whose extortions and cruelties among them were become insupportable. They first slew his procurator, and afterwards, considering how dangerous a crime they had committed, they resolved to throw off all expectations of pardon, and create a new emperor. Gordian was then proconsul of Africa, a person of great fame for his virtues, and greatly revered for a blameless life of near eighty. Him, therefore, they determined to elect; and accordingly the soldiers and natives assembling together, tumultuously entering his house, resolved to put their design in execution. Gordian, who, at first, supposed they were come to kill him, being made sensible of their intentions, utterly refused their offer, alleging his extreme age, and Maximin's power. But all his opposition

was vain; they constrained him to accept of the proffered dignity; and he, with his son Gordian, who was forty-six years of age, were declared emperors. Being thus raised, contrary to his inclinations, the old man immediately wrote to the senate, declaring that he had unwillingly accept of the empire, and would only keep his authority till he had freed it from the tyranny of its present oppressor. The senate very joyfully confirmed his election, adjudging Maximin as an enemy and a traitor to the state. The citizens also showed an equal zeal in the cause; they flew upon such as were the reputed friends of Maximin, and tore them in pieces; even some who were innocent falling a sacrifice to the multitude's blind rage. So great an alteration being made in the city against the interests of Maximin, the senate were resolved to drive their opposition to the extreme, and accordingly made all necessary preparations for their security, ordering Maximin's governors to be displaced, and commanding all the provinces to acknowledge Gordian for emperor. This order was differently received in different parts, as people were affected to one or the other party: in some provinces the governors were slain; in others, the messengers of the senate; so that all parts of the empire felt the consequences of the civil war.

In the mean time, when Maximin was informed of these charges against him, his rage appeared ungovernable. He roared like a savage beast, and violently struck his head against the wall, showing every instance of ungovernable distraction. At length, his fury being somewhat subdued, he called his whole army together; and, in a set speech, exhorted them to revenge his cause, giving them the strongest assurances, that they should possess the estates of all such as had offended. The soldiers unanimously promised to be faithful; they received his harangue with their usual acclamation; and, thus encouraged, he led them towards Rome, breathing nothing but slaughter and revenge. However, he found many obstacles to his impetuosity; and, though he desired nothing so much as dispatch, his marches were incommodious and slow. The tumultuous and disobedient armies of the empire were at present very different from the legions that were led on by a Sylla or a Cæsar; they were loaded with baggage, and followed by slaves and women, rather resembling an eastern caravan than a military battalion. To these inconveniences

also was added the hatred of the cities through which he passed, the inhabitants all abandoning their houses upon his approach, and securing their provisions in proper hiding places. However, in this complication of inconveniences and misfortunes, his affairs began to wear a favourable appearance in Africa; for Capeianus, the governor of Numidia, raised a body of troops in his favour, and marched against Gordian towards Carthage, where he fought the younger Gordian, slew him, and destroyed his army. His father hearing of the death of his son, together with the loss of the battle, strangled himself in his own girdle. Capeianus pursuing his victory, entered Carthage, where he gave a loose to pillage and slaughter, under a pretence of revenging the cause of Maximin. The news of these successes was soon brought to the emperor, who now increased his diligence, and flattered himself with a speedy opportunity of revenge. He led on his large army by hasty journies into Italy, threatening destruction to all his opposers, and ardently wishing for fresh opportunities of slaughter.

Nothing could exceed the consternation of the senate upon the news of this defeat. They now saw themselves not only deprived of the assistance of Gordian and his son, on whom they greatly relied, but also opposed by two formidable tyrants, each commanding a victorious army, directly marching towards Rome, and meditating nothing but vengeance. In this afflicting exigence, they, with great solemnity, met at the temple of Jupiter, and after the most mature deliberation chose Pupienus and Balbinus emperors conjointly. These were men, who had acquired the esteem of the public both in war and peace, having commanded armies and governed provinces with great reputation; and being now appointed to oppose Maximin, they made what levies they could, both in Rome and the country. With these, Pupienus marched to stop the progress of the invaders, leaving the city to a fresh and unlooked-for calamity. This was occasioned by two of Maximin's soldiers, who, entering the senate-house, were slain by two senators. The death of these men quickly gave offence to the body of the prætorian soldiers, who instantly resolved to take revenge, but were opposed by the citizens; so that nothing was seen throughout Rome, but tumult, slaughter, and cruelty. In this universal confusion, the ca-

larity was increased by the soldiers setting the city on fire, while the wretched inhabitants were combating each other in the midst of the flames.

Nevertheless, Maximin himself, in whose favour these seditions were promoted, did not seem to be more fortunate. Upon being informed of the new election of emperors, his fury was again renewed, and he passed the Alps, entering Italy, expecting to refresh his fatigued and famished army in that fertile part of the country. But in this he was entirely disappointed; the senate had taken such care to remove all kinds of sustenance to fortified places, that he still found himself reduced to his former necessities, while his army began to murmur for want. To this, another disappointment was added shortly after: for approaching the city of Aquileia, which he expected to enter without any difficulty, he was astonished to find it prepared for the most obstinate resistance, and resolved to hold out a regular siege. This city was well fortified and populous, and the inhabitants greatly averse to Maximin's government; but what added still more to its strength, it was commanded by two excellent generals, Crispinus and Menophilus, who had so well furnished it with men and ammunition, that Maximin found no small resistance even in investing the place. His first attempt was, to take the city by storm: but the besiegers threw down such quantities of scalding pitch and sulphur upon his soldiers, that they were unable to continue the assault. He then determined upon a blockade; but the inhabitants were so resolute, that even the old men and children were seen combating upon the walls, while the women cut off their hair, to furnish the soldiers with bow-strings. Maximin's rage, at this unexpected opposition, was now unmanageable; having no enemy to wreak his resentment upon, he turned it against his own commanders. He put many of his generals to death, as if the city had held out through their neglect or incapacity, while famine made great depredations upon the rest of his army. Nothing now appeared on either side to terminate the contest, except the total destruction of either. But a mutiny in Maximin's own army while rescued the declining empire from destruction, and saved the lives of thousands. The soldiers being long harassed by famine and fatigue, and hearing of revolts on every side, resolved to terminate their calamities by the ty-

rant's death. His great strength, and his being always armed, were, at first, the principal motives to deter any from assassinating him; but at length, having made his guards accomplices in their design, they set upon him while he slept at noon in his tent, and slew both him and his son, whom he had made his partner in the empire, without any opposition. Thus died this most remarkable man, after an usurpation of about three years, and in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His assiduity when in an humble station, and his cruelty when in power, serve very well to evince, that there are some men, whose virtues are fitted for obscurity; as there are others, who only show themselves great when placed in an exalted station.

CHAPTER XLIX.

PUPIENUS AND BALBINUS, MAKING TOGETHER THE TWENTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

U.C. 991. THE tyrant being dead, and his body thrown to dogs and birds of prey, Pupienus and Balbinus A.D. 238. continued for some time emperors without opposition. But the prætorian soldiers, who had long been notorious for mutiny and treason, soon resolved on farther change. Nor did the dimensions between the new-made emperors themselves a little contribute to their downfall; for though both were remarkable for wisdom and age, yet they could not restrain the mutual jealousy of each other's power. Pupienus claimed the superiority from his great experience; while Balbinus was equally aspiring upon account of his family and fortune.

In this ill-judged contest, the prætorian soldiers, who were the enemies of both, set upon them in their palace, at a time when their guards were amused with seeing the Capitoline games. Pupienus perceiving their tumultuous approach, sent, with the utmost speed, for assistance from his colleague; but he, out of a culpable suspicion that something was designed against himself, refused to send such of the German guards as were next his person. Thus the seditious soldiers found

an easy access to both the emperors' apartments, and, dragging them from the palace towards the camp, slew them both, leaving their dead bodies in the streets, as a dreadful instance of their sedition.

CHAPTER L.

GORDIAN, THE TWENTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

IN the midst of this sedition, as the mutineers were proceeding alone, they, by accident, met Gordian, the grandson of him who was slain in Africa, and declared him emperor on the spot. The senate and people had long been reduced to the necessity of suffering their emperors to be nominated by the army; so that all they could do, in the present instance, was to confirm their choice. This prince was but sixteen years old when he began his reign; but his virtues seemed to compensate for his want of experience. His principal aims were, to unite the opposing members of the government, and to reconcile the soldiers and citizens to each other. His learning is said to have been equal to his virtues; and we are assured that he had sixty-two thousand books in his library. His respect for Minthaus, his governor and instructor, was such, that he married his daughter, and profited by his counsels in all the critical circumstances of his reign. U.C. 991. A.D. 238.

The first four years of this emperor's reign were attended with the utmost prosperity; but in the fifth he was alarmed with accounts from the East, that Sapor, king of Persia, had furiously invaded the confines of the Roman empire, and, having taken Antioch, had pillaged Syria and all the adjacent provinces. Besides the Persians, the Goths also invaded the empire on their side, pouring down like an inundation from the north, and attempting to fix their residence in the kingdom of Thrace. To oppose both these invasions, Gordian prepared an army; and having gained some victories over the Goths, whom he obliged to retire, he turned his arms against the Persians, whom he defeated upon several occasions, and forced to return home with disgrace. In gaining these ad-

advantages, Minithacus, whom he had made prætorian præfect, had the principal share; his wisdom directed to success, and his courage ensured it. But he dying soon after (as it is supposed, being poisoned by Philip, an Arabian, who was appointed his successor), the fortunes of Gordian seemed to die with him. The army began to be no longer supplied with provisions as usual; murmurs were heard to prevail, and these were artfully fomented by Philip. Things thus proceeding from bad to worse, Philip was, at first, made equal in the command of the empire; shortly after, he was invested with the sole power; and at length, finding himself capable of perpetrating his long-meditated cruelty, Gordian was by his order slain, in the twenty-second year of his age, after a successful reign of near six years.

CHAPTER LI.

PHILIP, THE TWENTY-NINTH EMPEROR.

U.C. 996. PHILIP, having thus murdered his benefactor, was so fortunate as to be immediately acknowledged emperor by the army. The senate also, though they seemed at first to oppose his power, confirmed his election, and gave him, as usual, the title of Augustus. He was about forty years old when he came to the throne, being the son of an obscure Arabian, who had been captain of a band of robbers. Upon his exaltation he associated his son, a boy of six years of age, as his partner in the empire; and, in order to secure his power at home, made peace with the Persians, and marched his army towards Rome. On his way, having conceived a desire to visit his native country of Arabia, he built there a city called Philopolis; and from thence returning to Rome, he was received as emperor, and treated with all the marks of submission, though not of joy. Perhaps it was to put the people into good humour, that he caused the secular games to be celebrated with a magnificence superior to any of his predecessors, it being just a thousand years from the building of the city. Upon occasion of these games, we are told, that both Philip and his son were converted to

Christianity. However this be, a murderer and an ungrateful usurper does no great honour to whatever opinion he may happen to embrace. We have little account of the latter part of his reign in the wretched and mutilated histories of the times; we only learn, that the Goths renewing their invasions, Marinus, Philip's lieutenant, who was sent against them, revolted, and caused himself to be declared emperor. This revolt, however, was but of short duration; for the army, which had raised him, repenting of their rashness, deposed him with equal levity, and put him to death. Decius was the person whom Philip appointed to command in the room of the revolting general. The chief merit of Decius with the emperor was, that when Marinus had rebelled, he averred in the senate, that the traitor's presumption would be very shortly his ruin; which when it happened accordingly, Philip appointed him to succeed in the command of the rebellious army. Decius, who was a man of great subtlety, being thus entrusted with so much power, upon arriving at the army, found that the soldiers were resolved to invest him with the supreme authority. He, therefore, seemed to suffer their importunities as if through constraint; and, in the mean time, sent Philip word, that he had unwillingly assumed the title of emperor, the better to secure it to the rightful possessor; adding, that he only looked for a convenient opportunity of giving up his pretensions and title together. Philip, however, knew mankind too well to rely upon such professions; he, therefore, got together what forces he could, from the several provinces, and led them forward towards the confines of Italy. However, the army was scarce arrived at Verona, when it revolted in favour of Decius, and setting violently upon Philip, one of the sentinels at a blow cut off his head; or rather cleaved it asunder, separating the under jaw from the upper.

Such was the deserved death of Philip, in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of about five years; Decius being universally acknowledged as his successor.

CHAPTER LII.

DECIUS, THE THIRTIETH EMPEROR.

U.C. 1001. **A. D. 248.** THE activity and wisdom of Decius seemed in some measure to stop the hastening decline of the Roman empire. The senate seemed to think so highly of his merits, that they voted him not inferior to Trajan; and indeed he seemed, in every instance, to consult their dignity in particular, and the welfare of all the inferior ranks of people. He, among other concessions, permitted them to choose a censor, as was the custom in the flourishing times of Rome; and Valerian, his general, a man of such strict morals that his life was said to be a continual censorship, was chosen to that dignity.

But no virtues could now prevent the approaching downfall of the state; the obstinate disputes between the Pagans and the Christians within the empire, and the unceasing irruptions of barbarous nations from without, enfeebled it beyond the power of a remedy. To stop these, a persecution of the Christians, who were now grown the most numerous body of the people, was impolitely, not to say unjustly, begun; in which thousands were put to death, and all the arts of crafty tried in vain to lessen their growing numbers.

This persecution was succeeded by dreadful devastations from the Goths, particularly in Thrace and Mysia, where they had been most successful. These irruptions Decius went to oppose in person, and, coming to an engagement with them, slew thirty thousand of these barbarians in one battle. However, being resolved to pursue his victory, he was, by the treachery of Gallus, his own general, led into a defile, where the king of the Goths had secret information to attack him. In this disadvantageous situation, Decius first saw his son killed with an arrow, and soon after his whole army totally put to the rout. Wherefore, resolving not to survive the loss, he put spurs to his horse, and instantly plunging into a quagmire, was swallowed up, and his body could never after be found. He died in the fiftieth year of his age, after a short

reign of two years and six months, leaving the character of an excellent prince, and one capable of averting the destruction of the empire, if human means could effect it.

CHAPTER LIII.

GALLUS, THE THIRTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

GALLUS, who had thus betrayed the Roman army, had address enough to get himself declared emperor by that part of it which survived the defeat: he was forty-five years old when he began to reign, and was descended from an honourable family in Rome. He was the first who bought a dishonourable peace from the enemies of the state, agreeing to pay a considerable annual tribute to the Goths, whom it was his duty to repress. Having thus purchased a short remission from war by the disgrace of his country, he returned to Rome, to give a loose to his pleasures, regardless of the wretched situation of the empire. U.C. 1004. A. D. 251.

Nothing can be more deplorable than the state of the Roman provinces at that time. The Goths, and other barbarous nations, not satisfied with their late bribes to continue in peace, broke down, like a torrent, upon the eastern parts of Europe. On the other side, the Persians and Scythians committed unheard-of ravages in Mesopotamia and Syria. The emperor, regardless of every national calamity, was lost in debauch and sensuality at home, and the Pagans were allowed a power of persecuting the Christians through all parts of the state. These calamities were succeeded by a pestilence from Heaven, that seemed to have in general spread over every part of the earth, and which continued raging for several years, in an unheard-of manner; and all these by a civil war, which followed shortly after, between Gallus and his general Æmilianus, who, having gained a victory over the Goths, was proclaimed emperor by his conquering army. Gallus, hearing this, soon roused from the intoxications of pleasure, and prepared to oppose his dangerous rival. Both armies met in Mesia, and a battle ensued, in which Æmilianus was victorious, and Gallus with his son were slain. His death was merited, and

his vices were such as to deserve the detestation of posterity. He died in the forty-seventh year of his age, after an unhappy reign of two years and four months, in which the empire suffered inexpressible calamities.

CHAPTER LIV.

VALERIAN, THE THIRTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

U.C.1006. **ÆMILIANUS**, after his victory over Gallus, expected to be acknowledged as emperor, but he
A.D. 253. soon found himself miserably disappointed. The senate refused to acknowledge his claims; and an army that was stationed near the Alps chose Valerian, their own commander, to succeed to the throne. In consequence of this, **Æmilian's** soldiers began to consider their general as an obstacle to the universal tranquillity, and slew him, in order to avoid the mischiefs of a civil war.

Valerian being thus universally acknowledged as emperor, although arrived at the age of seventy, set about reforming the state with a spirit that seemed to mark a good mind and unabated vigour. But reformation was then grown almost impracticable. The disputes between the Pagans and Christians divided the empire as before, and a dreadful persecution of the latter ensued. The northern nations overran the Roman dominions in a more formidable manner than ever, and the empire began to be usurped by a multitude of petty leaders, each of whom, neglecting the general interests of the state, set up for himself. To add to these calamities, the Persians, under their king Sapor, invaded Syria, and, coming into Mesopotamia, took the unfortunate Valerian prisoner, as he was making preparations to oppose them. Nothing can exceed the indignities, as well as the cruelties, which were practised upon this unhappy monarch, thus fallen into the hands of his enemies. Sapor, we are told, always used him as a footstool for mounting his horse; he added the bitterness of ridicule to his insults, and usually observed, that an attitude, like that to which Valerian was reduced, was the best statue that could be erected in honour of his victory. This horrid life of

insult and sufferance continued for seven years ; and was, at length, terminated by the cruel Persian's commanding his prisoner's eyes to be plucked out, and afterwards causing him to be flayed alive.

CHAPTER LV.

GALIENUS, THE THIRTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

VALERIAN being taken prisoner, as hath been just mentioned, Galienus, his son, promising to revenge the insult, was chosen emperor, being then about forty-one years old. However, he soon discovered that he sought rather the splendours than the toils of the empire ; for after having overthrown Ingenuus, a commander in Pannonia, who had assumed the title of emperor, he sat down, as if fatigued with conquest, and gave himself up to ease and luxury. While the empire was afflicted throughout with pestilence and famine ; while the Germans overran Rhetia ; while the Alemans wasted Gaul ; while the Goths, and Quadi, and Sarmatians poured forth from their forests, and carried desolation over half the empire ; Galienus remained in the utmost tranquillity at Rome, inventing new pleasures, bathing among prostitutes, studying how to preserve figs green all the year round, and diverting himself among mimicks, parasites, and buffoons. When informed of the loss of his provinces, or the calamities of the state, he usually answered with a jest ; so that his total inattention gave rise to a number of rebellions, that divided the empire into a multitude of independent sovereignties.

It was at this time that no less than thirty pretenders were seen contending with each other for the dominion of the state, and adding the calamities of civil war to the rest of the misfortunes of this devoted empire. These are generally known in history by the name of the Thirty Tyrants. Historians are divided as to their number, names, and pretensions ; it only appears, in the ill-digested accounts of these times, that they were not all contemporary, but succeeded each other whenever they found an opportunity of asserting their pretensions.

It will be needless to dilate upon accounts and characters, that have nothing very remarkable to keep them from oblivion; the names of these short-lived pretenders will suffice. In the East, Macrianus, and his two sons, III. Valens, IV. Piso, v. In Illyricum, Aureolus, VI. In Palmira, Oedenatus, VII. Herod, VIII. Balista, IX. Maonias, X. Zenobia, and her two sons, XIII. In Egypt, Æmilian, XIV. In Africa, Celsus, XV. In Pannonia, Regillianus, XVI. Ingenuus, XVII. Censorinus, XVIII. Trebellianus, XIX. In Gaul, Posthumus, XX. Victorinus, XXI. Posthumus Junior, XXII. Lollianus, XXIII. Victoria, XXIV. Victorinus Junior, XXV. Tetrus, XXVI. Tetrus Junior, XXVII. Cyriades, XXVIII. Saturninus, XXIX. Marius, XXX.

It may be easily supposed that a state, harassed by such a number of opposing interests and inimical armies, was in the most dreadful situation; and accordingly we find, through all parts of the empire, nothing but rapine, murder, and desolation; the government, like a mighty ruin, dropping by piecemeal on the heads of those it was originally raised to protect, and threatening every moment universal destruction. In this general calamity, Galienus, though at first seeming insensible, was at length obliged, for his own private security, to take the field, and lead an army to besiege the city of Milan, which had been taken by one of the thirty usurping tyrants. It was there he was slain by his own soldiers; Martian, one of his generals, having conspired against him.

CHAPTER LVI.

CLAUDIUS, THE THIRTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

U.C. 1021. THE death of Galienus proved very advantageous
 A. D. 268. to the empire, and gave a general satisfaction to all, except his soldiers, who hoped to reap the reward of their treachery by the plunder of Milan. But being frustrated in these expectations, and in some measure kept within bounds by the largesses of Martian, Flavius Claudius being nominated to succeed, was joyfully accepted by all orders of the state, and his title confirmed by the senate and the people.

We are not sufficiently assured of this emperor's lineage and country. Some affirm that he was born in Dalmatia, and descended from an ancient family there; others assert, that he was a Trojan; and others, still, that he was son to the emperor Gordian. But, whatever might have been his descent, his merits were by no means doubtful. He was a man of great valour and conduct, having performed the most excellent services against the Goths, who had long continued to make their irruptions into the empire. He was now about fifty-five years old, equally remarkable for the strength of his body and the vigour of his mind; he was chaste and temperate, a rewarder of the good, and a severe punisher of such as transgressed the laws. Thus endowed, therefore, he in some measure put a stop to the precipitate decline of the empire, and once more seemed to restore the glory of Rome.

His first success, upon being made emperor, was against Aureolus, an usurper of the empire, whom he defeated near Milan. His next expedition was to oppose the Goths, against whom he led a very numerous army. These barbarians had made their principal and most successful irruptions into Thrace and Macedonia, swarmed over all Greece, and had pillaged the famous city of Athens, which had long been the school of all the polite arts to the Romans. The Goths, however, had no veneration for those embellishments that tend to soften and humanize the mind, but destroyed all monuments of taste and learning with the most savage alacrity. It was upon one of these occasions, that, having heaped together a large pile of books, in order to burn them, one of their commanders dissuaded them from the design, alleging, that the time which the Grecians should waste on books would only render them more unqualified for war. But the empire seemed to tremble not only on that side, but almost on every quarter. At the same time, above three hundred thousand of these barbarians (the Heruli, the Trutangi, the Virturgi, and many nameless and uncivilized nations) came down the river Danube, with two thousand ships, fraught with men and ammunition, spreading terror and devastation on every side.

In this state of universal dismay, Claudius alone seemed to continue unshaken. He marched his disproportioned army against the savage invaders, and though but ill-prepared for engaging with them, as the forces of the empire were then

employed in different parts of the world, he came off victorious, and made an incredible slaughter of the enemy. The whole of their great army was either cut to pieces or taken prisoners; houses were filled with their arms, and scarce a province of the empire that was not furnished with slaves from those that survived the defeat.

These successes were followed by many others in different parts of the empire; so that the Goths, for a considerable time after, made but a feeble opposition.

He some time after marched against the revolted Germans, and overthrew them with considerable slaughter. His last expedition was to oppose Tetricus and Zenobia, his two puissant rivals in the empire. But on his march, as he approached near the city Sirmium, in Pannonia, he was seized with a pestilential fever, of which he died in a few days, to the great regret of his subjects, and the irreparable loss of the Roman empire. His reign, which was not of quite two years' continuance, was active and successful: and such is the character given of him by historians, that he is said to have united in himself the moderation of Augustus, the valour of Trajan, and the piety of Antoninus.

CHAPTER LVII.

AURELIAN, THE THIRTY-FIFTH EMPEROR.

U.C. 1023. IMMEDIATELY after the death of Claudius, the
A.D. 270. army made unanimous choice of Aurelian, who
was at that time master of the horse, and esteemed
the most valiant commander of his time. However, his promotion was not without opposition on the part of the senate, as Quintillus, the brother of the deceased emperor, put in his claim, and was, for a while, acknowledged at Rome. But his authority was of very short duration; for finding himself abandoned by those who at first instigated him to declare for the throne, he chose to prevent the severity of his rival by a voluntary death; and, causing his veins to be opened, expired, after having reigned but seventeen days.

Aurelian, being thus universally acknowledged by all the

status of the empire, assumed the command, with a greater share of power than his predecessors had enjoyed for some time before. This active monarch was born of mean and obscure parentage in Dacia, and was about fifty-five years old at the time of his coming to the throne. He had spent the early part of his life in the army, and had risen through all the gradations of military duty. He was of unshaken courage and amazing strength; he, in one single engagement, killed forty of the enemy with his own hand, and above nine hundred at several different times. In short, his valour and expedition were such, that he was compared to Julius Cæsar, and, in fact, only wanted mildness and clemency to be every way his equal.

The whole of this enterprising monarch's reign was spent in repressing the irruptions of the northern nations, in humbling every other pretender to the empire, and punishing the monstrous irregularities of his own subjects. He defeated the Marcomanni, a fierce and terrible nation of Germany, that had invaded Italy, in three several engagements, and at length totally destroyed their whole army. He was not less successful against Zenobia, the queen of the East, a woman of the most heroic qualifications, who had long disclaimed the Roman power, and established an empire of her own. To oppose this extraordinary woman, Aurelian passed his army over into Asia, and suppressing all the obstructions that were opposed against him, he at length sat down before Tyana, a city of Cappadocia, which seemed resolved to hold out against him, and actually for some time stopped his progress. The unexpected obstinacy of the besieged served not a little to enrage the emperor, who was naturally precipitate and furious. He vowed, that, upon taking the city, he would so punish the inhabitants, as not to leave a dog alive among them. After some time the city was taken; and when his whole army expected the plunder of so wealthy a place, and put him in mind of his former protestations, he restrained their impetuosity, and only ordered all the dogs in the place to be destroyed. He afterwards pretended, that he was restrained from satiating his resentment on the inhabitants, by an apparition of the famous Apollonius, that warned him not to destroy his birth-place. This excuse was no doubt fictitious; but we can easily pardon falsehood, when it is brought to the assistance of humanity.

From Tyana he marched to meet the enemy, who waited his approach, near the city of Eme in Syria. Both armies were very powerful and numerous; the one trained up under the most valiant leader of his time; the other led on by a woman, that seemed born to control the pride of man. The battle was long and obstinate; victory at one time leaned to the side of the Asiatics; but the perseverance of Aurelian's generals, at last, carried the day. The enemy was defeated, and Zenobia was obliged to fly to Palmyra for safety. But she was soon pursued thither by the conqueror, who did all in his power to induce her to submission; but the haughty queen refused his proffered terms of life and security with scorn, relying on the succours which she expected from the Persians, the Saracens, and the Armenians. However, Aurelian's diligence surmounted every obstacle; he intercepted the Persian auxiliaries and dispersed them; the Saracens shared the same fate; and the Armenians were, by plausible promises, led over to espouse his interests. Thus Zenobia, deceived in her expected succours, and despairing of relief, attempted to fly into Persia, but was taken by a chosen body of horse sent to pursue her. The city of Palmyra likewise submitted to the conqueror; and Longinus, the celebrated critic and secretary to the queen, was by Aurelian's order put to death. Zenobia was reserved to grace his triumph, and was afterwards allotted such lands and such an income, as served to maintain her in almost her former splendour.

Aurelian, having thus restored peace to the empire, endeavoured, by the rigours of justice, to bring back virtue also. He was very strict in punishing the crimes of the soldiery; and in his orders to his lieutenants insisted, that the peasants should not be plundered upon any pretence; that not even a grape, a grain of salt, or a drop of oil, should be exacted unjustly.

He caused a soldier, who had committed adultery with his hostess, to have his feet tied to two trees, forcibly bent at top to meet each other; which being let loose, and suddenly recoiling, tore the criminal in two. This was a severity that might take the name of cruelty; but the vices of the times, in some measure, required it. In these punishments inflicted on the guilty, the Christians, who had all along been growing more numerous, were sharers. Against these he drew up

several letters and edicts, which showed that he intended a very severe persecution; but, if we may believe the credulous historians of the times, he was deterred, just as he was going to sign, by a thunderbolt, which fell so near his person, that all people judged him destroyed.

But, however Heaven might have interposed on this occasion, it is certain, that his severities at last were the cause of his destruction. Menesthus, his principal secretary, having been threatened by him for some fault which he had committed, began to consider how he might prevent the meditated blow. For this purpose he forged a roll of the names of several persons, whom he pretended the emperor had marked out for death, adding his own to strengthen him in the confidence of the party. The scroll, thus contrived, was shown with an air of the utmost secrecy to some of the persons concerned; and they, to procure their safety, immediately agreed with him to destroy the emperor. This resolution was soon put into execution; for as the emperor passed, with a small guard, from Uraclea, in Thrace, towards Byzantium, the conspirators set upon him at once, and slew him with very small resistance. He was slain in the sixtieth, or, as some say, the sixty-third year of his age, after a very active reign of almost five years.

CHAPTER LVIII.

TACITUS, THE THIRTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

THE number of pretenders to the throne, which U.C.1028.
had formerly infested the empire, were, by the A.D.275.
last monarch's activity, so entirely removed, that
there now seemed to be none that would even venture to declare
himself a candidate. The army referred the choice to the
senate; and, on the other side, the senate declined it; so
that a space of near eight months elapsed in these interchanges
of mutual deference. At length, however, the senate made
choice of Tacitus, a man of great merit, and no way ambitious
of the honours that were offered him. Upon being solicited
to accept the empire, he at first refused, and retired to his
country-house in Campania, to avoid their importunities;

but being at length prevailed upon, he accepted the reins of government, being at that time seventy-five years old.

One of the first acts of the government was to punish those who had conspired against the late emperor; particularly Menesthus, who was impaled alive, his body being thrown to be devoured by wild beasts. His estate also was confiscated to the exchequer; and his ready money, which was considerable, applied towards paying the army. During this short reign, the senate seemed to have a large share of authority; and the historians of the times are one and all liberal of their praises to such emperors as were thus willing to divide their power. Upon endeavouring to obtain the consulship for his brother Probus, he was refused it by the senate; at which he seemed no way moved, but calmly remarked, that the senate best knew whom to choose. This moderation prevailed in all the rest of his conduct: he was extremely temperate; his table was plain, and furnished with nothing expensive; he even prohibited his empress from wearing jewels, and forbade the use of gold and embroidery. He was fond of learning, and the memory of such men as had deserved well of their country; particularly the works of his name-sake, Tacitus, the historian, were greatly honoured by him. He commanded that they should be placed in every public library throughout the empire, and that many copies of them should be transcribed at the public charge.

A reign, begun with such moderation and justice, only wanted continuance to have made the empire happy; but after enjoying the empire about six months, he died of a fever, in his march to oppose the Persians and Scythians, who had invaded the eastern parts of the empire.

CHAPTER LIX.

PROBUS, THE THIRTY SEVENTH EMPEROR.

UPON the death of Tacitus, the army seemed divided in the choice of an emperor; one part of it chose Florian, brother to the deceased; but the majority were for some time undetermined. They alleged, in their conferences with each other, the necessity of choosing one eminent for valour,

honesty, piety, clemency, and probity; but the last virtue being that chiefly insisted upon, the whole army, as if by common consent, cried out that Probus should be emperor. He was accordingly confirmed in this dignity, with all the usual solemnities; and Florian, his opponent, finding himself deserted, even by those legions who had promised to stand up in his support, opened his arteries and bled to death.

Probus was forty-four years old when he ascended the throne, being born of noble parentage at Sirmium in Pannonia, and bred up a soldier from his youth. He began early to distinguish himself for his discipline and valour; being frequently the first man that, in besieging towns, scaled the walls, or that burst into the enemy's camp. He was equally remarkable for single combats, and saving the lives of many eminent citizens. Nor were his activity and courage, when elected to the empire, less apparent than in his private station. Every year now produced only new calamities to the empire; and fresh irruptions on every side threatened universal desolation: perhaps at this time, no abilities except those of Probus were capable of opposing such united invasions. He flew with an army to repress the Germans in Gaul, of whom he slew four hundred thousand. He then marched into Dalmatia, to oppose and subdue the Sarmatians. From thence he led his forces into Thrace, and forced the Goths to sue for peace. He after that turned his arms towards Asia, subdued the province of Issauria; and, marching onward, conquered a people called the Blemii; who, leaving their native forests of Ethiopia, had possessed themselves of Arabia and Judea. Narsius also, the king of Persia, submitted at his approach; and upon his return into Europe he divided the depopulated parts of Thrace among its barbarous invaders: a circumstance that afterwards produced great calamities in the empire. His diligence was not less conspicuous in suppressing intestine commotions. Saturninus, being compelled by the Egyptians to declare himself emperor, was defeated and slain. Proculus, also, a person remarkable only for his great attachment to women, and who boasted in a letter, that, having taken a hundred Sarmatian virgins prisoners, he deflowered ten of them in one night; and all the rest within a fortnight; this man, I say, set up against the emperor, but was compelled to fly, and at length delivered up by the Germans. At the same time, Bonosus (who was as remarkable a votary to Bacchus,

being able to drink as much wine as ten men, without being disordered) rebelled, and, being overcome, hanged himself in despair. Probus, when he saw him, immediately after his death, could not avoid pointing at the body, and saying, "There hangs, not a man, but a bottle." But still, notwithstanding every effort to give quiet to the empire, the barbarians who surrounded it kept it in continual alarms. They were frequently repulsed into their native wilds, but they as duly returned with fresh rage and increased ferocity. The Goths and Vandals, finding the emperor engaged in quelling domestic disputes, renewed their accustomed inroads, and once more felt the punishment of their presumption. They were conquered in several engagements, and Probus returned in triumph to Rome. His active temper, however, would not suffer him to continue at rest while any of the enemy were left to conquer. In his last expedition, he led his soldiers against the Persians; and going through Sirmium, the place of his nativity, he there set several thousands of his soldiers upon draining a sea, that was incommodious to the inhabitants. The fatigues of this undertaking, and the great restraint that was laid upon the licentious manners of the soldiers, produced a conspiracy, which ended in his ruin. The soldiers taking their opportunity, as he was marching into Greece, set upon and slew him, after he had reigned six years and four months, with general approbation. As an instance of the esteem which even his rebellious army had for him, they erected him a sumptuous monument, with this epitaph—"Here lies the emperor Probus, truly deserving the name; a subduer of barbarians, and a conqueror of usurpers."

CHAPTER LX.

CARUS, AND HIS TWO SONS, CARINUS AND NUMERIAN, MAKING TOGETHER THE THIRTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

U.C. 1035. THE short continuance of this triumvirate has given historians but little room for any thing very material concerning it. Carus, who was prætorian præfect to the deceased emperor, was chosen by the army to succeed him; and he, to strengthen his authority, united his

two sons, Carinus and Numerian, with him in command; the former of whom was as much sullied by his vices, as the younger was remarkable for his virtues, modesty, and courage. The new emperor had scarce time to punish the murderers of the late monarch, when he was alarmed by a fresh irruption of the Sarmatians, over whom he gained a signal victory. The Persian monarch also made some attempts upon the empire; but Carns assured his ambassadors, that if their master persisted in his obstinacy, all his fields should shortly be as bare as his own bald head, which he showed them. In consequence of this threat, he marched to the very walls of Ctesiphon, and a dreadful battle ensuing, he once more gained a complete victory. What the result of this success might have been is not known, for he was shortly after struck dead by lightning in his tent, with many others that were round him.

Numerian, the youngest son, who accompanied his father in this expedition, was inconsolable for his death, and brought such a disorder upon his eyes with weeping, that he was obliged to be carried along with the army, shut up in a close litter. The peculiarity of his situation, after some time, excited the ambition of Aper, his father-in-law, who supposed that he could now, without any great danger, aim at the empire himself. He, therefore, hired a mercenary villain to murder the emperor in his litter; and, the better to conceal the fact, gave out that he was still alive, but unable to endure the light. In this manner was the dead body carried about for some days; Aper continuing to attend it with the utmost appearance of respect, and seeming to take orders as usual. The offensiveness, however, of its smell, at length discovered the treachery, and excited an universal uproar throughout the whole army. In the midst of this tumult Dioclesian, one of the most noted commanders of his time, was chosen emperor, and with his own hand slew Aper; having thus, as it is said, fulfilled a prophecy, which had said, that Dioclesian should be emperor after he had slain a boar.

Carinus, the remaining son, did not long survive his father and brother; for giving himself up to his vices, and yet, at the same time, opposing the new-made emperor, the competitors led their forces into Mæsia, where, Dioclesian being victorious, Carinus was slain by a tribune of his own army, whose wife he had formerly abused.

CHAPTER LXI.

DIOCLESIAN, THE THIRTY-NINTH EMPEROR.

U.C. 1037. **A.D. 284.** **DIOCLESIAN** was a person of mean birth; being supposed to be, according to some, the son of a scrivener; and of a slave, according to others. He received his name from Dioclean, the town in which he was born, being about forty years old when he was elected to the empire. He owed his exaltation entirely to his merit; having passed through all the gradations of office with sagacity, courage, and success. Nor did the beginning of his reign in the least deceive the expectations his subjects had formed in his favour. He pardoned all his enemies that had joined with Carinus, without injuring either their fortunes or honours. Conscious also that the weight of the empire was too heavy for one alone to sustain, he took in Maximian, his general, as a partner in the fatigues of duty, making him his equal and companion on the throne. Thus mutually assisting each other, these two continued to live in strict friendship; and, though somewhat differing in temper (as Maximian was rather a man of vicious inclinations), yet they concurred in promoting the general good, and humbling their enemies. And it must be observed, that there never was a period, in which there were more numerous or formidable enemies to oppose.

The peasants and labourers in Gaul made a dangerous insurrection, under the conduct of Amandus and Helianus, but were subdued by Maximian. Achilleus, who commanded in Egypt, proclaimed himself emperor; and it was not without many bloody engagements that he was overcome, and condemned by Dioclesian to be devoured by lions. In Africa, the Roman legions, in like manner, joining with many of the natives, seized upon the public revenues, and plundered those who continued in their duty. These were also subdued by Maximian; and, after a long, dubious war, constrained to sue for peace. About the same time, a principal commander in Britain; named Carausius, proclaimed himself emperor, and possessed himself of the island. To oppose this general's

claim, Maximian made choice of Constantius Chlorus, whom he created Cæsar, and married to Theodora, his daughter-in-law. He, upon his arrival in Britain, finding Carausius extremely politic, and continually reinforced from Germany, thought proper to come to an accommodation; so that this usurper continued for seven years in quiet possession of the whole island, till he was slain by Alectus, his friend and intimate. About this time also, Narseus, king of Persia and Parthia, began a dangerous war upon the empire, and invaded Mesopotamia. To stop the progress of the enemy upon this quarter, Dioclesian made choice of Galerius, surnamed Armentarius, from the report of his being the son of a cowherd, in Dacia; and he likewise was created Cæsar. His success also, though very doubtful in the beginning, was, in the end, terminated according to his wishes. The Persians were overcome in a decisive engagement, their camp plundered and taken, and the king's wives and children made prisoners of war. There only remained, of all the enemies of the Roman empire, those that lay to the northward unsubdued. These were utterly unconquerable, as well upon account of their savage fierceness, as the inhospitable severity of the climate and soil from whence they went forth. Ever at war with the Romans, they issued when the armies that were to repress their invasions were called away; and upon their return, they as suddenly withdrew into their cold, barren, and inaccessible retreats, which only themselves could endure. In this manner the Scythians, Goths, Sarmatians, Alani, Carsii, and Quadi, poured down in incredible numbers; while every defeat seemed but to increase their strength and perseverance. Of these, multitudes were taken prisoners, and sent to people the more southern parts of the empire: still greater numbers were destroyed; and, though the rest were driven back to their native forests, yet they continued ever mindful of their inveterate enmity, and, like a savage beast, only continued inactive, till they had licked their wounds, for a new encounter.

During this interval, as if the external miseries of the empire were not sufficient, the tenth and last great persecution was renewed against the Christians. This is said to have exceeded all the former in severity; and such was the zeal with which it was pursued, that in an ancient inscription

we are informed, that the government had effaced the name and superstition of the Christians, and had restored and propagated the worship of the gods. Their attempts, however, were but the malicious efforts of an expiring party; for Christianity shortly after was established by law, and triumphed over the malice of all its enemies. In the midst of the troubles raised by this persecution, and of the contests that struck at the external parts of the state, Dioclesian and Maximian surprised the world by resigning their dignities on the same day, and both retiring into private stations. Historians are much divided concerning the motives that thus induced them to give up those honours, which they had purchased with so much danger. Some ascribe it to the philosophical turn of Dioclesian; and others, to his being disgusted with the obstinacy of his Christian subjects; but Lactantius asserts, that he was compelled to it, together with his partner, by Galerius, who coming to Nicodemia, upon the emperor's recovery from a great sickness, threatened him with a civil war in case he refused to resign. However, of this we are well assured, that he still preserved a dignity of sentiment in his retirement, that might induce us to believe he had no other motive but virtue for his resignation. Having retired to his birth-place, he spent his time in cultivating his garden, assuring his visitors, that then only he began to enjoy the world, when he was thought by the rest of mankind to have forsaken it. When also some attempted to persuade him to resume the empire, he replied, "That if they knew his present happiness, they would rather endeavour to imitate than disturb it." In this contented manner he lived some time, and at last died either by poison or madness; but this is uncertain. His reign, which continued twenty years, was active and useful; and his authority, which was tinctured with severity, was well adapted to the depraved state of morals at that time.

Maximian, his partner in the empire, and in resignation, was by no means so contented with his situation. He longed once more for power, and disturbed the two succeeding reigns with vain efforts to resume it; attempting to engage Dioclesian in the same design. Being obliged to leave Rome, where he had bred great confusion, he went over into Gaul, where he was kindly received by Constantine, the then ac-

known emperor of the West. But there also continuing his intrigues, and endeavouring to force his own daughter to destroy her husband, he was detected and condemned to die, by whatever death he should think proper. Lactantius tells us, he chose to die by hanging.

CHAPTER LXII.

CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS, MAKING TOGETHER THE FORTIETH EMPEROR.

UPON the resignation of the two emperors, the two Cæsars whom they had formerly chosen were universally acknowledged as their successors. Constantius Chlorus, who was so called from the paleness of his complexion, was virtuous, valiant, and merciful. Galerius, on the other hand, was brave; but brutal, incontinent, and cruel. As there was such a disparity in their tempers, they readily agreed, upon coming into full power, to divide the empire; Constantius being appointed to govern the western parts; namely, Italy, Sicily, the greatest part of Afric, together with Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Germany; while Galerius had the eastern parts allotted to his share; to wit, Illyricum, Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia, all the provinces of Greece, and the Lesser Asia, together with Egypt, Syria, Judea, and all the countries eastward. The greatness of the task, however, soon induced the emperors to take in two partners more, Severus and Maximin, who were made Cæsars, and assisted in conducting affairs; so that the empire now was under the guidance of four persons, all invested with supreme authority.

We are informed of but few particulars of the reign of Constantius, except a detail of his character, which appears, in every light, most amiable. He was frugal, chaste, and temperate. Being one day reproached by Dioclesian's ambassadors for his poverty, he only intimated his wants to the people, and in a few hours the sums presented him amazed the beholders, and exceeded their highest expectations. "Learn from hence," said he, then, to the ambassadors, "that the love of the people is the richest treasure; and that a prince's wealth is never so safe as when his people are the

guardians of his exchequer." His mercy and justice were equally conspicuous in his treatment of the Christians, whom he would not suffer to be injured; and when, at length, he was persuaded to displace all the Christian officers of his household, that would not change their religion, he sent the few, that complied, away in disgrace; alleging, that those, who were not true to their God, would never be faithful to their prince.

In the second year of his reign he went over into Britain, and leaving his son Constantine as a kind of hostage in the court of his partner in the empire, he took up his residence at York. He there continued in the practice of his usual virtues, till, falling sick, he began to think of appointing his son for his successor. He accordingly sent for him with all speed; but he was past recovery before his arrival: notwithstanding, he received him with marks of the utmost affection, and, raising himself in his bed, gave him several useful instructions, particularly recommending the Christians to his protection. He then bequeathed the empire to his care, and crying out, that none but the pious Constantine should succeed him, he expired in his arms.

In the mean time, Galerius, his partner in the empire, being informed of Constantine's advancement, testified the most ungovernable rage, and was even going to condemn the messenger who brought him the account; but being dissuaded, he seemed to acquiesce in what he could not prevent, and sent him the marks of royalty; but, at the same time, declared Severus emperor, in opposition to his interests.

Just about this time also, another pretender to the empire started up. This was Maxentius, a person of mean extraction, but very much favoured by the soldiers, whom he permitted to pillage at discretion. Thus there were several interests at the same time in opposition to each other, and all conspiring each other's downfall.

In order to oppose Maxentius, Severus led a numerous army towards the gates of Rome; but his soldiers, considering against whom they were to fight, immediately abandoned him; and, shortly after, he put an end to his own life by opening his veins.

To revenge his death, Galerius marched into Italy, resolving to ruin the inhabitants, and to destroy the whole senate. His soldiers, however, upon their approach to the capital, began

to waver in their resolutions; wherefore he was obliged to have recourse to entreaties, imploring them not to abandon him; and, retiring by the same route by which he had advanced, he made Licinius (who was originally the son of a poor labourer in Dacia) Cæsar in the room of Severus, who was slain. This seemed to be the last act of his power; for shortly after he was seized with a very extraordinary disorder, which baffled all the skill of his physicians, and carried him off, after he had languished in torments for near the space of a year.

His cruelty to the Christians was one of the many crimes alleged against him; and their historians have not failed to aggravate the circumstances of his death, as a judgment from Heaven for his former impiety. However this be, he abated much of his severities against them on his death-bed, and revoked those edicts, which he had formerly published, tending to their persecution, a little before his death.

CHAPTER LXIII.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, FORTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

CONSTANTINE, being thus delivered from his greatest opponent, might now be considered as possessing more power than any of his rivals in authority, who were yet remaining. The empire was at that time divided between him and three others: Maxentius, who governed in Rome, a person of a cruel disposition, and a steadfast supporter of paganism; Licinius, who was adopted by Galerius, and commanded in the East; and likewise Maximin; who had formerly been declared Cæsar with Severus, and who also governed some of the eastern provinces.

Whether the empire was by this time sick of its intestine divisions, or whether each of its commanders was content with his share, is not material to inquire; but, for a time, all things seemed to wear a peaceful appearance; till at length, either ambition, or the tyrannical conduct of Maxentius, induced Constantine to engage in an expedition to expel that commander from Rome, and to make the proper preparations for marching into Italy. It was upon this occasion that he formed a resolution, which produced a great change in the

politics as well as the morals of mankind, and gave a new turn to the counsels of the wise and the pursuits of ambition. One evening, as we are told by Eusebius, the army being upon its march towards Rome, Constantine was taken up with various considerations upon the fate of sublunary things, and the dangers of his approaching expedition. Sensible of his ~~own~~ incapacity to succeed without Divine assistance, he employed his meditations upon the opinions that were chiefly agitated among mankind, and sent up his ejaculations to Heaven, to inspire him with wisdom to choose the path to pursue. It was then, as the sun was declining, that there suddenly appeared a pillar of light in the heavens, in the fashion of a cross, with this inscription, ΤΟΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ, *In this overcome*. So extraordinary an appearance did not fail to create astonishment, both in the emperor and his whole army, who considered it as their various dispositions led them to believe. Those, who were attached to paganism, prompted by their aruspices, pronounced it to be a most inauspicious omen, portending the most unfortunate events: but it made a different impression on the emperor's mind; who, as the account goes, was further encouraged by visions the same night. He therefore, the day following, caused a royal standard to be made, like that which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded it to be carried before him in his wars, as an ensign of victory and celestial protection. After this, he consulted with several of the principal teachers of Christianity, and made a public avowal of that sacred persuasion.

Constantine having thus attached his soldiers to his interest, who were mostly of the Christian persuasion, lost no time in entering Italy, with ninety thousand foot and eight thousand horse, and soon advanced almost to the very gates of Rome. The unfortunate Maxentius, who had long given himself up to ease and debauchery, now began to make preparations, when it was too late. He first put in practice all the superstitious rites, which paganism taught were necessary. He next consulted the Sibylline books, from whence he was informed, that on that great day the enemy of Rome should perish. This prediction, which was equivocal, he applied to Constantine; wherefore, leaving all things in the best posture, he advanced from the city, with an army of a hundred and seventy thousand foot and eighteen thousand horse. The engagement was for some time fierce and bloody, till, his cavalry being routed,

victory declared upon the side of his opponent, and he himself was drowned in his flight, by the breaking down of a bridge, as he attempted to cross the river Tiber.

Constantine, in consequence of this victory, entering the city, disclaimed all praises which the senate and people were ready to offer; ascribing his success to a superior power. He even caused the cross, which he was said to have seen in the ~~vision~~, to be placed at the right of all his statues, with this inscription: "That under the influence of that victorious cross, Constantine had delivered the city from the yoke of tyrannical power, and had restored the senate and people of Rome to their ancient authority." He afterwards ordained, that no criminal should, for the future, suffer death by the cross, which had formerly been the most usual way of punishing slaves convicted of capital offences. Edicts were soon after issued, declaring, that the Christians should be eased from all their grievances, and received into places of trust and authority. Thus the new religion was seen at once to prevail over the whole Roman empire; and as that enormous fabric had been built and guided upon pagan principles, it lost a great deal of its strength and coherence when those principles were thus at once subverted.

Things continued in this state for some time, Constantine all the while contributing what was in his power to the interests of religion, and the revival of learning, which had long been upon the decline, and was almost wholly extinct in the empire. But, in the midst of these assiduities, the peace of the empire was again disturbed by the preparations of Maximin, who governed in the East; and who, desirous of a full participation of power, marched against Licinius with a very numerous army.

In consequence of this step, after many conflicts, a general engagement ensued, in which Maximin suffered a total defeat; many of his troops were cut to pieces, and those that survived submitted to the conqueror. Maximin, however, having escaped the general carnage, once more put himself at the head of another army, resolving to try the fortune of the field, but his death prevented the design. As he died by a very extraordinary kind of madness, the Christians, of whom he was the declared enemy, did not fail to ascribe his end to a judgment from Heaven; but this was the age in which false judgments and false miracles made up the bulk of uninstructed history.

Constantine and Licinius thus remaining undisputed possessors and partners in the empire, all things promised a peaceable continuance of friendship and power. However, it was soon found, that the same ambition that aimed after a part would be content with nothing less than the whole. Pagan writers ascribe the rupture between these two potentates to Constantine; while the Christians, on the other hand, impute it wholly to Licinius. Both, perhaps, might have ~~been~~ for Licinius is convicted of having persecuted Christianity, which was so highly favoured by his rival; and Constantine is known to have been the first to begin the preparations for an open rupture. Both sides exerted all their power to make opposition; and, at the head of very formidable armies, came to an engagement near Cybalis in Pannonia. Constantine, previous to the battle, in the midst of his Christian bishops, begged the assistance of Heaven; while Licinius, with equal zeal, called upon the pagan priests to intercede with the gods in his favour. The success was on the side of truth; Constantine, after an obstinate resistance, became victorious, took the enemy's camp, and, after some time, compelled Licinius to sue for a truce, which was agreed upon. But this was of no long continuance; for soon after the war breaking out afresh, and the rivals coming once more to a general engagement, it proved decisive. Licinius was entirely defeated, and pursued by Constantine into Nicomedia, where he surrendered himself up to the victor, having first obtained an oath, that his life should be spared, and that he should be permitted to pass the remainder of his days in retirement. This, however, Constantine shortly after broke; for, either fearing his designs, or finding him actually engaged in fresh conspiracies, he commanded him to be put to death, together with Martian, his general, who some time before had been created Cæsar.

Constantine being now sole monarch of the empire, without a rival to divide his power, or any person from whose claims he could have the least apprehensions, resolved to establish Christianity on so sure a basis, that no new revolutions should shake it. He commanded, that in all the provinces of the empire the orders of the bishops should be exactly obeyed, a privilege of which, in succeeding times, these fathers made but a very indifferent use. He called, also, a general council of these, in order to repress the heresies that had already crept into the church, particularly that of Arius. To this place re-

paired about three hundred and eighteen bishops, besides a multitude of presbyters and deacons, together with the emperor himself, who all, except about seventeen, concurred in condemning the tenets of Arius; and this heresiarch, with his associates, was banished into a remote part of the empire.

Having thus restored universal tranquillity to the empire, he was not able to ward off the calamities of a more domestic nature. As the wretched histories of this period are entirely at variance with each other, it is not easy to tell the motives which induced him to put his wife Fausta and his son Crispus to death. The most plausible account is this: Fausta, the empress, who was a woman of great beauty, but of extravagant desires, had long, though secretly, loved Crispus, Constantine's son by a former wife. She had tried every art to inspire this youth with a mutual passion, and, finding her more distant efforts ineffectual, had even the confidence to make him an open confession of her desires. This produced an explanation which was fatal to both. Crispus received her addresses with detestation; and she, to be revenged, accused him to the emperor. Constantine, fired at once with jealousy and rage, ordered him to die without a hearing, nor did his innocence appear till it was too late for redress. The only reparation, therefore, that remained, was the putting Fausta, the wicked instrument of his former cruelty, to death, which was accordingly executed upon her, together with some others, who had been accomplices in her falsehood and treachery.

But the private misfortunes of a few were not to be weighed against evils of a more general nature, which the Roman empire shortly after experienced. These arose from a measure which this emperor conceived and executed, of transferring the seat of the empire from Rome to Byzantium, or Constantinople, as it was afterwards called. Whatever might have been the reasons which induced him to this undertaking, whether it was because he was offended at some affronts he had received at Rome, or that he supposed Constantinople more in the centre of the empire, or that he thought the eastern parts more required his presence, experience has shown, that they were all weak and groundless. The empire had long before been in a most declining state; but this, in a great measure, gave precipitation to its downfall. After this, it never resumed its former splendour, but, like a flower transplanted into a foreign clime, languished by degrees, and at length sunk into nothing.

His first design was to build a city, which he might make the capital of the world ; and for this purpose he made choice of a situation at Chalcedon in Asia Minor ; but we are told, that, in laying out the ground-plan, an eagle caught the line, and flew with it over to Byzantium, a city which lay upon the opposite side of the Bosphorus. Here, therefore, it was thought expedient to fix the seat of empire ; and, indeed, nature seemed to have formed it with all the conveniences and all the beauties, which might induce power to make it the seat of residence. It was situated on a plain that rose gently from the water : it commanded that strait which unites the Mediterranean with the Euxine sea, and was furnished with all the advantages which the most indulgent climate could bestow. This city, therefore, he beautified with the most magnificent edifices ; he divided it into fourteen regions, built a capitol, an amphitheatre, many churches, and other public works ; and, having thus rendered it equal to the magnificence of his idea, he dedicated it, in a very solemn manner, to the God of Martyrs, and in about two years after repaired thither with his whole court.

This removal produced no immediate alteration in the government of the empire ; the inhabitants of Rome, though with reluctance, submitted to the change ; nor was there for two or three years any disturbance in the state, until at length the Goths, finding that the Romans had withdrawn all their garrisons along the Danube, renewed their inroads, and ravaged the country with unheard-of cruelty. Constantine, however, soon repressed their incursions, and so straitened them, that near a hundred thousand of their number perished by the cold and hunger. These and some other insurrections being happily suppressed, the government of the empire was divided as follows : Constantine, the emperor's eldest son, commanded in Gaul and the western provinces ; Constantius, his second, governed Afric and Illyricum ; and Constans, the youngest, ruled in Italy ; Dalmatius, the emperor's brother, was sent to defend those parts that bordered upon the Goths ; and Annibal, his nephew, had the charge of Cappadocia and Armenia Minor. This division of the empire still farther contributed to its downfall ; for the united strength of the state being no longer brought to repress invasion, the barbarians fought with superior numbers, and conquered at last, though often defeated. Constantine, however, did not live to feel these calamities. The latter part of his reign was peaceful

and splendid ; ambassadors from the remotest Indies came to acknowledge his authority ; the Persians, who were ready for fresh inroads, upon finding him prepared to oppose, sent humbly to desire his friendship and forgiveness. He was above sixty years old, and had reigned above thirty, when he found his health began to decline. To obviate the effects of his disorder, which was an intermitting fever, he made use of the warm baths of the city, but, receiving no benefit from them, he removed, for change of air, to Helenopolis, a city which he had built to the memory of his mother. His disorder increasing, he changed again to Nicomedia, where, finding himself without hopes of a recovery, he caused himself to be baptized ; and, having soon after received the sacrament, he expired, after a memorable and active reign of almost thirty-two years. This monarch's character is represented to us in very different lights ; the Christian writers of that time adorning it with every strain of panegyric ; the heathens, on the contrary, loading it with all the virulence of invective. In fact, it seems to be composed of a mixture of virtues and vices, of piety and credulity, of courage and cruelty, of justice and ambition. He established a religion that continues the blessing of mankind, but pursued a scheme of politics that destroyed the empire.

CHAPTER LXIV.

OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, AFTER
THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE, AND THE EVENTS
WHICH HASTENED ITS CATASTROPHE.

HITHERTO the characters of the Roman emperors have been intimately connected with the history of the state ; and its rise or decline might have been said to depend on the virtues and vices, the wisdom or the indolence, of those who governed it. But from this dreary period its recovery was become desperate ; no wisdom could obviate its decadence, no courage oppose the evils that surrounded it on every side. Instead, therefore, of entering into a minute account of the characters of its succeeding emperors, it will at present suffice to take a general survey of this part of the history, and rather describe the causes by which the state was brought down to nothing.

than the persons who neither could hasten nor prevent its decline. Indeed, if we were to enter into a detail concerning the characters of the princes of those times, it should be those of the conquerors, not the conquered; of those Gothic chiefs, who led a more virtuous and more courageous people to the conquest of nations corrupted by vice and enervated by luxury.

These barbarians were, at first unknown to the Romans, and for some time after had been only incommodious to them. But they were now become formidable, and arose in such numbers, that the earth seemed to produce a new race of mankind, to complete the empire's destruction. They had been increasing in their hideous deserts, amidst regions frightful with eternal snows, and had long only waited the opportunity of coming down into a more favourable climate. Against such an enemy no courage could avail, nor abilities be successful; a victory only cut off numbers without a habitation and a name, soon to be succeeded by others equally desperate and obscure.

The emperors, who had to contend with this people, were most of them furnished neither with courage nor conduct to oppose. Their residence in Asia seemed to enervate their manners, and produced a desire in them to be adored like the monarchs of the East. Sunk in softness, they showed themselves with less frequency to the soldiers, they became more indolent, fonder of domestic pleasures, and more abstracted from the empire. Constantius, who reigned thirty-eight years, was weak, timid, and unsuccessful, governed by his eunuchs and his wives, and unfit to prop the falling empire. Julian, his successor, surnamed the Apostate, upon account of his relapsing into Paganism, was, notwithstanding, a very good and a very valiant prince. He, by his wisdom, conduct, and economy, chased the barbarians, that had taken fifty towns upon the Rhine, out of their new settlements; and his name was a terror to them during his reign, which lasted but two years. Jovian and Valentinian had virtue and strength sufficient to preserve the empire from immediately falling under its enemies. No prince saw the necessity of restoring the ancient plan of the empire more than Valentinian; the former emperors had drained away all the frontier garrisons, merely to strengthen their own power at home; but his whole life was employed in fortifying the banks of the Rhine, making

levies, raising castles, placing troops in proper stations, and furnishing them with subsistence for their support; but an event, that no human prudence could foresee, brought up a new enemy to assist in the universal destruction.

That tract of land which lies between the *Palus Mæotis*, the mountains of Caucasus, and the Caspian Sea, was inhabited by a numerous savage people, that went by the name of the Huns and Allanes. Their soil was fertile, and the inhabitants fond of robbery and plunder. As they imagined it impracticable to cross the *Palus Mæotis*, they were altogether unacquainted with the Romans, so that they remained confined within the limits their ignorance had assigned them, while other nations plundered with security. It has been the opinion of some, that the slime, which was rolled down by the current of the Tanais, had, by degrees, formed a kind of incrustation on the surface of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, over which those people are supposed to have passed. Others relate, that two young Scythians, being in full pursuit of a heifer, the terrified creature swam over an arm of the sea, and the youths immediately following her, found themselves in a new world, upon an opposite shore. Upon their return, they did not fail to relate the wonders of the strange lands and countries which they had discovered. Upon their information, an innumerable body of Huns passed those straits, and meeting first with the Goths, made that people fly before them. The Goths, in consternation, presented themselves on the banks of the Danube, and, with a suppliant air, entreated the Romans to allow them a place of refuge. This they easily obtained from Valens, who assigned them several portions of land in Thrace, but left them destitute of all needful supplies. Stimulated, therefore, by hunger and resentment, they soon after rose against their protectors, and, in a dreadful engagement, which was fought near Adrianople, they destroyed Valens himself, and the greatest part of his army.

It was in this manner the Roman armies grew weaker; so that the emperors, finding it difficult at last to raise levies in the provinces, were obliged to hire one body of barbarians to oppose another. This expedient had its use in circumstances of immediate danger; but when that was over, the Romans found it was as difficult to rid themselves of their new allies as of their former enemies. Thus the empire was not ruined by any particular invasion, but sunk gradually under the

weight of several attacks made upon it on every side. When the barbarians had wasted one province, those, who succeeded the first spoilers, proceeded on to another. Their devastations were at first limited to Thrace, Mysia, and Pannonia; but when these countries were ruined, they destroyed Macedonia, Thessaly, and Greece, and from thence they expatriated to Noricum. The empire was in this manner continually shrinking; and Italy, at last, became the frontier of its own dominion.

The valour and conduct of Theodosius in some measure retarded the destruction that had begun in the times of Valens, but upon his death the enemy became irresistible. A large body of Goths had been called in to assist the regular forces of the empire, under the command of Alaric, their king; but what was brought in to stop the universal decline, proved the most mortal stab to its security. This Gothic prince, who is represented as brave, impetuous, and enterprising, perceiving the weakness of the state, and how little Arcadius and Honorius, the successors of Theodosius, were able to secure it; being instigated also still further by the artifices of one Rufinus, who had designs upon the throne himself; this warlike prince, I say, putting himself at the head of his barbarous forces, declared war against his employers, and fought the armies of the empire for some years with various success. However, in proportion as his troops were cut off, he received new supplies from his native forests; and at length, putting his mighty designs in execution, passed the Alps, and poured down, like a torrent, among the fruitful vallies of Italy. This charming region had long been the seat of indolence and sensual delight; its fields were now turned into gardens of pleasure, that only served to enervate the possessors, from having once been a nursery of military strength, that furnished soldiers for the conquest of mankind. The timid inhabitants therefore beheld, with terror, a dreadful enemy ravaging in the midst of their country, while their wretched emperor, Honorius, who was then in Ravenna, still only seemed resolved to keep up his dignity, and to refuse any accommodation. But the inhabitants of Rome felt the calamities of the times with double aggravation. This great city, that had long sat as the mistress of the world, now saw herself besieged by an army of fierce and terrible barbarians; and, being crowded with inhabitants, it was reduced, by the extremities of pestilence and famine;

to a most deplorable situation. In this extremity the senate dispatched their ambassadors to Alaric, desiring him either to grant them peace upon reasonable terms, or to give them leave to fight it with him in the open field. To this message, however, the Gothic monarch only replied, with a burst of laughter, "That thick grass was easier out than thin:" implying, that their troops, when cooped up within the narrow compass of the city, would be more easily overcome than when drawn out in order of battle. When they came to debate about a peace, he demanded all their riches, and all their slaves. When he was asked, "What then he would leave them?" he sternly replied, "Their lives." These were hard conditions for such a celebrated city to accept; but, compelled by the necessity of the times, they raised an immense treasure, both by taxation and by stripping the heathen temples; and thus, at length, bought off their fierce invader. But this was but a temporary removal of the calamity; for Alaric now finding that he might become master of Rome whenever he thought proper, returned with his army a short time after, pressed it more closely than he had done before, and at last took it; but whether by force or stratagem, is not agreed among historians. Thus that city, which for ages had plundered the rest of the world, and enriched herself with the spoils of mankind, now felt in turn the sad reverse of fortune, and suffered all that barbarity could inflict or patience endure. The soldiers had free liberty to pillage all places except the Christian churches; and, in the midst of this horrible desolation, so great was the reverence of these barbarians for our holy religion, that the pagan Romans found safety in applying to those of the Christian persuasion for protection. This dreadful devastation continued for three days; and unspeakable were the precious monuments, both of art and learning, that sunk under the fury of the conquerors. However, there were still left numberless traces of the city's former greatness, so that this capture seemed rather a correction than a total overthrow.

U.C. 1163.

A.D. 410.

But the Gothic conquerors of the West, though they had suffered Rome to survive its first capture, now found how easy it was to become masters of it upon any other occasion. The extent of its walls had, in fact, made it almost impracticable for the inhabitants to defend them; and, as it was situated in a plain, it might be stormed without much difficulty.

Besides this, no succours were to be expected from without; for the number of the people was so extremely diminished, that the emperors were obliged to retire to Ravenna; a place so fortified by nature, that they could be safe without the assistance of an army. What Alaric therefore spared, Gesneric, king of the Vandals, not long after contributed to destroy: his merciless soldiers, for fourteen days together, ravaged with implacable fury in the midst of that venerable place. Neither private dwellings nor public buildings, neither sex, nor age, nor religion, were the least protection against their lust or avarice.

The capital of the empire being thus ransacked several times, and Italy overrun by barbarous invaders, under various denominations, from the remotest skirts of Europe; the western emperors, for some time, continued to hold the title without the power of royalty. Honorius lived till he saw himself stripped of the greatest part of his dominions; his capital taken by the Goths; the Huns seized on Pannonia; the Alans, Suevi, and Vandals established in Spain; and the Burgundians settled in Gaul, where the Goths also fixed themselves at last. After some time, the inhabitants of Rome also, being abandoned by their princes, feebly attempted to take the supreme power into their own hands. Armorica and Britain, seeing themselves forsaken, began to regulate themselves by their own laws. Thus the power of the state was entirely broken, and those, who assumed the title of emperors, only encountered certain destruction. At length, even the very name of emperor of the West expired upon the abdication of Augustulus; and Odoacer, general of the Heruli, assumed the title of king of all Italy. Such was the end of this great empire, that had conquered mankind with its arms, and instructed the world with its wisdom; that had risen by temperance, and that fell by luxury; that had been established by a spirit of patriotism, and that sunk into ruin when the empire was become so extensive, that a Roman citizen was but an empty name. Its final dissolution happened about five hundred and twenty-two years after the battle of Pharsalia; a hundred and forty-six after the removal of the imperial seat to Constantinople; and four hundred and seventy-six after the nativity of our Saviour.

I N D E X.

A.

ACTIUM, the engagement there between Octavius and Antony described, 318.

Adrian, elected emperor, 462; his character and endowments, 463, 464; visits several parts of the empire, 465—467; his death, 470.

Ædiles, curule, when first created, 109.

Emilius Paulus, sent with Varro against Hannibal, 151; slain at Cannæ, 154.

Æqui, defeated by Q. Cincinnatus, who takes their city, 72; their city retaken by them, *ibid.*; make incursions with the Volsci, and advance within ten miles of Rome, excited by the intestine divisions of the people, 79; subdued by the Romans, 111.

Agrarian Law, who the first proposer of it, 62; violent contests between the senate and commons for its establishment, 73.

Agrirentum, taken from the Romans by the Carthaginian general, 137.

Agrippa, Posthumus, put to death by Tiberius, 342.

Agrippina, her character, 389; poisons Claudius, 392; dissensions with her son, 394; her death, 398.

Alaric, invades Italy, 550; lays siege to and takes the city of Rome, 550, 551.

Alexander, succeeds Heliogabalus, 508; his excellent character and government, *ibid.*; his death, 510.

Amulius, murders his brother Numitor's sons, and makes his daughter Rhea Silvia a vestal virgin, 2.

Ancus Martius, elected king of Rome, 18; his institutions, conquests, and death, 18, 19.

Antiochus, war declared against him by the Romans, 168; is defeated by Scipio, brother of Africanus; and makes peace with the Romans upon their own terms, 169.

Antony, his character, 291; his oration to the people, 292; opposes Octavius, 295; declared an enemy to the state, and an army sent against him, 296; unites with Octavius and Lepidus, 297; defeats Brutus and Cassius, 305; disposes of several kingdoms, 309; captivated by Cleopatra, 310; marries Octavia, Augustus's sister, 312; goes against the Parthians, *ibid.*; gives Cleopatra several kingdoms, 315; his preparations for war with Octavius, 317; defeated at Actium, 318; returns to Alexandria, 319; preparations to continue the war, 321; his fleet and part of his army revolt from him, 322; his death, 323, 324.

Antoninus Pius, his character, 470; his death, 472.

Appius, one of the decemviri, falls in love with Virginia, 82; his intrigues to get possession of her, *ibid.*; kills himself in prison, 86.

Appius Claudius, his hatred of the people occasions great disturbances, 66; appointed general against the Volscians, 67; his severity, 68; his death, *ibid.*

Appian Claudius, his speech dissuading from a peace with Pyrrhus, 124.

Aqueduct, that of Claudius described, 381.

Archimedes, retards the fate of Syracuse by his machines, 158; is slain by a Roman soldier, 159.

Arius, his heresy condemned in a general council, and himself banished, 545.

Ascanius, succeeds his father *Æneas*, 1.

Asdrubal, sent to reinforce Hannibal, is cut off with his whole army, 158.

Avantine Mount, granted by the senate to the people to build on, 73.

Augustus (see *Octavius*), his conduct on becoming solely possessed of the empire, 329; his consultation with Agrippa and Maecenas, 331; his deceit and artifice to secure himself in the empire, 332; has the title of Augustus, with other honours, conferred on him, 333; makes several edicts to suppress corruption in the senate, licentiousness in the people, and for several other purposes, 334; other instances of his good government, 335, 336; several nations who had revolted subdued, 336, 337; his domestic troubles, 337, 338; has twenty privy-councillors assigned him, 339; his death, *ibid.*; the honours paid to his memory, 340.

Aurelian, chosen emperor by the army, 528; his character, 529; defeats and takes Zenobia prisoner, 530; instances of his justice and good government, *ibid.*; his death, 531.

Aurelius, M. makes L. Verus his associate, 472; his excellent government, 474; defeats the Marcomanni and Quadi, 475; his army relieved by the prayers of a Christian legion, 478; Avidius Cassius rebels against him, 479; goes against the Scythians, 481; his death, 483.

B.

Brennus, with an army of Gauls, enters Etruria, 96; marches to Rome, 99; besieges the capitol, 101; is encountered by Camillus, and entirely defeated, 103.

Britain, the emperor Claudius persuaded to invade it by Boadicea, a native, 381; revolts under Nero, 406; subdued by Paulinus, *ibid.*; entirely subdued and civilized by Agricola, 442; and by him first discovered to be an island, 444.

Brutus, Junius, declares his resolution to revenge Læretia, 31; obtains a decree of the senate for the banishment of Tarquin, 33; proclaimed deliverer of the people, *ibid.*; created consul, 35; sentences his two sons to death for attempting to restore Tarquin, 36; slain in combat by Aruns, son of Tarquin, 37.

Brutus, conspires against Cæsar, 323; his character, 302; defeat at Philippi, and death, 306—308.

Burial, on what occasion changed into burning by the Romans, 216.

Byzantium, or Constantinople, its situation described, 545.

C.

Cæsar, Julius, his character, 232, 235, 275; forms a combination with Pompey and Crassus, 236; Gaul assigned to him, 238; a brief relation of his victories there, 241; recalled, 246; passes the Rubicon, 251; plunders the treasury at Rome, 255; defeats Pompey at Pharsalia, 265; pursues him into Egypt, 276; goes against Pharnaces, 280; gains an easy victory there, *ibid.*; goes into Africa, 282; defeats Scipio, *ibid.*; returns in triumph to Rome, 284; goes again into Spain, 285; defeats Pompey's sons at Munda,

ibid.; his return to Rome and conduct there, 286—288; a conspiracy formed against him, 288; his death, 289.

Caligula, why so called, 363; begins his reign well, *ibid.*; his cruelties and other monstrous enormities, 365—372; his expedition into Germany, 373; a conspiracy formed against him, 375; his death, 378.

Camillus, M. Furius, created dictator to conclude the war with the Veii, 95; whose city he takes, 96; created a military tribune, and sent against the Falisci, *ibid.*; sends back the schoolmaster with ignominy, who offered to betray the children under his care, 97; is again chosen dictator, 103; encounters and routs the Gauls, 103; defeats the Volsci, 105; made dictator again to oppose another invasion of the Gauls, 107; whom he defeats, 108; his death, 109.

Cannæ, the battle fought there, 152; number and quality of the Romans slain, 154.

Capitol, by whom built, 29; why so called, 30; besieged by the Gauls, 101; saved by Manlius, thence surnamed Capitolineus, 102.

Caracalla, kills Geta, 499; his other cruelties and extravagances, 500—502; his death, 503.

Caractacus, defeated and carried to Rome, 383.

Carthage, described, 131; the corrupt state of it, 132; besieged by Scipio *Emilianus*, 173; taken and burnt, 174.

Carthaginians, cause of the war between them and the Romans, 131; defeated in a sea-fight by the consul Duillius, 133; being destitute of generals, send to Lacedæmon for Xantippus to command their armies, 135; they defeat the Romans commanded by Regulus, 137; and destroy their fleet in an engagement with Claudius Pulcher, 140; but lose one hundred and twenty of their own ships in another engagement, *ibid.*; are forced to submit to the hard conditions of peace imposed by the Romans, *ibid.*; break the treaty by besieging Saguntum, 142; recall Hannibal out of Italy, 162; their forces defeated by Scipio, 165; a treaty of peace concluded between them and the Romans, *ibid.*

Carus, chosen emperor by the army, 534; his death, 535.

Catiline, Sergius, his character and conspiracy, 229—231; his death, 234.

Cato, retires from Pharsalia to Utica, 282; his death, 283; character, 284.

Censors, the first institution of them, 90; in what their office consisted, *ibid.*

Christians, a severe persecution of them under Nero, 402; Domitian, 447; Trajan, 458; Aurelius, 475; Valerian, 524; edicts issued in favour of them by Constantine, 543, 544.

Cicero, M. T., his character, 229; banished, 240; recalled, 243; proscribed and murdered, 298, 299.

Cinna, Cornelius, opposes the interests of Sylla, 200; is joined by Marius, 203; raises forces to oppose Sylla, 206; his death, 207.

Claudius, proclaimed emperor, 379; begins his reign well, 380; goes into Britain, 382; puts several persons to death, 384—386; instances of his cruelty, 386; marries Agrippina, 389; his death, 392.

Claudius, Flavius, chosen emperor, 526; his excellent character, achievements, and death, 527, 528.

Cleopatra, description and character of her, 378; flies from Actium, and is followed by Antony, 319; falls into the power of Augustus, 324; her interview with him, 325; her death, 327.

Cloëus, Publius, his enmity to Cicero, 239; killed by Milo, 245.

Collatinus, chosen consul with Brutus, 35; deposed from the consulship and banished, 36.

Commodus, succeeds Aurelius, 483; his horrid cruelties and other enormities, 484—486; his death, 487.

Constantine the Great, succeeds his father, 541; converted to Christianity, 542; defeats Licinius, 544; convenes a general council of bishops, *ibid.*; puts to death his wife and son, 545; removes the seat of the empire to Byzantium, 546; divides the empire, *ibid.*; his death and character, 547.

Constantius Chlorus, divides the empire with Galerius, 539; his character, *ibid.*; death, 540.

Consuls, when first chosen, 35; a law made for choosing one of them from the plebeians, 109.

Corinth, taken and razed to the ground, 174.

Coriolanus, makes a speech which greatly inflames the people, 53; proceedings of the tribunes against him, *ibid.*; condemned to perpetual exile, 56; invades the Roman territories, 58; encamps within five miles of Rome, *ibid.*; approaching nearer, the senate and people agree to send deputies with proposals of a restoration, 59; the pathetic speech of his mother Velutia, 60; his death, 61.

Crasus, his character, 221; becomes one of the triumvirate, 236; chooses Syria for his share of government, 238.

Crematius Cordus, defeats the malice of Tiberius by a voluntary death, 352.

Curius, leaps on horseback into the gulph in the forum, 111.

D.

Decemviri, occasion of instituting these officers, and the names of the persons first appointed to it, 76; compile the first ten tables of the Roman law, 77; the intrigues of Appius to get himself continued in the office, *ibid.*; agree on his proposal never to give up their authority, 78; which they exercise with great licentiousness and cruelty, *ibid.*; add two more tables to the body of laws compiled by them, 79; the intestine divisions their tyranny occasions, excite the *Æqui* and *Volsci* to make incursions, *ibid.*; demand a power of levying and commanding the forces to go against the *Æqui*, 80; a period put to their office, 86.

Decius, voted by the senate not inferior to Trajan, 522; gains a victory over the Goths, but is afterwards routed by the treachery of his general, *ibid.*; his death, *ibid.*

Decius Mus, devotes himself as an atonement to save his army, 116.

Dictator, who first appointed, and on what occasion, 42; various causes of choosing them, 110; the title, when abolished, 333.

Dioclesian, his descent and character, 536; subdues the Persians, 537; persecutes the Christians, *ibid.*; resigns the government, 538; his death, *ibid.*

Domitian, the good beginning of his reign, 443; soon renders himself odious, 444; several nations invade the empire, 445; his arrogance and cruelties, 445—448; a conspiracy formed against him, 448; his death, 449.

Drusus, following the example of the Gracchi, excites commotions, and is killed, 195.

Duillius, obtains a victory over the Carthaginians at sea, 133.

F.

Fabii, four thousand men of his family offer to defend the Roman territories invaded by the Etrurians, 64; are all cut off by the Veii, *ibid.*

Fabius Maximus, elected general against Hannibal, 148; saves the Roman army when in imminent danger through the rashness of Minucius, 151.

Fabritius, sent to treat with Pyrrhus respecting the ransom and exchange of prisoners, 125; his temperance and fortitude, *ibid.*; acquaints Pyrrhus with the treachery of his physician, 127; sets an example of frugality, and, being censor, ejects a senator for having ten pounds of plate, 129.

Fidene, an ancient Roman colony, revolts to the king of the Veii, 91; fifty thousand persons killed by the falling of an amphitheatre in a city of that name, 355.

Flaminius, rashly encountering Hannibal, is defeated, and about fifteen thousand Romans slain, 148.

Fucinus, description of the draining of this lake, 381.

G.

Galba, declared emperor by the senate, 414; is governed by his favourites, 416; adopts Piso to succeed him, 418; his death, 419.

Galerius has the eastern parts of the empire for his share of government, 539; his death, 541.

Galienus, his dissolute conduct when chosen emperor, 525; names of the thirty tyrants, who pretended to the empire, 526; his death, *ibid.*

Gallus, by his treachery occasions the defeat of the Roman army, 522; yet is declared emperor by the surviving part, 523; buys a peace of the Goths, *ibid.*; his character and death, *ibid.*

Gauls, besiege Clusium under the conduct of Brennus, 98; march thence to Rome, 99; which, after defeating the Roman army, they enter without resistance, 100; defeated by Camillus, 103; enter Etruria again, wasting all with fire and sword, 142; being encountered by the Romans, forty thousand of them are killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners, *ibid.*; several nations of them defeated, 351.

Germanicus, his character and achievements in Germany, 345; the province of Asia decreed to him, 348; his death, 349.

Gladiators, their first institution at Rome, 20; edicts made by Augustus to restrain the immoderate exhibition of them, 334.

Gordian, he with his son created emperors, 515; their deaths, 516.

Gordian, the Younger, his character, 519; and death, 520.

Goths, invade the empire, but are driven back by Gordian, 519; make another invasion, 521; are defeated, but afterwards, through treachery, rout the Roman army, 522; oblige the Romans to purchase a peace, 523; which they soon break, and again invade the empire, *ibid.*; renew their inroads under Constantine, 546; admitted by Valens into Thrace, 549.

Gracchus, Caius, his character, 179; attempts to reform several corruptions in the state, 180; and to enforce the Licinian law, 181; being maliciously prosecuted by the senate, who set a price upon his head, he orders his slave to kill him, 185.

Gracchus, Tiberius, attempts to renew the Licinian law, 177; is killed by Saturnius, 179.

Greece, liberty restored to it by the Romans, 167.

H.

Hannibal, sworn by his father when very young never to be in friendship with the Romans, 143; his character, *ibid.*; having taken Seguntum and overrun all Spain, marches into Italy, 144; defeats the consul Scipio, 145; and afterwards his colleague Sempronius, 146; engages and defeats Flaminius with great slaughter, 148; his stratagem to escape from Fabius, 150; the disposition of his forces at Cannæ, 152; slays fifty thousand Romans there, 154; leads his army to Capua, 156; is opposed at Carthage by Hanno, 157; Asdrubal sent to reinforce him, 158; he is recalled, 162; has an interview with Scipio before the armies engage, 163; being defeated in battle, flies to Adrumetum, 165; goes to the court of Antiochus, 169; his death, 170.

Heliogabalus, chosen emperor, 505; his follies, prodigality, and cruelty, 505, 506; his death, 507.

Hered Agrippa, Judea restored to him by Claudius, 381.

Hetrurians, invade the Roman territories, and defeat the consul Virginus, 64.

Horatii, the combat between them and the Curiatii, 15, 16.

Horatius Cocles, bravely defends Rome, 38.

I.

Jerusalem, besieged and taken, 433—436.

Jews, revolt under Nero, 407; Trajan, 458; Adrian, 467.

Illyrians, make depredations on the trading subjects of Rome, which brings on a war against them, 141; the greatest part of their country ceded, and a tribute imposed on the rest, 142.

Judea, subdued by Pompey, 238.

Jugurtha, bribes the senate of Rome to countenance his villanies, 187; summoned to give an account in person of such as had accepted bribes, 188; obliges the Roman army to pass under the yoke, 189; constrained by Metellus to beg peace, *ibid.*; brought to Rome by Marius, 192; his death, *ibid.*

Julia, daughter of Augustus, her infamous conduct, 338; banished by Augustus, *ibid.*

Julian, *Didius*, purchases the empire, 491; his death, 493.

Julius Sabinus, the severity used to him, 437.

Julius Vindex, revolts from Nero, and proclaims Galba emperor, 409; his death, 411.

L.

Levinus, sent to interrupt the progress of Pyrrhus in Italy, 120; is defeated by him with great slaughter, 121, 122.

Largius, on what occasion created the first dictator of Rome, 42.

Latins, enter into hostility with the Romans by the instigation of Tarquin, 40; are entirely overthrown near the lake Regillus, 43; they, with the Campanians, revolt, 114; are defeated by Manlius Torquatus with great slaughter, and brought entirely under the Roman power, 116, 117.

Law, agrarian, when first proposed, 62; commotions occasioned by attempts to enforce it, 177—180.

Laws of the twelve tables, whence composed, 76; digested into order by the Decemviri, *ibid.*

Lepidus, unites with Antony and Octavius, 397; has Spain assigned to him for his share of the triumvirate, 398; in a new division of the empire, has the provinces in Africa, 312; his army revolts to Octavius, 314.

Livius Andronicus, the first dramatic poet of Rome, 141.

Livy, his character as an historian, 329.

Longinus, put to death by Aurelian, 530.

Lucan, put to death by Nero, 405.

Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, elected king of Rome, 19; his institutions, wars, and death, 20—22.

Lucretia, ravished by Sextus Tarquinius, 31; kills herself, *ibid.*

Lucullus, defeats Mithridates, 224; and Tigranes, 225; superseded by Glabrio, *ibid.*; and afterwards by Pompey, *ibid.*

Lutatius Catulus, gains a victory over the Carthaginians, 140.

M.

Macrinus, chosen emperor, 503; his death, 504.

Mecenas, his advice to Augustus, 331.

Munius Capitolinus, bravely defends the capitol, 102; aspires to be sovereign of Rome, 104; is thrown from the Tarpeian rock, and his house razed to the ground, 105.

Manlius Torquatus, punishes his son with death for fighting contrary to order, 115; defeats the army of the Latins with great slaughter, 116.

Marius, Caius, sent against Jugurtha, 190; his character, *ibid.*; supplants Metellus, 191; sent against the Cimbri and Teutones, 192; whom he entirely defeats, *ibid.*; put to flight, 199; declared an enemy of his country by Sylla, 200; involved in various dangers and distresses, 202; joins with Cinna, 203; makes horrid massacres, 205; his death, *ibid.*

Maximin, made partner in the empire by Dioclesian, 536; with him resigns the government, 538; his death, 539.

Marimin, his person and character, 511, 512; his cruelty, 513, 514; the provinces of Africa revolt, and create Gordian emperor, 514; which the senate and people confirm, 515; marches with his army towards Rome, *ibid.*; his death, 518.

Messalina, her infamous conduct, 384, 386—388; her death, 389.

Metellus, sent against Jugurtha, constrains him to beg peace, 180; being ungratefully persecuted by Marius, goes into voluntary exile, 193; is recalled, 194.

Mithridates, war declared against him, 196; is defeated near Athens with great loss of his forces, 205; concludes a peace, 206; unites with Tigranes and invades Bithynia, 224; defeated by Lucullus, *ibid.*; by Pompey, 226; his death, 227.

Mutius Scaevola, attempts to kill Porsenna, but failing of success burns his right hand, 39.

N.

Narcissus, procures the death of the empress Messalina, 387—389; being prosecuted by Agrippina, goes into voluntary exile, 391; his death, 393.

Nero, marries Octavia, daughter of Claudius, 390; proclaimed emperor, 393; the excellency of his government at first, 394; breaks out into extravagancies, 395; marries Poppea, wife of Otho, 396; puts his mother to death, 397; goes into Greece, 400; returns to Rome, *ibid.*; his palace

described, 408; puts great numbers to death, 404—408; designs against him in Gaul, 409; the revolt becomes general, 411; his death, 413.

Nerva, chosen emperor by the senate, 450; his character, 451; his mild and good government, 451—453; his death, 454.

Numa Pompilius, chosen king of Rome, 13; his various institutions and death, 13, 14.

Numitor, the last king of Alba, supplanted by his brother Amulius, who murders his sons, and possesses the kingdom, 2.

O.

Octavius, claims the inheritance of his uncle Julius Cæsar, 294; his character, 295; opposed in his designs by Antony, *ibid.*; joins Antony and Lepidus, 297; the senate confer on him absolute power, *ibid.*; with Antony and Lepidus forms the second triumvirate, 298; marches with Antony against the conspirators, 300; war commenced between him and Antony, 311; are reconciled, and divide the empire between them, 312; deprives Lepidus of his share in the triumvirate, 314; his preparations against Antony, 317; defeats him at Actium, 319; goes against him into Alexandria, 321; puts two sons of Cleopatra to death, 325; returns to Rome in triumph, 328. See *Augustus*.

Ostia, a haven made there by Claudius, 381.

Ostorius, succeeds Plautus in the government of Britain, 382; defeats Caractacus, 383.

Osio, declared emperor by the soldiery, 418; begins his reign with a signal act of clemency and justice, 420; marches against Vitellius, *ibid.*; his army defeated by that of Vitellius, 422; his death, 423.

Ovation, wherein it differs from a triumph, 40; to whom, and on what occasion first decreed, *ibid.*

P.

Patricians, by the laws of the twelve tables forbid to marry with the plebeians, 79; the tribunes make a law to permit them, 88.

Perseus, king of Macedon, makes war against Rome, 171; is defeated by *Æmilius*, *ibid.*

Pertinax, his character, 488; proclaimed emperor, 489; his death, 490.

Petronius, his character and death, 408.

Pharsalia, the armies of Cæsar and Pompey meet there, 364; the order of battle on both sides, 266.

Philip, declared emperor by the army and senate, 520; his death, 521.

Philip, king of Macedon, engaged in war with the Romans, for having made a league with the Carthaginians, 158; which is concluded after twenty years' continuance, 167.

Philippi, battle of, and defeat of Brutus and Cassius, 303—306.

Piso, accused before the senate of the death of Germanicus, and other crimes, 351; kills himself, *ibid.*

Plebeians, their power, 6; the oppressions and miseries they were subject to by the avarice of the rich and powerful, which, in the end, occasioned the creation of the tribunes of the people, 40—51; great tumults and contests between them and the patricians, caused by one of their tribunes, 66; a law procured, giving them equal influence with the patricians in all elections and debates, 87; a law passed for choosing one of the consuls from their body, 109.

Phalaris, his excellent letter to Trajan, 455.

Poetry, its rise among the Romans, 141.

Pompey, *Cælius*, espouses the interests of *Sylla*, 208; puts an end to the Servile war, 219; contests with *Crassus* for power, 220; clears the sea of pirates, 222; appointed general against *Mithridates*, 223; whom he defeats, 226; enters Rome in triumph, 228; a character of him, 234; ordered by the senate to oppose *Cæsar*, 248; leads his forces to *Capua*, 252; routs *Cæsar's* forces, 262; being defeated at *Pharsalia*, flies to *Larissa*, thence to *Lesbos*, 271; and *Egypt*, 272; his death, 274; a further character of him, 275.

Pompey, *Sertius*, defeated by *Agrippa*, and slain, 313.

Pontius Pilate, banished into Gaul, 364; his death, *ibid.*

Porcius Cato, his character and speech in the senate, 232.

Porcenna, king of *Etruria*, lays siege to Rome, 38; offers conditions of peace, which are accepted, 39.

Portia, wife of *Brutus*, her death, 309.

Prætor, when first appointed, and in what his office consisted, 109.

Probus, chosen emperor by the army, 533; his character, achievements, and death, 533, 534.

Punic war, what gave rise to the first, 131; concluded on hard conditions to the Carthaginians, 140; the second declared, 143; concluded, 166; commencement of the third, 171; its conclusion by the destruction of Carthage, 174.

Pupienus, chosen emperor, with *Balbinus*, by the senate, 516; their deaths, 519.

Pyrrhus, invited by the Tarentines, comes with an army into Italy, 119; defeats the Romans, but with great slaughter on both sides, 122; endeavours to bribe the Romans to a peace, but in vain, 123; gains a second victory, but with considerable loss, 126; retreats into Sicily, 127; having returned into Italy, encounters the Romans, is defeated, and his camp taken, 128; returns into Greece, 129.

Q.

Quintilius Varus, cut off, with his whole army, by the Germans, 337.

Quintius Cincinnatus, his frugality and industry, 70; his conduct and virtues, *ibid.*; created dictator, 71; marches to the relief of the consul *Minucius*, surrounded by the *Equi* and *Volsci*, 72; having rescued the army, and defeated the enemy, resigns his dictatorship and returns to his farm, *ibid.*

R.

Regulus, sent with *Manlius* into Africa, to carry on the war with Carthage, 134; his character, *ibid.*; defeats the Carthaginian fleet, *ibid.*; makes a descent on the coast, and takes the city of *Clupea*, *ibid.*; several of his men destroyed by a huge serpent, *ibid.*; which at length they kill, and its skin is sent to Rome, 135; obtains another victory and takes eighty towns, *ibid.*; is defeated by *Xantippus* with great slaughter of the Roman army, and himself taken prisoner, 137; sent to Rome to treat of a peace, on condition to return if unsuccessful, 138; advises to continue the war, 139; returns to Carthage, where he is put to death with great torture, *ibid.*

Rome, founded, 4; improved and adorned by *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, 21; extent of its territory at the time of *Tarquin's* expulsion, 33; besieged by

Porosenna, 38; the severity of its laws with respect to debtors, 41; its increase of people without commerce tended to advance the disturbances in it, 65; endangered by an army of fugitives led by a Sabine, 69; ambassadors sent to the Greek cities in Italy and to Athens, to bring laws from thence for its government, 76; a contrast between the state of it and Carthage, 132; the great terror and consternation of its inhabitants on the defeat at Cannæ, 154; gives the freedom of the city to those Italian states that had not revolted during the Social war, 196; its government converted into despotism, 214; the wretched state of it under the second triumvirate, 298; in the beginning of Augustus's reign, 328; revenues and number of its citizens, 329; none to be admitted to the freedom of it without previous examination into their character, 334; the number of its inhabitants at a census taken by Augustus, 339; their luxury and prodigality, 361; number of its inhabitants in the reign of Claudius, 392; a great part of it burnt, 402; another fire and great plague, 442; when first governed by two sovereigns, 473; suffers greatly by a sedition and fire, 516; taken and pillaged by Alaric, 551; and again by Geseric, 552.

Romulus, his birth, 2; how preserved, *ibid.*; slays Amulius, and reinstates Numitor in his kingdom, 3; slays his brother Remus, 4; elected king, 5; his religious, civil, and military institutions, 7, 8; makes war with the Sabines, and other neighbouring states, 9—11; grows absolute, 11; his death, *ibid.*

S.

Sabines, rape of their women, and consequent war with the Romans, 9.

Samnites, attacked by the Romans, 112; their frivolous pretences for this war, *ibid.*; defeated by the Romans with great slaughter, 113; a peace concluded with them, 114; war being renewed, they oblige the Roman army to pass under the yoke, 118; are afterwards served in the same manner by the Romans, *ibid.*; they and other states, being quite exhausted, call in Pyrrhus to their assistance, 119, 122.

Scipio, defeated by Hannibal near Ticinum, 145.

Scipio, son of the former, his noble resolution after the defeat at Cannæ, 155; his character, 159; carries the war into Africa, 160; defeats Hannibal, 166; his death, 171.

Sejanus, his character and promotion, 353; procures the death of Germanicus's two sons, Nero and Drusus, 356; his death, 357.

Senpronius, defeated by Hannibal, with the loss of twenty-six thousand Romans, 146.

Senate, of whom at first composed, 5; augmented by L. Tarquinius Priscus, 20; their artifice to cause the people to enlist in an expedition against the *Æqui*, 64; to remedy the evils and oppressions of the people, resolve to pay the soldiery out of the treasury, imposing a new tax for that purpose, 94; eject *Rafinus* for being possessed of ten pounds of plate, 130; the great corruption and change of conduct in it, at the time of the Gracchi, 176; great contests and debates in it between the partizans of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, 246, 247; dispossessed of all its power, 275; its servile adulation of Augustus, 333; several edicts made by him to suppress corruption in it, 334; Maximin the first emperor who reigned without its concurrence, 513; permitted by Decius to choose a censor, 522.

Seneca, appointed tutor to Nero, 390; his death, 406.

